

The American Historical Review

Marygrove College Library
8425 West McNichols Road
Detroit, MI 48221

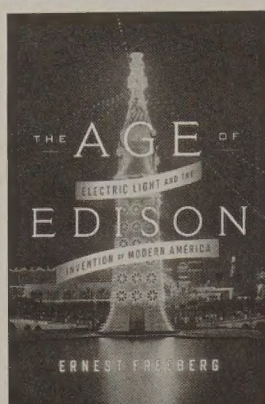


A

PRIOR 10

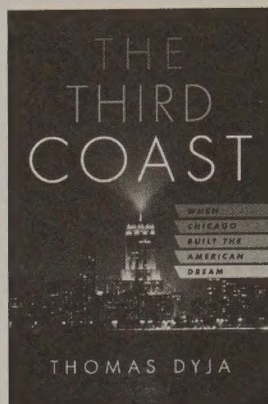
ION

NEW IN HISTORY FROM PENGUIN GROUP (USA)



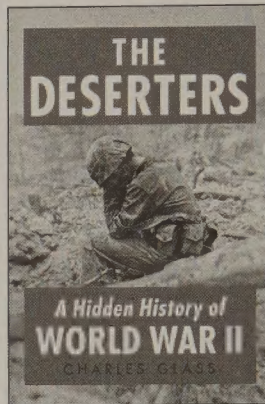
ERNEST FREEBERG
THE AGE OF EDISON
 Electric Light and the
 Invention of Modern America

"Explores a remarkable period in America's cultural and economic development. By understanding the post-Edison world we can see how nightlife really began; how our workdays grew considerably longer; and how the urban gloom was extinguished by the commerce of illumination."—Jon Gertner, author of *The Idea Factory*.
 Penguin Press • 368 pp. • 978-1-59420-426-5 • \$27.95



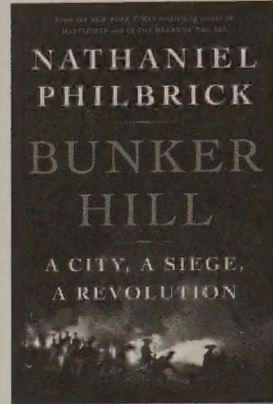
THOMAS DYJA
THE THIRD COAST
 When Chicago Built the American Dream

A cultural history of Chicago at midcentury, with its incredible mix of architects, politicians, musicians, writers, entrepreneurs, and actors who helped shape modern America. "Unravels the wondrous history of Chicago with cunning and aplomb."—Douglas Brinkley, Rice University.
 Penguin Press • 384 pp. • 978-1-59420-432-6 • \$29.95



CHARLES GLASS
THE DESERTERS
 A Hidden History of World War II

A fast-paced narrative history centered on the misunderstood role of deserters in the American and British armed forces.
 Penguin Press • 400 pp. • 978-1-59420-428-9 • \$27.95



NATHANIEL PHILBRICK
BUNKER HILL: A City, a Siege, a Revolution
 Philbrick turns his keen eye to pre-Revolutionary Boston and the gradual up-tick of tension that climaxed in June of 1775 with the Battle of Bunker Hill.
 Viking • 400 pp. • 978-0-670-02544-2 • \$29.95

HAROLD HOLZER
THE CIVIL WAR IN FIFTY OBJECTS
Introduction by Eric Foner
 Lincoln scholar Harold Holzer sheds new light on the war by examining fifty objects from the New York Historical Society's acclaimed collection.
 Viking • 416 pp. • 978-0-670-01463-7 • \$36.00

MANNING MARABLE & GARRETT FELBER, editors
THE PORTABLE MALCOLM X READER
 The first collection of major documents addressing Malcolm X in decades, featuring articles from major newspapers and underground presses, oral histories, police reports, and FBI files.
 Penguin Classics • 400 pp. • 978-0-14-310694-4 • \$22.00

BRIAN MacARTHUR, editor
THE PENGUIN BOOK OF HISTORIC SPEECHES
 Brings together the words of over a hundred men and women—from Moses to Mandela—who changed the world through the sheer power of their oratory.
 Penguin • 528 pp. • 978-0-14-017619-3 • \$17.00

EILEEN & ROGER PANETTA, editors
ON SHATTERED GROUND
 A Civil War Mosaic, 1861–1865
 Signet Classics • 352 pp. • 978-0-451-53219-0 • \$7.95

JOHN DAVID SMITH, editor
A JUST AND LASTING PEACE
 A Documentary History of Reconstruction
 Signet Classics • 416 pp. • 978-0-451-53226-8 • \$8.95

PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

Academic Marketing Department • 375 Hudson Street • New York, New York 10014

www.penguin.com/academic



The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.

Elected Officers

President: KENNETH POMERANZ, *University of Chicago*

President-Elect: JAN E. GOLDSTEIN, *University of Chicago*

Vice-Presidents: JOHN R. MCNEILL, *Georgetown University, Research Division*

ELAINE CAREY, *St. John's University*

JACQUELINE JONES, *University of Texas at Austin, Professional Division*

Appointed Officers

Executive Director: JAMES R. GROSSMAN

AHR Editor: ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Controller: RANDY NORELL

Elected Council Members

WILLIAM CRONON

University of Wisconsin–Madison

Immediate Past President

SARA ABOSCH

*Dallas Holocaust Museum/
Center for Education &
Tolerance*

STEPHEN ARON

*UCLA and Autry
National Center*

MARTHA C. HOWELL

Columbia University

ANNE F. HYDE

Colorado College

RANDALL M. PACKARD

Johns Hopkins University

PETER A. PORTER JR.

*Montville Township, N.J.,
High School and
Seton Hall University*

JOSHUA L. REID

*University of
Massachusetts Boston*

MARY LOUISE ROBERTS

*University of
Wisconsin–Madison*

ANDREW J. ROTTER

Colgate University

Cover Illustration: Some 6,500 years ago, at a Black Sea site now known as Varna, high-status individuals were buried with an astonishing array of gold objects, including animal figurines, bracelets, scepters, torcs, and penis sheaths. The appearance of these items is linked archaeologically with new forms of social stratification: gold marked those who were buried with it as belonging to a distinct register of social privilege. In "History and the 'Pre,'" Daniel Lord Smail and Andrew Shryock examine the use of such objects as a way to track relationships across time and space. From Upper Paleolithic shell beads and red deer canines, through the grave goods found at Varna, through the use of cowries and coinage, to today's paper and plastic money, they argue that humans produce and exchange small objects as a way to signal their status to others and to create obligations. Yet the objects exchanged vary in both highly patterned and wholly unexpected ways. This dynamic, Smail and Shryock argue, unfolds across all historical eras, densely connecting them and eliminating the distinction between "pre" and "post" that consigns deep time to a place before history. "Far from being passive with respect to their environment," they conclude, the peoples of the Upper Paleolithic "were present at and had a hand in their own making." Burial at the Varna necropolis, Bulgaria, ca. 4500–4000 B.C.E. Reproduced with permission from the Varna Regional Museum of History.

The American Historical Review is the official publication of the American Historical Association and appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. The journal is published by Oxford University Press, 2001 Evans Rd., Cary NC 27513, on behalf of the American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington DC 20003 (phone 202-544-2422). Our editorial offices are located at Indiana University, where our mailing address is 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington IN 47401. Phone: 812-855-7609; fax: 812-855-5827; e-mail: ahr@indiana.edu. Our web address is www.americanhistoricalreview.org. The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions.

Membership dues: Contributing Member, \$300 annually; for incomes over \$150,000, \$215; over \$100,000, \$185; over \$70,000, \$158; over \$45,000, \$117; over \$25,000, \$86; under \$25,000, \$47; for students, \$40; for Early Career Members (available only after three years of student membership), \$50; for teachers of K–12 (AHA/SHE) without the *AHR*, \$72; for K–12 with the *AHR*, \$103; for joint members or spouse/partners, \$50; for associate members (nonhistorians), \$89. A life membership is \$3,500. Non-U.S. members add \$20 for postage. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17. Members also receive *Perspectives on History* and the program of the annual meeting.

Further information on membership is available at <http://www.historians.org/>, or at the back of the journal on page 1(a), immediately preceding the advertisements.

Institutional subscription rates: Institutional print-only, electronic-only, and combined print + electronic subscriptions to the *AHR* are available through OUP and include content from 1996 to the present. Institutional subscribers to the Digital Archive through OUP will receive access to all past issues. Rates are tiered according to an institution's type and research output: \$364 to \$729 (print + electronic), \$301 to \$606 (electronic-only). Institutional print-only is \$354. Single copies of institutional issues published within the past three years are available from Oxford University Press; copies of issues older than three years may be purchased from Periodicals Services Company, 11 Main St., Germantown NY 12526. For more information, please visit www.oxfordjournals.org/our_journals/ahr/access_purchase/price_list.html.

Manuscript submissions: For basic information on the submission and publication of manuscripts, see p. 1(a) at the back of the journal, immediately preceding the advertisements. Full guidelines and policies can be found at <http://www.americanhistoricalreview.org> or will be sent upon request. **Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted.**

Permissions: For information on how to request permissions to reproduce articles or information from this journal, please visit www.oxfordjournals.org/permissions.

Advertising: Advertising, inserts, and artwork inquiries should be addressed to Advertising and Special Sales, Oxford Journals, Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP, UK. Tel.: +44 (0)1865 354767; fax: +44 (0)1865 353774; e-mail: jnladsadvertising@oup.com.

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 2013
All rights reserved

Periodicals postage paid at Cary NC and at additional mailing offices.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington DC 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Editor: ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER

Associate Editor: LARA KRIEDEL

Reviews Editor: MOUREEN COULTER

Articles Editor: JANE LYLE

Operations Manager: CRIS COFFEY

Production Assistant: JESSICA SMITH

Editorial Assistants: SANDRINE EMMANUELLE CATRIS, ADRIENNE E. CHUDZINSKI,
DAVID MICHAEL JAMISON, DENISA JASHARI, AMANDA J. KOCH,
CHRISTOPHER A. MOLNAR, SCOTT R. REYNOLDS

Board of Editors

DAVID A. BELL
Princeton University

TIMOTHY BROOK
*University of
British Columbia*

HAROLD J. COOK
Brown University

PHILIP ETHINGTON
*University of Southern
California*

GREG GRANDIN
New York University

JOCHEN HELLBECK
Rutgers University

DAGMAR HERZOG
*The Graduate
Center, CUNY*

SUSAN JUSTER
University of Michigan

SUMATHI RAMASWAMY
Duke University

EMILY ROSENBERG
*University of
California, Irvine*

CAROL SYMES
*University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign*

MEGAN VAUGHAN
*King's College,
University of Cambridge*

In This Issue	xiii
In Back Issues	xvi

Articles

“Is It a Book That You Would Even Wish Your Wife or Your Servants to Read?” Obscenity Law and the Politics of Reading in Modern England BY CHRISTOPHER HILLIARD	653
--	-----

Sudden Nationhood: The Microdynamics of Intercommunal Relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina after World War II BY MAX BERGHOLZ	679
---	-----

AHR Forum: Investigating the History in Prehistories

Introduction	708
--------------	-----

History and the “Pre” BY DANIEL LORD SMAIL AND ANDREW SHRYOCK	709
--	-----

Women, Men, and Cycles of Evangelism in the Southwest Borderlands, A.D. 750 to 1750 BY JAMES F. BROOKS	738
---	-----

Contested Conjunctures: Brahman Communities and “Early Modernity” in India BY ROSALIND O’HANLON	765
--	-----

The End of Prehistory? An Africanist Comment BY AKINWUMI OGUNDIRAN	788
---	-----

Featured Reviews

CARL H. NIGHTINGALE. *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities.*

By Alex Lichtenstein 802

RONALD G. WITT. *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy.*

By Robert Black 804

ANDREW PETTEGREE. *The Book in the Renaissance.*

By Ann Blair 806

STEPHEN TUCK. *We Ain't What We Ought to Be: The Black Freedom Struggle from Emancipation to Obama.*

By Robert J. Norrell 809

SHELDON GARON. *Beyond Our Means: Why America Spends While the World Saves.*

By Kenneth Lipartito 811

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

GARY IANZITI. *Writing History in Renaissance Italy: Leonardo Bruni and the Uses of the Past.*

By Samantha Kelly 814

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

E. NATALIE ROTHMAN. *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul.*

By Wolfgang Kaiser 815

MICHAEL A. REYNOLDS. *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908–1918.*

By Nicholas B. Breyfogle 816

CLARE ANDERSON. *Subaltern Lives: Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790–1920.*

By Isabel Hofmeyr 817

JOSÉ ANGEL HERNÁNDEZ. *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century: A History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands.*

By Anthony P. Mora 818

MICHAEL SCOTT VAN WAGENEN. *Remembering the Forgotten War: The Enduring Legacies of the U.S.-Mexican War.*

By Peter C. Messer 819

JOHN MCKIERNAN-GONZÁLEZ. *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848–1942.*

By Stephen J. Kunitz 820

ORIEL PRIZEMAN. *Philanthropy and Light: Carnegie Libraries and the Advent of Transatlantic Standards for Public Space.*

By Kenneth Breisch 821

ERIKA KUHLMAN. *Of Little Comfort: War Widows, Fallen Soldiers, and the Remaking of the Nation after the Great War.*

By Nancy K. Bristow 821

DANIEL GORMAN. *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s.*

By Greg Kennedy 822

JON THARES DAVIDANN. *Cultural Diplomacy in U.S.-Japanese Relations, 1919–1941.*

By Hiroshi Kitamura 823

S. C. M. PAINE. *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949.*

By R. Keith Schoppa 824

KRISTAN STODDART. *Losing an Empire and Finding a Role: Britain, the USA, NATO, and Nuclear Weapons, 1964–1970.*

By Mark Atwood Lawrence 825

DOUGLAS HAMILTON, KATE HODGSON, and JOEL QUIRK, editors. *Slavery, Memory and Identity: National Representations and Global Legacies.*

By Richard B. Allen 825

STAFFAN MÜLLER-WILLE and HANS-JÖRG RHEINBERGER. *A Cultural History of Heredity; MIGUEL GARCÍA-SANCHO. *Biology, Computing, and the History of Molecular Sequencing: From Proteins to DNA, 1945–2000.**

By Ruth Schwartz Cowan 827

L. STEPHEN JACYNA and STEPHEN T. CASPER, editors. *The Neurological Patient in History.*

By Mark Jackson 828

JÖRG FISCH. *Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker: Die Domestizierung einer Illusion.*

By Hugh L. Agnew 829

ASIA

XIUYU WANG. *China's Last Imperial Frontier: Late Qing Expansion in Sichuan's Tibetan Borderlands.*

By Yingcong Dai 830

JING TSU. *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora.*

By Carlos Rojas 831

BILL MIHALOPOULOS. *Sex in Japan's Globalization, 1870–1930: Prostitutes, Emigration, and Nation-Building.*

By Sally Ann Hastings 832

JUN UCHIDA. *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876–1945.*

By Takashi Fujitani 833

- BHAVANI RAMAN. *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial India.*
By Hayden J. Bellenoit 834

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

- LINDSAY PROUDFOOT and DIANNE HALL. *Imperial Spaces: Placing the Irish and the Scots in Colonial Australia.*
By Malcolm Campbell 835

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

- MARK CRONLUND ANDERSON and CARMEN L. ROBERTSON. *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers.*
By Mary-Ellen Kelm 835

- MICHAEL P. WINSHIP. *Godly Republicanism: Puritans, Pilgrims, and a City on a Hill.*
By John McWilliams 836

- MICHAEL HOBERMAN. *New Israel/New England: Jews and Puritans in Early America.*
By Glenn A. Moots 837

- MICHAEL WITGEN. *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America.*
By James Joseph Buss 838

- LINFORD D. FISHER. *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America.*
By Joel W. Martin 839

- HILARY E. WYSS. *English Letters and Indian Literacies: Reading, Writing, and New England Missionary Schools, 1750–1830.*
By Phillip H. Round 840

- KATE HAULMAN. *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America.*
By Carolyn Eastman 841

- CAROLINE FRANK. *Objectifying China, Imagining America: Chinese Commodities in Early America.*
By Susan Kern 842

- PATRICK M. ERBEN. *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania.*
By Jane E. Calvert 843

- ANTHONY M. JOSEPH. *From Liberty to Liberality: The Transformation of the Pennsylvania Legislature, 1776–1820.*
By G. S. Rowe 844

- GARY L. MCDOWELL. *The Language of Law and the Foundations of American Constitutionalism.*
By Jeff Broadwater 845

- AMANDA PORTERFIELD. *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation.*
By Mark A. Noll 845

- RICHARD BELL. *We Shall Be No More: Suicide and Self-Government in the Newly United States.*
By Erik R. Seeman 846

- EDWARD CAHILL. *Liberty of the Imagination: Aesthetic Theory, Literary Form, and Politics in the Early United States.*
By Stephen Shapiro 847

- CHRISTOPHER P. IANNINI. *Fatal Revolutions: Natural History, West Indian Slavery, and the Routes of American Literature.*
By Trevor Burnard 848

- MICHAEL L. NICHOLLS. *Whispers of Rebellion: Narrating Gabriel's Conspiracy.*
By Robert L. Paquette 849

- J. C. A. STAGG. *The War of 1812: Conflict for a Continent;*
TROY BICKHAM. *The Weight of Vengeance: The United States, the British Empire, and the War of 1812;*
NICOLE EUSTACE. *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism.*
By Julian Gwyn 850

- WATSON W. JENNISON. *Cultivating Race: The Expansion of Slavery in Georgia, 1750–1860.*
By Leslie M. Harris 851

- LOREN SCHWENINGER. *Families in Crisis in the Old South: Divorce, Slavery, and the Law.*
By Mary Beth Sievens 852

- AMY S. GREENBERG. *A Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico.*
By Michael Patrick Cullinane 853

- STACY PRATT McDERMOTT. *The Jury in Lincoln's America.*
By James Campbell 854

- DAVID S. CECELSKI. *The Fire of Freedom: Abraham Gallop and the Slaves' Civil War.*
By Chris Dixon 855

- GLENN DAVID BRASHER. *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation: African Americans and the Fight for Freedom.*
By Mark Grimsley 856

- LIBRA R. HILDE. *Worth a Dozen Men: Women and Nursing in the Civil War South.*
By Scott Stephan 857

- GLENNA MATTHEWS. *The Golden State in the Civil War: Thomas Starr King, the Republican Party, and the Birth of Modern California.*
By Daniel Herman 857

- AARON ASTOR. *Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation, and the Reconstruction of Kentucky and Missouri.*
By Daniel E. Sutherland 858

- BRENDAN C. LINDSAY. *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873.*
By Albert L. Hurtado 859

- JOSHUA PADDISON. *American Heathens: Religion, Race, and Reconstruction in California.*
By Robert G. Lee 860

- SUE FAWN CHUNG. *In Pursuit of Gold: Chinese American Miners and Merchants in the American West.*
By Franklin Ng 860

- GUENTER B. RISSE. *Plague, Fear, and Politics in San Francisco's Chinatown.*
By Jennifer Koslow 861

- NAYAN SHAH. *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West.*
By Monisha Das Gupta 862

- DOROTHEE SCHNEIDER. *Crossing Borders: Migration and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century United States.*
By David G. Gutiérrez 863

- PAUL W. HIRT. *The Wired Northwest: The History of Electric Power, 1870s–1970s.*
By Charles David Jacobson 864

- TIMOTHY MESSER-KRUSE. *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks.*
By Anthony D'Agostino 865

- MICHAELA BANK. *Women of Two Countries: German-American Women, Women's Rights, and Nativism, 1848–1890.*
By Ann D. Gordon 866

- NICOLE TONKOVICH. *The Allotment Plot: Alice C. Fletcher, E. Jane Gay, and Nez Perce Survivance.*
By David R. M. Beck 866
- GREY OSTERUD. *Putting the Barn before the House: Women and Family Farming in Early-Twentieth-Century New York.*
By Brian Q. Cannon 867
- JAMES M. BEEBY, editor. *Populism in the South Revisited: New Interpretations and New Departures.*
By Paul Michel Taillon 868
- ERIN D. CHAPMAN. *Prove It on Me: New Negroes, Sex, and Popular Culture in the 1920s.*
By Elspeth H. Brown 869
- PABLO MITCHELL. *West of Sex: Making Mexican America, 1900–1930.*
By Maria Raquel Casas 870
- DAVID R. ROEDIGER and ELIZABETH D. ESCH. *The Production of Difference: Race and the Management of Labor in U.S. History.*
By Robert H. Zieger 871
- BETH TOMPKINS BATES. *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford.*
By Ruth Needleman 872
- GERALD HORNE. *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawai'i.*
By Lawrence Richards 873
- DON MITCHELL. *They Saved the Crops: Labor, Landscape, and the Struggle over Industrial Farming in Bracero-Era California.*
By Cindy Hahamovitch 874
- AARON BOBROW-STRAIN. *White Bread: A Social History of the Store-Bought Loaf.*
By Trudy Eden 875
- ERIC SANDWEISS. *The Day in Its Color: Charles Cushman's Photographic Journey through a Vanishing America.*
By Terri Weissman 875
- DAWN SPRING. *Advertising in the Age of Persuasion: Building Brand America, 1941–1961.*
By Wendy Wall 876
- RICHARD K. POPP. *The Holiday Makers: Magazines, Advertising, and Mass Tourism in Postwar America.*
By Dawn P. Spring 877
- DOUGLAS M. CHARLES. *The FBI's Obscene File: J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau's Crusade against Smut.*
By Steve Rossworm 878
- JOHN SBARDELLATI. *J. Edgar Hoover Goes to the Movies: The FBI and the Origins of Hollywood's Cold War.*
By Jennifer Frost 879
- WILLIAM D. ROMANOWSKI. *Reforming Hollywood: How American Protestants Fought for Freedom at the Movies.*
By Anthony Burke Smith 880
- JASON S. LANTZER. *Mainline Christianity: The Past and Future of America's Majority Faith.*
By D. G. Hart 881
- PRESTON H. SMITH II. *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis: Housing Policy in Postwar Chicago.*
By Joseph C. Bigott 882
- MATTHEW F. DELMONT. *The Nicest Kids in Town: American Bandstand, Rock 'n' Roll, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in 1950s Philadelphia.*
By Brian Ward 883
- BENJAMIN HOUSTON. *The Nashville Way: Racial Etiquette and the Struggle for Social Justice in a Southern City.*
By Victoria W. Wolcott 884
- SHERRY L. SMITH. *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power.*
By Akim D. Reinhardt 885
- NANCY BERNKOPF TUCKER. *The China Threat: Memories, Myths, and Realities in the 1950s.*
By Yafeng Xia 886
- CHRIS TUDDA. *A Cold War Turning Point: Nixon and China, 1969–1972.*
By Guangqiu Xu 887
- SETH JACOBS. *The Universe Unraveling: American Foreign Policy in Cold War Laos.*
By Matthew Jones 887
- MICHAEL H. HUNT and STEVEN I. LEVINE. *Arc of Empire: America's Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam.*
By Kenton Clymer 888
- JEREMY KUZMAROV. *Modernizing Repression: Police Training and Nation-Building in the American Century.*
By Seth Jacobs 889
- ROGER PEACE. *A Call to Conscience: The Anti-Contra War Campaign.*
By Michael J. Allen 890
- AMANDA KAY MCVETY. *Enlightened Aid: U.S. Development as Foreign Policy in Ethiopia.*
By John Markakis 891
- HANNAH GURMAN. *The Dissent Papers: The Voices of Diplomats in the Cold War and Beyond.*
By David Milne 892
- MICHELLE M. NICKERSON. *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right.*
By Sylvie Murray 893
- EILEEN BORIS and JENNIFER KLEIN. *Caring for America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State.*
By Patricia D'Antonio 894
- STEPHEN PEMBERTON. *The Bleeding Disease: Hemophilia and the Unintended Consequences of Medical Progress.*
By Stephen Inrig 894
- STEPHEN INRIG. *North Carolina and the Problem of AIDS: Advocacy, Politics, and Race in the South.*
By Jennifer Brier 896
- ELIZABETH POPP BERMAN. *Creating the Market University: How Academic Science Became an Economic Engine.*
By Roger L. Geiger 896
- CHRISTOPHER C. SELLERS. *Crabgrass Crucible: Suburban Nature and the Rise of Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America.*
By Thomas R. Dunlap 897
- THOMAS ROBERTSON. *The Malthusian Moment: Global Population Growth and the Birth of American Environmentalism.*
By Alison Bashford 898

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

- KRISTEN BLOCK. *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition, and the Politics of Profit.*
By B. W. Higman 899
- LINDA M. RUPERT. *Creolization and Contraband: Curaçao in the Early Modern Atlantic World.*
By Christian J. Koot 900

- BRIAN L. MOORE and MICHELE A. JOHNSON. *"They Do as They Please": The Jamaican Struggle for Cultural Freedom after Morant Bay.*
By Richard Smith 901
- CHRISTOPHER R. BOYER, editor. *A Land between Waters: Environmental Histories of Modern Mexico.*
By Matthew Vitz 902
- SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA. *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico, 1750–1856.*
By Jocelyn Olcott 903
- WILLIAM J. SUAREZ-POTTS. *The Making of Law: The Supreme Court and Labor Legislation in Mexico, 1875–1931.*
By Michael Snodgrass 904
- STEVEN B. BUNKER. *Creating Mexican Consumer Culture in the Age of Porfirio Díaz.*
By Robert Weis 905
- ROBERT WEIS. *Bakers and Basques: A Social History of Bread in Mexico.*
By Rick López 906
- SUSAN FITZPATRICK-BEHRENS. *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943–1989: Transnational Faith and Transformation.*
By Kevin Lewis O'Neill 907
- MARTHA S. SANTOS. *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845–1889.*
By Matthias Röhrig Assunção 908
- WILLIAM GARRETT ACREE, JR. *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780–1910.*
By Sara Castro-Klaren 909
- BRENDA ELSEY. *Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Chile.*
By Thomas F. O'Brien 909

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

- SARA FORSDYKE. *Slaves Tell Tales: And Other Episodes in the Politics of Popular Culture in Ancient Greece.*
By Gabriel Herman 910
- JAMES H. RICHARDSON. *The Fabii and the Gauls: Studies in Historical Thought and Historiography in Republican Rome.*
By Andrew B. Gallia 912
- ANDREW B. GALLIA. *Remembering the Roman Republic: Culture, Politics, and History under the Principate.*
By Geoffrey S. Sumi 912
- BRIAN CAMPBELL. *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome.*
By Gregory S. Aldrete 913
- ELIZABETH DEPALMA DIGESER. *A Threat to Public Piety: Christians, Platonists, and the Great Persecution.*
By Anthony Kaldellis 914
- LINDA TOLLERTON. *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England.*
By Mary Frances Giandrea 915
- JAUME AURELL. *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia.*
By Nuria Silleras-Fernandez 916
- NICHOLAS PAUL and SUZANNE YEAGER, editors. *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity.*
By Jonathan Phillips 917

- MARTIN VÖLKL. *Muslims, Märtyrer, Militia Christi: Identität, Feindbild und Fremderfahrung während der ersten Kreuzzüge.*
By Christoph T. Maier 918
- CHRISTOPHER I. BECKWITH. *Warriors of the Cloisters: The Central Asian Origins of Science in the Medieval World.*
By Toby E. Huff 919

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

- PAMELA O. LONG. *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400–1600.*
By Eric H. Ash 920
- PATRICIA SIMONS. *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History.*
By Sara F. Matthews-Grieco 921
- ALESSANDRO STANZIANI. *Rules of Exchange: French Capitalism in Comparative Perspective, Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries.*
By Amalia D. Kessler 922
- DOMINIQUE KIRCHNER REILL. *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice.*
By James Bjork 923
- DANIEL B. SCHWARTZ. *The First Modern Jew: Spinoza and the History of an Image.*
By Adam S. Ferziger 923
- BERNARD WASSERSTEIN. *On the Eve: The Jews of Europe before the Second World War.*
By Steven E. Aschheim 924
- MICHAEL DAVID-FOX, PETER HOLQUIST, and ALEXANDER M. MARTIN, editors. *Fascination and Enmity: Russia and Germany as Entangled Histories, 1914–1945.*
By Eric Lohr 926
- MARJORIE KENISTON MCINTOSH. *Poor Relief in England, 1350–1600.*
By Susannah Ottaway 927
- CHRIS R. KYLE. *Theater of State: Parliament and Political Culture in Early Stuart England.*
By Phil Withington 928
- JOANNE BAILEY. *Parenting in England, 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity, and Generation.*
By H. R. French 928
- ASHOK MALHOTRA. *Making British Indian Fictions, 1772–1823.*
By Durba Ghosh 929
- AILEEN FYFE. *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820–1860.*
By John Feather 930
- LEAH PRICE. *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain.*
By Philip Waller 931
- SARA L. MAURER. *The Dispossessed State: Narratives of Ownership in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Ireland.*
By N. C. Fleming 932
- THERESA JILL BUCKLAND. *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870–1920.*
By Brenda Assael 933
- HELEN MCCARTHY. *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c. 1918–1945.*
By George Egerton 934

- TOM BUCHANAN. *East Wind: China and the British Left, 1925–1976.*
By Ariane Knüsel 935
- JAMES HEVIA. *The Imperial Security State: British Colonial Knowledge and Empire-Building in Asia.*
By Randolph G. S. Cooper 935
- DAVID FRENCH. *Army, Empire, and Cold War: The British Army and Military Policy, 1945–1971.*
By Simon Ball 936
- DAVID FRENCH. *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency, 1945–1967;* VICTORIA NOLAN. *Military Leadership and Counterinsurgency: The British Army and Small War Strategy since World War II.*
By Andrew Stewart 937
- DAVID CANNADINE, JENNY KEATING, and NICOLA SHELDON. *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England.*
By Stephen Heathorn 939
- RICHARD PURKISS. *Democracy, Trade Unions and Political Violence in Spain: The Valencian Anarchist Movement, 1918–1936.*
By George Esenwein 939
- HELEN GRAHAM. *The War and Its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century.*
By Stanley G. Payne 941
- LIANA VARDI. *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment.*
By John Shovlin 941
- MICHAEL J. HUGHES. *Forging Napoleon's Grande Armée: Motivation, Military Culture, and Masculinity in the French Army, 1800–1808.*
By Wayne Hanley 942
- MARTIN S. STAUM. *Nature and Nurture in French Social Sciences, 1859–1914 and Beyond.*
By Theodore M. Porter 943
- JACKIE CLARKE. *France in the Age of Organization: Factory, Home and Nation from the 1920s to Vichy.*
By Kristen Stromberg Childers 944
- EMILE PERREAU-SAUSSINE. *Catholicism and Democracy: An Essay in the History of Political Thought.*
By Paul Cohen 945
- LAURENT KESTEL. *La conversion politique: Doriot, le PPF et la question du fascisme français.*
By Paul Mazgaj 946
- MARC H. LERNER. *A Laboratory of Liberty: The Transformation of Political Culture in Republican Switzerland, 1750–1848.*
By Mike Rapport 947
- YAIR MINTZKER. *The Defortification of the German City, 1689–1866.*
By Christopher R. Friedrichs 948
- DENISE PHILLIPS. *Acolytes of Nature: Defining Natural Science in Germany, 1770–1850.*
By Nathaniel Wolloch 949
- BARRY A. JACKISCH. *The Pan-German League and Radical Nationalist Politics in Interwar Germany, 1918–39.*
By Dennis Sweeney 950
- SHARON GILLERMAN. *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic.*
By Nils H. Roemer 951
- CHRISTOPHER J. PROBST. *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany.*
By James M. Stayer 951
- ROBERT LOEFFEL. *Family Punishment in Nazi Germany: Sippenhaft, Terror and Myth.*
By Michelle Mouton 952
- DANIEL PICK. *The Pursuit of the Nazi Mind: Hitler, Hess, and the Analysts.*
By Geoffrey Cocks 953
- SEAN BRENNAN. *The Politics of Religion in Soviet-Occupied Germany: The Case of Berlin-Brandenburg 1945–1949.*
By Mark Edward Ruff 954
- QUINN SLOBODIAN. *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany.*
By Detlef Siegfried 955
- ANDREAS GLAESER. *Political Epistemics: The Secret Police, the Opposition, and the End of East German Socialism.*
By Paul Maddrell 956
- PHILIP GAVITT. *Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence.*
By Giovanna Benadusi 956
- GABRIEL GUARINO. *Representing the King's Splendour: Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms of Power in Viceregal Naples.*
By Michael J. Levin 957
- DOMENICO BERTOLONI MELI. *Mechanism, Experiment, Disease: Marcello Malpighi and Seventeenth-Century Anatomy.*
By Guido Giglioni 958
- EMMA FATTORINI. *Hitler, Mussolini, and the Vatican: Pope Pius XI and the Speech That Was Never Made.*
By Roy Domenico 959
- BEN SHEPHERD. *Terror in the Balkans: German Armies and Partisan Warfare.*
By Alex J. Kay 960
- ARMINA GALIJAŠ. *Eine bosnische Stadt im Zeichen des Krieges: Ethnopolitik und Alltag in Banja Luka (1990–1995).*
By Mark Biondich 961
- PATRICK HYDER PATTERSON. *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia.*
By Marie-Janine Calic 962
- ERIC LOHR. *Russian Citizenship: From Empire to Soviet Union.*
By Andreas Fahrmeir 963
- TRACY McDONALD. *Face to the Village: The Riazan Countryside under Soviet Rule, 1921–1930.*
By James W. Heinzen 963
- STEPHEN VELYCHENKO. *State Building in Revolutionary Ukraine: A Comparative Study of Governments and Bureaucrats, 1917–1922.*
By Serhy Yekelchuk 965
- ALI İĞMEN. *Speaking Soviet with an Accent: Culture and Power in Kyrgyzstan.*
By Shoshana Keller 965
- MICHAEL DAVID-FOX. *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921–1941.*
By Evgeny Dobrenko 966
- ANNE E. GORSUCH. *All This Is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin.*
By Kristin Roth-Ey 967
- MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA
- IAN S. MOYER. *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism.*
By John Dillery 968

NELLY HANNA. <i>Artisan Entrepreneurs in Cairo and Early-Modern Capitalism (1600–1800).</i> By Murat Cizakca	969	RAYMOND JONAS. <i>The Battle of Adwa: African Victory in the Age of Empire.</i> By Paulos Milkias	974
ZIAD FAHMY. <i>Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation through Popular Culture.</i> By Michael J. Reimer	970	BRUCE S. HALL. <i>A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960.</i> By Sean Hanretta	975
NADER SOHRABI. <i>Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran.</i> By Fatma Müge Göçek	971		
NOGA EFRATI. <i>Women in Iraq: Past Meets Present.</i> By Reeve Spector Simon	972		
JONATHAN CONANT. <i>Staying Roman: Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439–700.</i> By David Cherry	972		
RICHARD J. REID. <i>Frontiers of Violence in North-East Africa: Genealogies of Conflict since c.1800.</i> By Tricia Redeker Hepner	973		

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

T. JACK THOMPSON. <i>Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.</i> By Max Quanchi	976
ERIC ALLINA. <i>Slavery by Any Other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique.</i> By Allen Isaacman	977

Collected Essays

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

RILA MUKHERJEE, editor. <i>Oceans Connect: Reflections on Water Worlds across Time and Space.</i>	979
RAPHAËLLE BRANCHE and FABRICE VIRGILI, editors. <i>Rape in Wartime.</i>	979

ASIA

ROBERT PECKHAM and DAVID M. POMFRET, editors. <i>Imperial Contagions: Medicine, Hygiene, and Cultures of Planning in Asia.</i>	979
CHUNJUAN NANCY WEI and DARRYL E. BROCK, editors. <i>Mr. Science and Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution: Science and Technology in Modern China.</i>	980

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ROBERT ENGLEBERT and GUILLAUME TEASDALE, editors. <i>French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630–1815.</i>	980
MICHAEL J. PFEIFER, editor. <i>Lynching beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence outside the South.</i>	980

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

JESSICA STITES MOR, editor. <i>Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America.</i>	980
---	-----

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MARY C. FLANNERY and KATIE L. WALTER, editors. <i>The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England.</i>	980
---	-----

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

CHARLOTTE ASHBY, TAG GRONBERG, and SIMON SHAW-MILLER, editors. <i>The Viennese Café and Fin-de-siècle Culture.</i>	981
--	-----

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

TOBY GREEN, editor. <i>Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Precolonial Western Africa.</i>	981
---	-----

Documents and Bibliographies	982	Index	991
Other Books Received	984	Index of Advertisers	24(a)
Communications	990		

Topical Table of Contents

Administration	Environment/Landscape
834, 836, 844, 845, 854, 861, 936, 937	848, 875, 897, 898, 902, 913
Agriculture	Ethnicity
867, 868, 874, 908, 963	818, 820, 831, 833, 860, 861, 863, 869, 870, 871, 961
Anthropology/Archaeology	Exploration/Travel
943	877, 976
Art/Architecture	Family
875, 920	852, 903, 915, 928, 952, 956, 972
Biography	Film/Photography
817, 855, 857, 866, 875	869, 875, 879, 880, 967, 976
Body	Food/Drink
894, 921, 933	875
Business/Finance	Foreign Relations/Diplomatic
811, 875, 876, 877, 896, 922, 930, 969	822, 823, 825, 830, 886, 887, 889, 890, 891, 892, 898, 934, 935, 959, 966, 977
Careers/Professions	Frontiers/Borderlands
892, 894	815, 818, 830, 860, 923, 973
Childhood/Youth	Gay/Lesbian
883, 928	862, 896
Class	Gender
882, 902, 905, 909, 933, 971	821, 841, 852, 867, 869, 894, 896, 903, 909, 956
Colonial/Postcolonial	Genocide
802, 817, 824, 825, 829, 833, 834, 836, 837, 838, 843, 845, 899, 900, 929, 935, 937, 968, 975, 977	859, 924
Comparative	Health/Disease
822, 824, 828, 829, 865, 888, 922	820, 846, 857, 861, 894
Constitutional	Historiography
845, 904, 971	814, 853, 865, 912, 916, 917, 976
Consumption/Consumers	Identity
905, 906, 962	815, 825, 837, 839, 851, 860, 866, 881, 909, 917, 923, 928, 962, 970, 972
Crime/Violence	Ideology
816, 817, 846, 865, 878, 879, 889, 941, 952, 960, 973	844, 946
Cultural	Immigration/Migration
811, 823, 827, 834, 840, 841, 860, 875, 879, 880, 881, 884, 901, 905, 910, 921, 924, 926, 933, 939, 942, 947, 957, 965, 966, 967, 968, 972	817, 823, 832, 833, 835, 862, 863, 866, 874, 906, 955, 963
Demography	Indigenous Peoples
898, 924	835, 838, 839, 840, 851, 859, 866, 885
Diasporas	Industry
831	842, 864, 930, 977
Domesticity/Domestic	Institutions
867, 928	822, 878, 879, 885, 892, 896, 927, 934, 935, 944, 956, 969, 972
Economic	Intellectual
806, 811, 832, 896, 900, 902, 941, 944, 962, 969	804, 848, 912, 914, 919, 923, 935, 941, 943, 949, 953
Education/Students	Labor
804, 839, 840, 909, 939, 949, 954, 955	832, 871, 872, 873, 874, 894, 904, 906, 935, 939
Elites	Language/Linguistics
837, 854, 886, 887, 910, 933	831, 843, 968
Empire	Legal/Legislative
802, 815, 816, 817, 824, 825, 830, 833, 835, 838, 842, 888, 889, 901, 913, 914, 929, 932, 935, 957, 972, 974, 975	845, 849, 852, 854, 860, 862, 863, 870, 878, 915, 922, 927, 928, 963

- Leisure/Entertainment
883, 933
- Literature
804, 835, 840, 847, 848, 916, 929, 931, 932, 968
- Local/Regional
843, 844, 859, 864, 883, 884, 916, 971
- Masculinity/Men
841, 908, 942
- Material Culture
841, 842, 931
- Media/Communications
835, 846, 876, 877, 883
- Medicine
820, 827, 828, 857, 861, 894, 896, 958
- Memory
819, 821, 825, 853, 912, 917, 923
- Methods
806, 814
- Military
825, 850, 856, 935, 936, 937, 941, 942, 948, 960
- National Histories
847, 850, 939, 945, 946, 970
- Nationalism
816, 829, 831, 835, 850, 876, 881, 909, 923, 941,
950, 961, 973, 974
- Nobility
915
- Oral History
952, 956, 970
- Peace
890, 936
- Peasants
963
- Philanthropy
821, 956
- Philosophy
847, 919, 923
- Political
809, 816, 818, 819, 822, 823, 833, 836, 841, 844,
845, 847, 853, 854, 855, 857, 858, 859, 866, 868,
873, 879, 886, 887, 890, 891, 892, 893, 896, 909,
910, 912, 913, 914, 926, 928, 935, 939, 945, 946,
947, 950, 954, 955, 956, 962, 963, 965, 966, 967
- Print/Print Culture
806, 846, 850, 877, 928, 930, 931
- Psychology/Psychiatry
953
- Public History
821
- Race/Racism
802, 809, 820, 851, 856, 858, 860, 868, 869, 870,
871, 872, 873, 882, 883, 884, 896, 901, 950, 951,
952, 974, 975
- Reform
809, 904, 907
- Religion
836, 837, 839, 843, 845, 880, 881, 899, 907, 945,
951, 954, 959, 975
- Revolution
849, 901, 939, 947, 965, 971, 974
- Rhetoric/Propaganda
814, 912, 918, 928
- Ritual/Celebration
957
- Rural
867, 963
- Science/Technology
827, 828, 864, 894, 896, 902, 913, 919, 920, 930,
943, 949, 958
- Sexuality
832, 862, 870, 908, 921
- Slavery
817, 825, 848, 849, 851, 852, 855, 899, 901, 910,
977
- Social History
858, 860, 865, 868, 885, 900, 906, 924, 949, 965
- Social Movements
809, 845, 866, 873, 884, 885, 893, 897, 939
- Social Policy
882, 927, 951
- Space/Place
821, 835, 838, 866, 874, 875
- Sports
909
- State-Building/States
857, 887, 891, 932, 944, 965
- Theater
965
- Theology
907, 951
- Theory
820, 847, 849
- Tourism
877, 966, 967
- Trade
842, 900
- Urban/Suburban
802, 872, 882, 884, 897, 903, 948, 961
- Wars
816, 818, 819, 821, 824, 830, 850, 853, 856, 857,
858, 887, 888, 890, 918, 926, 934, 935, 936, 937,
948, 953, 960, 961, 963
- Women
821, 832, 841, 857, 866, 867, 893, 894, 903, 954,
965, 972
- World
802, 811, 824, 825, 829, 832, 934, 955

In This Issue

The June issue includes two articles and an *AHR* Forum. The articles deal with censorship in England and nationalism in the Balkans, both in the twentieth century, while the forum offers several perspectives on how we should think about prehistories. There are also five featured reviews, followed by our usual extensive book review section. "In Back Issues" draws attention to articles and features in the *AHR* from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago.

Articles

When the prosecutor in a high-profile trial in London in 1960 asked the jury to consider whether D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* constituted appropriate reading material for their wives and their servants, he made a gaffe that started an inquest into the social assumptions of English obscenity law. In "'Is It a Book That You Would Even Wish Your Wife or Your Servants to Read?'" *Obscenity Law and the Politics of Reading in Modern England*," **Christopher Hilliard** confronts the assumption, rooted in Victorian arguments about citizenship, that a book might be safe for privileged men to read, but not safe for women or working-class people. His article examines how English obscenity law kept those ideas, especially with regard to social class, in motion after they had lost their relevance elsewhere in public life. Indeed, the legal convention of "variable obscenity" unraveled in the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial as the defense exploited new legislation permitting expert-witness testimony to press for a more democratic politics of reading. The article presents a case study in the irregularity of cultural change and explores a conception of "freedom of expression" very different from American and subsequent British understandings of it.

In "Sudden Nationhood: The Microdynamics of Intercommunal Relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina after World War II," **Max Bergholz** explores how nationhood can suddenly become a powerful lens through which ordinary people interpret their world. Focusing on one Bosnian community torn apart by intercommunal violence in 1941, he uncovers the postwar phenomenon of what he calls "sudden nationhood." Local conflicts, which often had little to do with "ethnic conflict," could trigger individuals to interpret incidents through mental categories of ethnicity derived from traumatic experiences and memories of violence. In those highly charged moments,

an antagonistic sense of “us” and “them” would rapidly crystallize. The concept of sudden nationhood suggests a need to reflect on the limits of influential analytical frameworks used to explain nationhood, such as models that stress its emergence in response to modernization, as well as recent work on “national indifference.” Bergholz’s history of a community in Bosnia-Herzegovina demonstrates not only that an eventful perspective can be useful in accounting for sudden surges in nationhood, but also that their micro-mechanisms can be grasped by analyzing linkages among the sometimes isolated scholarly fields of violence, memory, and nationalism.

AHR Forum

The *AHR* Forum, “Investigating the History in Prehistories,” presents four approaches to the category of the “pre”—what is often considered a “time before time,” a period before true history begins, or an era characterized by stasis or a lack of important development. In short, the articles interrogate a commonplace in historical thinking and writing.

In “History and the ‘Pre,’” **Daniel Lord Smail** and **Andrew Shryock** explore a type of historical argument, common in recent writing about the past, that invokes the “pre.” The “pre,” they say, is vital to certain kinds of arguments; it can be used to justify claims of revolution, accelerating change, or the invention of agency. Evocation of the “pre” can give clarity to the “post”—including the postcolonial, post-modern, and postindustrial—but it also renders deep time invisible. Smail and Shryock offer a model for crafting deep historical arguments that do not depend on the invocation of “pre” or “post.” They question the centrality of agency and contingency to the construction of modern(ist) historical accounts, showing how these ideas draw history away from the deep past and ever closer to the present. Finally, using the shell bead as a simple example, they suggest other ways of imagining and writing about deep history.

In “Women, Men, and Cycles of Evangelism in the Southwest Borderlands, A.D. 750 to 1750,” **James F. Brooks** looks at the impact of four evangelical movements—the “Chaco Phenomenon,” the Katsina religion, Franciscan Catholicism, and Po’pay’s Revolt—on popular beliefs and gender dynamics in the Southwest borderlands of North America. Over the course of a thousand years of increasing social complexity in the ancestral Puebloan world, he says, the rise and fall of these four “big ideas” brought about a dynamic reorganization of popular religious, cultural, and political beliefs, as well as changes in the power relations between women and men. Whereas the Chacoan world and Katsina evangelism were marked by male domination and a loss of prestige for women, Brooks shows that with the arrival of Franciscan Catholicism during the years of Spanish colonial rule, women in the region were able to experiment with new ways to explore and express the social and spiritual power that were denied them in earlier times. This, Brooks tells us, “may help to explain one conundrum in Southwestern history—the ambivalence with which Pueblo peoples first encountered Catholicism, and the relative ease and devotion with which

they, especially women, reaffirmed their commitment to Catholicism in the eighteenth century following the Spanish reconquest—a form of pious expression still powerful today.”

Observers of India’s history have long applied periodizations of different kinds to its longer-term trajectories, some representing these in terms of continuities, others in terms of great ruptures. In common with many other colonial histories, the meanings of “modernity” in the Indian setting have proved most difficult to capture. Some historians have seen a profound discontinuity between the communitarian cultures of precolonial India and the forms of capitalist modernity that emerged in India during the colonial period. In “Contested Conjunctures: Brahman Communities and ‘Early Modernity’ in India,” **Rosalind O’Hanlon** presents evidence from India’s “early modern” centuries that makes such arguments difficult to sustain. With its well-developed bureaucratic states, its position as the world’s premier exporter of craft manufactures, and the ties of trade that linked it with West and Central Asia and the Indian Ocean world, India stood very much at the center of the global “conjuncture” that marked the world’s history from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. These elements of “early” modernity were also visible within the social histories of India’s regions. Communities of local scribal specialists, principally Brahmans, played a key role in serving India’s bureaucratic states and their cash-based economies, developing its regimes of property rights, promoting new discourses of “Hindu” religious identity, and elaborating novel all-India caste classifications as a means of underpinning their own social authority. In the face of this evidence, it seems difficult to deny that “early” forms of modernity emerged in the world outside Europe, or to view India’s precolonial centuries as a world of the “pre,” impelled abruptly into “modernity” only with the coming of the colonial state.

Akinwumi Ogundiran, in “The End of Prehistory? An Africanist Comment,” notes that arbitrary demarcations of time, bearing the stamp of nationalist and colonial legacies, continue to shape the way historical knowledge is produced and consumed. And he asserts that this truncated historiography is an obstacle to developing emancipatory and expansive historical consciousness. However, Africanist historical scholarship on the deep past interrogates the artificiality and linearity of time that documentary sources have imposed on historical thought, especially in the form of the reified dichotomies between prehistory and history, premodern and modern, and precolonial and colonial. Reflecting on the three essays in this forum, Ogundiran’s comment explores the problems and challenges of writing history across “deep time” and “vast spaces.” It requires, indeed, nothing less than fundamental epistemological changes. But Ogundiran also warns against resorting to a uniformitarian science of generic “man,” guided by a decontextualized ecological, neurological, and genetic determinism that purports to find the ultimate causative explanations for human experience.

In Back Issues

In the hope of encouraging readers to dip into the long history of scholarship contained in the pages of the *American Historical Review* (now in the 118th year of its publishing history), and to take advantage of the digital availability of this archive to most readers, the *AHR* editors offer a look back at issues from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago. What follows is not a comprehensive survey of the contents of those issues, but rather a glance at some of the articles and other features that might be of interest, or even of use, today.

Volume 18, Number 4 (July 1913)

The July 1913 issue contains five articles and three “documents,” the latter of which all deal with relations between the U.S. and either Great Britain or France in the eighteenth century. Two of the articles are also on English or British history: “The Court of Star Chamber,” by Edward P. Cheyney (who would serve as president of the American Historical Association in 1922–1923), and “The Development of the Cabinet, 1688–1760,” by Edward Raymond Turner. Both are workmanlike and informative.

Another article, “The Interpretation of History,” is by J. T. Shotwell, who both studied and taught at Columbia University, and was a lifelong activist in the areas of labor and human rights. His essay essentially lays out, in good “progressive” fashion (he was a colleague of Charles Beard), a justification of history as a kindred discipline to science. Like science, the development of historical knowledge is cumulative—just as with the material world, the more we know about the past, the more its meaning will be revealed. Theories and philosophies of history are useful—Shotwell writes approvingly of Kant, Hegel, Marx, Buckle, and others—but these are limited and destined to be surpassed by the very historical investigations they inspire. “Each new theory that forces itself upon the attention of historians,” he writes, “brings up new data for their consideration and so widens the field of investigation.”

In “Anent the Middle Ages,” George Lincoln Burr—still well known today for his edition of documents on New England witchcraft cases—engages in an extended consideration of how we should think about the chronological boundaries of the Middle Ages, both its beginning and its end. While he presents arguments for a temporally expansive notion of this period, his real point, it seems, is to demonstrate the relativism and fluidity of any historical period. All conceptions of periodization are open to interrogation. Moreover, he admonishes, we must acknowledge that no periods are universal in relevance. The Middle Ages, “even if justified, can be so only for Christendom—only, perhaps, for Latin Christendom—and, even for Latin Christendom, it is but a single phase of the infinitely complex life of men.”

Finally, the lead article in this issue is really a report by the Editor of the *AHR*, J. Franklin Jameson, on the International Congress of Historical Studies, held two months earlier in London. It is interesting primarily as a document of its times, revealing the enthusiasms and prejudices of contemporary scholars. For example, in the presidential address to the congress by James Bryce, it was noted that the study of history had expanded because of three recent developments: the “study of primitive man”; archeological findings in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and Asia; and “the progress of modern geographical discovery, and of conquest and settlement,” which, “by bringing within our ken the habits and manners, the religious ideas and rudimentary political institutions, of a large number of backward races and tribes scattered over the earth, has given us a fuller and more lively idea both of primeval savagery and of the state of those more advanced barbarian tribes whom the ancient authorities describe as they found them the lying outside the bounds of the classical world.”

Volume 43, Number 4 (July 1938)

Among the offerings in the July 1938 issue, two are likely to interest today's readers. One, “London Merchant Interest in the St. Domingue Plantations of the *Émigrés*, 1793–1798,” listed under “Notes and Suggestions,” is a very interesting look at Britain's financial and political relationship to that Caribbean island in the period following the great slave revolt. The author is Carl Ludwig Lokke, a scholar who worked in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and who apparently had a longstanding interest in the West Indies, especially French colonialism in the eighteenth century. (Indeed, research he accumulated on this subject between 1918 and 1960 is on deposit at Duke University.) His short piece provides a detailed view of British investments and holdings on the island, and also shows how merchants spurred Britain's ultimately unsuccessful attempt to regain control of the island after the French were forced to abandon it.

The other interesting piece, by Anna Lane Lingelbach, at first does not seem very promising, at least from its title: “William Huskisson as President of the Board of Trade.” Lingelbach, a member of the faculty of Temple University, was probably the leading scholar of the British Board of Trade, which was crucial in shaping commercial policy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This is, in fact, what makes her article so compelling: through her study of Huskisson, who served as the board's president from 1823 to 1827, she illustrates the intersection of government trade policy, and especially how it was reformed under Huskisson's guidance, and the developing opportunities open to British merchants and industrialists. She shows Huskisson as a savvy, knowledgeable, enlightened, sometimes beleaguered public servant, who nevertheless was largely responsible for guiding Britain onto the path of free trade. Her account also demonstrates, in case there was any doubt, that creating the modalities of free trade required a relentless process of governmental guidance, administration, and often pressure, especially on those commercial and industrial elements that resisted it. (Although Lingelbach does not mention this, Huskisson's posthumous fame is due in part to the highly dubious distinction of his having been the first person to die in a railroad accident.)

Volume 68, Number 4 (July 1963)

The July 1963 issue contains five articles that, together, offer a snapshot of the discipline fifty years ago. They range from traditional approaches to well-established subjects to examples of the new social history just then beginning to make itself felt in departments of history in the U.S. The lead article, "Overlord Revisited: An Interpretation of American Strategy in the European War, 1942–1944," by Richard M. Leighton, is a work of military and diplomatic history, which takes issue with what was apparently a widely held assumption: that the U.S. and Britain maintained fundamentally different strategic approaches to the goal of defeating Germany. Leighton claims that this supposed opposition—an American vision of a conquest of Europe via a cross-channel invasion into northern France versus a British belief that the best path to victory lay along the Mediterranean periphery and into the Balkans—is nothing but a "myth." Like most good historians, he delves beneath the surface of seductive generalities, showing that wartime strategy was rarely the result of hard and fixed positions, but rather emerged from the interplay of internal debates, personalities, circumstances, and the pragmatic considerations that normally govern military strategic choices. While Leighton ultimately comes to an understanding of the Allies' strategy as "a logical consummation of the coalition design of 'closing and tightening the ring' about Hitler's Europe," he does not underestimate the different orientations of the British and Americans. For example, he notes that in the U.S. strategists' acceptance of the value of incursions into the Mediterranean and southeast Europe, there were limitations to their appreciation, a perception that hints at the intellectual and cultural factors in fashioning strategy that interest today's historians of foreign policy. Writes Leighton, in a comment loaded with implications, "The area to the east, which staff papers often alluded to indiscriminately as 'the Balkans,' was regarded by American strategists with something akin to the superstitious dread with which medieval mariners once contemplated the unknown monster infested reaches of the Western Ocean."

In "Hitler and the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*," Reginald H. Phelps also takes on a myth. The mythmaker here is Hitler himself. In *Mein Kampf* (1925–1926), the future Nazi leader made a point of dramatizing his obscure origins, and especially his place immediately following Germany's defeat in the Great War among "the millions that chance allows to live or die." This, as Phelps points out, is all in service to his claim to self-transformation from an ill-used soldier, "one of the nameless ones," to the new Siegfried. "He stylizes his life into . . . the male Cinderella, with the story of 1919–1920 as the central episode in his saga of the boy from Braunau who was to save Germany." In order to do this, however, he had to efface the real nature of his early involvement with the German Workers' Party in the years immediately following the war. Phelps documents the activities of "this ridiculous little creation" (Hitler's description), showing not only how its first leaders articulated many of the beliefs and programs that Hitler would soon embrace, but also that Hitler owed the first glimmers of his public notoriety to a party that he retrospectively looked down upon with contempt.

Two articles in this issue might be considered bookends. "The Exiled Revolutionaries and the French Political Police in the 1850's," by Howard C. Payne and Henry

Grosshans, and "The Changing Outlines of 1848," by Peter Amann, both focus on aspects of the same period, and largely on France. Payne and Grosshans offer a group portrait of the approximately 1,000 political exiles in England following the end of the Second Republic and the rise to power of Louis Napoleon. Their findings are, in part, the result of the labor of the "political police," who were responsible for monitoring and documenting the activities of these erstwhile revolutionaries. Thus, their article is really about the two groups most dedicated to the idea of a "red specter"—those charged to combat it and the defeated revolutionaries, both of whom were invested in magnifying its dimensions.

Amann's article is a prelude to a total reinterpretation of the Revolution of 1848. He combats several assumptions about the upheaval, primarily its basis in class conflict and its reputation as purely an urban phenomenon. Relying upon recent work of social history, including his own, Amann demonstrates the preindustrial nature of the Parisian economy, which cannot be described in terms of class conflict between a capitalist bourgeoisie and proletarians. He also shows that it was an affair of the countryside and peasants as much as the urban populace. His findings are in sync with those of other historians at the time who also were beginning to discover that the *ancien régime* could not be squeezed into the Marxist categories of either feudalism or capitalism. But, again like many other contemporary social historians, Amann was less interested in the particular dynamics of revolutions than in what they could reveal about the deeper social order. "Revolutions . . .," he concludes, "permit the historian to penetrate beneath tradition and routine to reveal, if only briefly, the machinery of a society in all its fascinating complexity."

The last article in this issue is by John Clive, the British historian perhaps best known for his biography of Thomas Macaulay, which won the National Book Award in 1974. "British History, 1870–1914, Reconsidered: Recent Trends in the Historiography of the Period" is, as the title indicates, a review essay. And, conforming to the standards of this important genre of scholarship, Clive here provides serviceable and mostly unremarkable summaries of and comments on a range of books. His approach is guided by the assumption of a recent "revolution in historical writing," which exhibits an awareness of the "interconnectedness of . . . spheres"—"political, social, economic, and cultural"—that historians were once content to treat separately. He celebrates the turn to social history, "from its original position as residuary legatee for those aspects of history which would not fit the traditional categories of politics, great men, and battles to a new position where the history of society is history." He endorses many aspects of the new social history, including local history, demography, quantification, structural analysis, and borrowings from the social sciences. But he is also skeptical of overly analytical approaches, especially those seeking to discover the causes of historical experiences. This is to do an "injustice" to the richness and variety of the past. But "such injustice," he concedes, "is, of course, built into the very process of writing history." And then he quotes Alexander Pope: "Like following life through creatures you dissect, / You lose it in the moment you detect."



Not WANTED

British prosecutor Mervyn Griffith-Jones in a mock “wanted” poster from the satirical magazine *Private Eye* in 1963. Griffith-Jones, who had led the prosecution in the famous *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* trial in 1960 and had failed to convince a jury that the book’s publisher should be found guilty under the new Obscene Publications Act, was wanted by the police, claimed the accompanying text, “for crimes involving ‘obscenity, distortion, cant, snobbery, humbug, evasion and hypocrisy’ . . . It was he, you will remember, who asked the Lady Chatterl[e]y jury, ‘Is it a book that you would even wish your wife or your servants to read?’ ” *Private Eye*, August 23, 1963, 14. Reproduced by kind permission of *Private Eye* magazine (www.private-eye.co.uk).

“Is It a Book That You Would Even Wish Your Wife or Your Servants to Read?” Obscenity Law and the Politics of Reading in Modern England

CHRISTOPHER HILLIARD

WHEN A LONDON JURY ACQUITTED Penguin Books of obscenity charges in November of 1960, they made a decision that quickly became part of a larger narrative of liberalization. But in the folklore of the 1960s in Britain, the prosecution's disastrous question on the first day has become almost as significant as the verdict.¹ The complete text of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, D. H. Lawrence's sexually explicit novel about an affair between an aristocrat and her husband's gamekeeper, had never been legally available in Britain. Emboldened by the 1959 Obscene Publications Act, which made literary merit a defense, Penguin published an unexpurgated edition the following year. To the surprise of the new law's backers, the company was charged with publishing an obscene book.² The trial attracted intense interest. The judge, Mr. Justice Byrne, and the prosecuting counsel, Mervyn Griffith-Jones, were held up as

This article was Jon Lawrence's idea. He, Matt Houlbrook, Peter Mandler, Susan Pedersen, and James Vernon read drafts, and their perceptive critiques helped me to rethink my arguments and assumptions. Andrew Fitzmaurice, Kirsten McKenzie, Stephen Robertson, and Shane White made much-appreciated comments on the manuscript at a critical stage in the revision process. The *AHR*'s editors and anonymous readers helped broaden the article's reach and shore up its arguments, and I am indebted to Jane Lyle and her team for their painstaking editing. My thanks also to Laura Beers, Saliha Belmessous, David Cahill, Huw Clayton, Marco Duranti, Hannah Forsyth, Sarah Graham, Martyn Lyons, Iain McCalman, Peter McDonald, Robert Scoble, Glenda Sluga, and Natasha Wheatley for their comments and suggestions, and to Peter Allender, Rhiannon Davis, and Jennie Taylor for research assistance. This research was made possible by a fellowship from the Australian Research Council (Discovery Project 1093097).

¹ Geoffrey Robertson, "The Trial of Lady Chatterley's Lover," *The Guardian*, October 22, 2010; Steve Hare, "The Tumultuous Trial of 'Lady Chatterley's Lover,'" *Daily Telegraph*, November 1, 2010; Peter Hennessy, *Having It So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London, 2006), 512; Kenneth O. Morgan, *Britain since 1945: The People's Peace* (Oxford, 2001), 186; Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958–c.1974* (Oxford, 1998), 146–147.

² H. Montgomery Hyde, ed., *The Lady Chatterley's Lover Trial (Regina v. Penguin Books Limited)* (London, 1990), 161. The most thoroughly researched account of the preparations for and aftermath of the trial is Alistair McCleery, "Lady Chatterley's Lover Re-Covered," *Publishing History* 59 (2006): 61–84. Strangely, McCleery passes over the trial itself, and so neglects some of the most important archival material bearing on the case, such as the lawyer's brief discussed later in this article. Other detailed accounts include Sean Matthews, "The Trial of Lady Chatterley's Lover: 'The Most Thorough and Expensive Seminar on Lawrence's Work Ever Given,'" in Howard J. Booth, ed., *New D. H. Lawrence* (Manchester, 2009), 169–191; Jeremy Lewis, *Penguin Special: The Life and Times of Allen Lane* (London, 2005), chap. 18. On the novel's publishing history and earlier entanglements with the law, see Michael Squires, introduction to D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover; A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover*, ed. Squires (Cambridge, 1993), xvii–lx, here xxviii–xl; John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Life of an Outsider* (London, 2005), chaps. 23–25.

uncomprehending representatives of a moral code and an elitism whose time had passed. Griffith-Jones asked the jury whether *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was "a book that you would even wish your wife or your servants to read."³

A veteran of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremburg, Griffith-Jones was used to cutting an intimidating figure in court. But when he asked this question, some of the jurors laughed.⁴ Three of them were women, and by 1960 very few British families employed live-in servants—certainly not the dock laborer, the teacher, the butcher, the dress machinist, the foreman, the driver, and the several salesmen in the jury pool.⁵ The literary critic Richard Hoggart, one of Penguin's star witnesses, remarked many years later that Griffith-Jones's question "crystallised the gulf between the Britain even of 1960 and the understanding of his time by a man brought up in a closed, archaic world."⁶ The reference to wives and servants was a blunt reminder that the question of who could be trusted to read what was a question about social difference. And the way the law reproduced social judgments that could appear anachronistic raises the larger problem of the relationship between legal processes and cultural change.⁷

The *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial was the last sortie of a convention that had held since the nineteenth century: that material the authorities would ban if it were produced for a mass audience did not necessarily warrant prohibition if it was directed toward a privileged readership in whose judgment the courts could have more faith. Ian Hunter, David Saunders, and Dugald Williamson have called this principle "variable obscenity."⁸ It was licensed, though not prescribed, by the leading English obscenity case. In *The Queen v. Hicklin* (1868), Chief Justice Cockburn declared: "I think the test of obscenity is this, whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall."⁹ With its combination of orotundity and elasticity, Cockburn's definition of obscenity rapidly be-

³ The National Archives, Kew [hereafter TNA], Director of Public Prosecutions, DPP 2/3077, pt. 4, "Central Criminal Court. Old Bailey, London, E.C.4, Thursday, 20th October, 1960. Before: Mr Justice Byrne. Regina v Penguin Books Limited . . . Transcript of the Shorthand Notes of George Walpole & Co., Official Shorthand Writers to the Central Criminal Court . . . First Day," 14; Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley's Lover Trial*, 62. When quoting statements in court, I usually rely on Hyde's edition, which is based on the court stenographers' transcripts. C. H. Rolph, ed., *The Trial of Lady Chatterley: Regina v. Penguin Books Limited—The Transcript of the Trial* (Harmondsworth, 1961), rushed out by Penguin after the trial, is often cited, but it is less comprehensive than Hyde's edition. The Rolph volume was probably based on the partial transcripts produced by the Press Association. The courts could be reluctant to make copies of the official transcripts, in which case journalists fell back on what the Press Association provided. See Ludovic Kennedy, *The Trial of Stephen Ward* (London, 1964), 9–10.

⁴ Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley's Lover Trial*, 17; Rolph, *The Trial of Lady Chatterley*, 17. For examples of Griffith-Jones at his most devastating, see Kennedy, *The Trial of Stephen Ward*, 24, 168–169, 181, 209.

⁵ TNA, DPP 2/3077, pt. 1, "Thursday 20 October 1960 at 10.30 a.m. in Court 1"; Selina Todd, "Domestic Service and Class Relations in Britain, 1900–1950," *Past and Present*, no. 203 (May 2009): 181–204, here 188.

⁶ Richard Hoggart, *An Imagined Life: Life and Times*, vol. 3: 1959–91 (1992; repr., Oxford, 1993), 55.

⁷ Although it is informed by the wider context of British history, this article focuses on England. The multiple legal systems operating within the United Kingdom mean that the arguments made here do not fully apply to the other constituent countries, especially to Scotland.

⁸ Ian Hunter, David Saunders, and Dugald Williamson, *On Pornography: Literature, Sexuality and Obscenity Law* (Basingstoke, 1993), 10, 73.

⁹ *The Queen v. Hicklin*, 3 Queen's Bench (1867–1868): 360, at 371.

came authoritative in the British Empire.¹⁰ American courts took it up, too. In the United States, the hypothetical reader whose mind was open to immoral influences was nearly always a young person.¹¹ British courts, however, were also exercised by the vulnerability of working-class readers, and the intellectually and morally fragile female reader was a recurrent figure in prosecutors' closing appeals to juries.¹² The categories of age, class, and gender often coalesced. In the *Hicklin* judgment itself, Cockburn's priority was the moral safety of boys and girls, but he also observed that the salacious anti-Catholic pamphlet at issue in the case was "sold at the corners of streets, and in all directions, and of course it falls into the hands of persons of all classes, young and old."¹³ While Griffith-Jones made only the one, fateful, mention of wives and servants, he referred several times to the working-class youths whom a cheap paperback could reach, and the low price of the Penguin edition was central to the prosecution. The final clause of Cockburn's test for obscenity—"and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall"—was an important qualification. If a book could corrupt some types of vulnerable readers but those readers were unlikely to have access to it, it might be allowed to circulate among a restricted audience, especially if the concerns related to social class. High prices and limited editions could more or less place a volume out of the reach of working-class readers; it was much less feasible for the modern British state to ensure that women would not be exposed to a questionable book while keeping it available to men.

From its mid-nineteenth-century origins to the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial, modern English obscenity law was premised on the figure of the self-governing "liberal subject" that informed Victorian arguments about the body politic—and about the advent of mass literacy. In recent years, Patrick Joyce and other historians have stressed the ways in which quotidian forms of governance—in spheres such as urban design as well as in formal political institutions and regulation—presupposed or constructed such self-restraining individuals.¹⁴ This historiography is informed by the writings of Nikolas Rose and Michel Foucault; its implicit point of departure is Foucault's parable of the Panopticon.¹⁵ However, as Peter Mandler has pointed out, other social and cultural historians working independently of Joyce and who in some cases are unmoved by Foucauldian interpretations have demonstrated "how behavioural norms and patterns were established that made conceivable the retraction of the authoritarian State in some of the ways indicated (though not necessarily for the

¹⁰ Hunter, Saunders, and Williamson, *On Pornography*, 66–73; Deana Heath, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India and Australia* (New York, 2010), 51–52. This was despite the fact that Cockburn's remarks were *obiter dicta*, not a binding precedent. Furthermore, although Cockburn held the title of chief justice, his was not Britain's highest court.

¹¹ Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873–1933* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), 2; Rochelle Gurstein, *The Repeal of Reticence: A History of America's Cultural and Legal Struggles over Free Speech, Obscenity, Sexual Liberation, and Modern Art* (New York, 1996), 187.

¹² *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee on the Obscene Publications Bill, and Appendices, in Session 1956–57* (London, 1958), 109; Lewis, *Penguin Special*, 317.

¹³ *The Queen v. Hicklin*, 3 Queen's Bench (1867–1868): 360, at 372.

¹⁴ Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London, 2003); Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800–1910* (Chicago, 2008), 10–12; Simon Gunn and James Vernon, eds., *The Peculiarities of Liberal Modernity in Imperial Britain* (Berkeley, Calif., 2011).

¹⁵ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (1975; repr., London, 1991), pt. 3, chap. 3.

reasons indicated) by Foucauldian analysis.”¹⁶ So while the phrase “liberal subject” has a frisson of poststructuralism about it, a wide variety of historians agree that the self-governing individual underwrote many of the social and political changes of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Crucially, not everyone met the conditions for liberal subjecthood. From the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1920s, discussions of the franchise and other entitlements were marked by contrasts and exclusions—men weighed against women, financially secure workers contrasted with the improvident, metropolitan Britons compared with colonial subjects.¹⁷ Jon Lawrence has argued, further, that liberalism’s accomplishments in Britain were always complicated by the continuing strength of corporate and hierarchical thinking, so much so that “it might be more fruitful to think in terms of ‘conservative’ rather than ‘liberal’ modernity in the British case.”¹⁸ Obscenity law at once reflected the qualifications inherent in the idea of the liberal subject and the more hierarchical, Tory social vision that Lawrence sees as defining modern British politics and culture.

That Victorian principles remained current in English obscenity law as long as they did is an instance of the uneven dynamic between law and social change. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, obscenity law was in step with the contemporary ideology of citizenship—indeed, the general idea that some readers were more vulnerable than others was given specificity by that ideology. Variable obscenity was not expressly stated or even strongly hinted at in appellate courts’ statements of the legal position. It was not explained in the summaries of obscenity law in digests prepared for the police and justices of the peace.¹⁹ Yet it was widely taken to be the law, governing the rules of thumb that publishers followed and the working knowledge of the law that police officers acquired from their organizational culture and their dealings with prosecutors and other lawyers. These processes of institutional memory maintained variable obscenity as an informal but potent orthodoxy for lawyers,

¹⁶ Peter Mandler, “Introduction: State and Society in Victorian Britain,” in Mandler, ed., *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 2006), 1–21, here 13–18, quotation from 13. See, for example, Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law, and Policy in England, 1830–1914* (Cambridge, 1990), 7–9, 11–12, 60–61.

¹⁷ Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge, 2000); Anna Clark, “Gender, Class, and the Nation: Franchise Reform in England, 1832–1928,” in James Vernon, ed., *Re-reading the Constitution: New Narratives in the Political History of England’s Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), 230–253; Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton, N.J., 2005), 249.

¹⁸ Jon Lawrence, “Paternalism, Class, and the British Path to Modernity,” in Gunn and Vernon, *The Peculiarities of Liberal Modernity*, 147–164, here 147. Lawrence discusses the policing of obscenity as one of a number of areas of governance and public life in which such thinking underwrote paternalist practices (155–156). Compare James Vernon, “What Was Liberalism, and Who Was Its Subject? Or, Will the Real Liberal Subject Please Stand Up?,” *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 2 (2011): 303–310, here 307–308.

¹⁹ John Frederick Archbold, *The Justice of the Peace, and Parish Officer: With the Practice of Country Attorneys in Criminal Cases—Comprising the Whole of the Law Respecting Indictable and Summary Offences, Commitments, Convictions, Orders, &c.*, 7th ed., ed. James Paterson, 3 vols. (London, 1875–1878), 2: 983–984; Samuel Stone, *The Justices’ Manual; or, Guide to the Ordinary Duties of a Justice of the Peace: With Table of Cases, Appendix of Forms, and Table of Punishments*, 26th ed., ed. George B. Kennett (London, 1891), 645–646; *The Metropolitan Police Guide: Being a Compendium of the Law Affecting the Metropolitan Police*, 6th ed., ed. James Roberts (London, 1916), 1274; C. E. Howard Vincent, *Vincent’s Police Code and General Manual of the Criminal Law*, 16th ed., rev. by the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis (London, 1924), 145, 168; Charles Pilley, *Law for Journalists* (London, 1924), 67–68.

law enforcement, and publishers even as its ideological foundations became outdated and untenable in other reaches of British culture, including electoral politics.

The ultimate collapse of variable obscenity was sudden and dramatic. The *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial *did* reflect the way British culture had become increasingly democratized since World War I, as politicians adjusted to universal suffrage and as modern mass culture and modes of consumption cut across older social distinctions.²⁰ But the trial was able to reflect that social change because of the new procedures introduced by the obscenity legislation of the previous year—and because of Griffith-Jones's overreach. His insinuations of working-class readers' frailty provided an opening for Penguin's counsel, the prominent civil libertarian Gerald Gardiner. Gardiner seized on Griffith-Jones's gaffe and made it the starting point for a plea for a more egalitarian censorship regime—a far more audacious argument than the one his brief asked of him. Gardiner also exploited the new Obscene Publications Act's provisions for calling expert witnesses in order to marshal the authority of liberal members of Britain's elite against the attitudes personified by Griffith-Jones. The trial became one of a series of episodes, running from the disastrous Suez intervention of 1956 to the Profumo sex-and-espionage scandal of 1963, in which the judgment and competence of Britain's leaders came under fire and "patrician authority" was publicly interrogated.²¹ Sensing the wider implications of the case, an American writer watching from the gallery said to the English novelist in the neighboring seat: "This is going to be the upper-middle-class English version of our Tennessee Monkey Trial."²²

The arguments turned on the capacities and entitlements of readers rather than on questions of freedom of expression.²³ For a long time, the regulation of speech or writing did not raise awkward questions of liberty for English lawyers.²⁴ In his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, the eighteenth-century jurist William Blackstone declared that offenses relating to publications were "offences against the public peace."²⁵ Punishing the publishers of libels, obscenities, and blasphemous and

²⁰ For contrasting accounts of the democratizing qualities of modern cultural forms in Britain after 1918, see D. L. LeMahieu, *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain between the Wars* (Oxford, 1988); Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England, 1918–1951* (Oxford, 1998). A classic contemporary interpretation is J. B. Priestley, *English Journey* (1934; repr., Harmondsworth, 1977), 376. For an international perspective, see Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

²¹ Lawrence, "Paternalism, Class, and the British Path to Modernity," 156–157; Frank Mort, *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven, Conn., 2010), chap. 7.

²² Sybille Bedford, "The Trial of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*" (1960), in Bedford, *As It Was: Pleasures, Landscapes, and Justice* (London, 1990), 127–170, here 133.

²³ On the absence of a strong doctrine of freedom of expression in English law, see A. V. Dicey, *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*, 8th ed. (London, 1915), chap. 6, esp. 235–236, 241–242. Dicey remarks: "When . . . the principles of the common law and the force of the enactments still contained in the statute-book are really appreciated, no one can maintain that the law of England recognises anything like that natural right to the free communication of thoughts and opinions which was proclaimed in France a little over a hundred years ago to be one of the most valuable Rights of Man" (241–242).

²⁴ See, for instance, Thomas Starkie, *A Treatise on the Law of Slander and Libel: And Incidentally of Malicious Prosecutions*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1830), 1: vi.

²⁵ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 9th ed., 4 vols. (1783; repr., New York, 1978), 4: 142; see also *The Queen v. Hicklin*, 3 Queen's Bench (1867–1868): 360, at 377 (Blackburn J.). Hunter, Saunders, and Williamson argue that there was a cleavage between invocations of the king's peace in eighteenth-century discussions of obscenity and the "medicalised morality and moralised medicine" they discern in the Victorian period; *On Pornography*, 90–91. I think this is to minimize the pow-

sedition texts did not violate “the *liberty of the press*, properly understood.” Freedom of the press, said Blackstone, “consists in laying no *previous* restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published.”²⁶ Well into the twentieth century, senior legal officials claimed, evidently with pride, that Britain did not have censors because the machinery of the law went to work *after* the offensive material had been published.²⁷

So thin was the discourse of “free speech” in the common-law tradition that British settler colonies dispensed even with the taboo on pre-publication censorship. The Australian government, which tended to prize continuity with British traditions, nevertheless showed little compunction in departing from British practice and establishing a centralized censorship authority.²⁸ Less surprisingly, both the Irish Free State and the apartheid regime in South Africa established agencies to monitor publications as part of their larger projects of cultural independence or purity.²⁹ In contrast, Blackstonian thinking was common in the United States until after World War I. No less a figure than Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., endorsed the idea that freedom of expression—and the First Amendment’s protection of it—ruled out prior restraint but permitted post-publication sanctions; so did at least one civil liberties organization.³⁰ There was a “pervasive judicial hostility” to free-speech claims, and a variety of activists and reformers regarded censorship “as a useful tool for social change.”³¹ These understandings of free speech and censorship were challenged as some progressives became civil libertarians in reaction to wartime controls, and then dismantled from the 1930s onward, in part because of the constitutional shift forced by the New Deal.³² The subsequent elaboration of First Amendment doctrines had no close parallel in the United Kingdom. Examining the history of variable obscenity in England opens up a distinctive practice of thinking about, and enforcing, relations between acts of reading and conceptions of the social body.³³

erful continuity over the two centuries of what William J. Novak has called “the common-law vision of a well-regulated society”; Novak, *The People’s Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), introduction and chap. 1. The continuing commitment to ideas of the peace in the nineteenth century—and the twentieth—is evident in the fact that obscenity fell within the purview of vagrancy legislation and municipal statutes and regulations.

²⁶ Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4: 151–152, emphasis in the original.

²⁷ Edward Tindal Atkinson, *Obscene Literature in Law and Practice* (London, [1936]), 24–25. In a 1954 obscenity case that Griffith-Jones approvingly quoted in the *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* trial, Mr. Justice Devlin directed the jury: “you are not sitting as a board of censors.” Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley’s Lover Trial*, 59–60.

²⁸ Nicole Moore, *The Censor’s Library* (St Lucia, Queensland, 2012).

²⁹ Peter D. McDonald, *The Literature Police: Apartheid Censorship and Its Cultural Consequences* (Oxford, 2009); Senia Pašeta, “Censorship and Its Critics in the Irish Free State, 1922–1932,” *Past and Present*, no. 181 (November 2003): 193–218; Michael Adams, *Censorship: The Irish Experience* (Dublin, 1968), chaps. 1–3. The Irish Free State’s “larger project” was a Catholicizing one, and the restriction of birth-control literature was a major issue in the establishment of the Censorship Board.

³⁰ David M. Rabban, *Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years* (Cambridge, 1997), esp. 2, 14, 15, and chap. 3; *Patterson v. Colorado*, 205 U.S. 454, at 462 (1907); Leigh Ann Wheeler, *Against Obscenity: Reform and the Politics of Womanhood in America, 1873–1935* (Baltimore, 2004), 55–56.

³¹ Rabban, *Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years*, 2, 15; Parker, *Purifying America*, 1. See also Gurstein, *The Repeal of Reticence*, 183–184; Wheeler, *Against Obscenity*.

³² Rabban, *Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years*, chaps. 7–8; David Yassky, “Eras of the First Amendment,” *Columbia Law Review* 91 (November 1991): 1699–1755.

³³ Tracking variable obscenity from nineteenth-century commonplace to 1960s laughingstock means passing over much that is significant in the history of censorship. The principle of variable obscenity

IN MODERN EUROPE, THE THREATS POSED by literacy often overshadowed its promises. Education systems were central to nation-building projects, as Eugen Weber emphasized in his classic study of the Third Republic in France, but the ability to read also exposed peasants and workers to seditious or corrupting messages.³⁴ In industrial Britain, where mass literacy was driven by instruction within family homes and exiguous private day schools well before the establishment of extensive church or state schooling systems, fears of the incendiary potential of the printed word for new readers motivated the newspaper, advertisement, and stamp duties that obstructed the publication of periodicals for working-class readerships.³⁵ After the repeal of these "taxes on knowledge," completed in the early 1860s, popular literacy excited less government concern, but it remained a problem to which the restlessly omnivorous Victorian journals of opinion returned often.³⁶

Some critics worried that the popularity of sports news and other diversions left newly enfranchised working men poorly informed about politics and thus ill-equipped to practice the strenuous judgment of the responsible citizen.³⁷ Many characterized women's reading as an unsettling sort of independence and argued that the romances and melodramas popular among women conduced to a distortingly fantastic view of the way the world worked.³⁸ Observers of industrial workers registered comparable objections to their reading habits.³⁹ The underwhelming quality of popular literacy was in part a consequence of the failure of the state and civil society

applied to "literature" and borderline books, not to the pornography and birth-control guides and catalogues that the relevant authorities spent most of their time dealing with. See Lisa Z. Sigel, "Censorship in Inter-War Britain: Obscenity, Spectacle, and the Workings of the Liberal State," *Journal of Social History* 45, no. 1 (2011): 61–83. This article touches only briefly or not at all on questions that have driven much research in this area, such as the construction of "the obscene" as a regulatory category, the relationship between obscenity and literary modernism, and the ways pornography could function as a quasi-political genre or a sexual imaginary. For a sampling of the literature on these subjects, see Heath, *Purifying Empire*; Celia Marshik, *British Modernism and Censorship* (Cambridge, 2006); Lisa Z. Sigel, *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England, 1815–1914* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2002); Lynn Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (New York, 1993); Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (Cambridge, 1988).

³⁴ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), chap. 18. See also Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870–1920* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), chap. 1.

³⁵ David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England, 1750–1914* (Cambridge, 1989), chap. 3; Alec Ellis, *Educating Our Masters: Influences on the Growth of Literacy in Victorian Working Class Children* (Aldershot, 1985); R. K. Webb, *The British Working Class Reader, 1790–1848: Literacy and Social Tension* (London, 1955); Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (1957; repr., Columbus, Ohio, 1998), chaps. 2, 15; Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850–1950* (Urbana, Ill., 2004), chap. 2.

³⁶ See Deborah Wynne, "Readers and Reading Practices," in Patrick Parrinder, gen. ed., *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, vol. 3: *The Nineteenth-Century Novel, 1820–1880*, ed. John Kucich and Jenny Bourne Taylor (Oxford, 2012), 22–36, here 27–29. See also Patrick Brantlinger, *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Bloomington, Ind., 1998).

³⁷ John Garrett Leigh, "What Do the Masses Read?," *Economic Review* 14, no. 2 (1904): 166–177, here 176.

³⁸ Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837–1914* (Oxford, 1993), chap. 7.

³⁹ James Haslam, *The Press and the People: An Estimate of Reading in Working-Class Districts—Reprinted from the "Manchester City News"* (Manchester, 1906); Francis Hitchman, "The Penny Press," *Macmillan's Magazine* 43 (1881): 385–398, here 385; Walter Montagu Gattie, "What English People Read," *Fortnightly Review*, new ser., 46 (September 1889): 307–321, here 308; Geo. R. Humphery, "The Reading of the Working Classes," *Nineteenth Century* 33 (April 1893): 690–701, here 692, 694; [B. G. Johns], "The Literature of the Streets," *Edinburgh Review* 165 (January 1887): 40–65, here 65.

to complement elementary education with further opportunities for learning, more public libraries, and so on.⁴⁰ For both sexes, wrote the librarian George R. Humphery in the literary monthly *Nineteenth Century*, the years between leaving school and “taking charge of a household” were the most important phase of life: “It is at this time that the character is moulded.”⁴¹ This time in a person’s life would be a focus of concern in obscenity trials as well.

Press debates about literacy intersected with the efforts of anti-vice campaigners such as the Liberal member of Parliament Samuel Smith. Moving a resolution in the House of Commons in 1888 deploring “the rapid spread of demoralizing literature in this country,” Smith quoted an *Edinburgh Review* article on “The Literature of the Streets” and presented his own initiatives as in dialogue with those exploring the subject of popular reading in the great reviews; in turn, his speech in Parliament prompted an essay in another publication.⁴² A Conservative-leaning newspaper editorialized in 1888: “Until what is called education had become nearly universal, the possibilities of harm which were latent in printed matter had not attracted public attention. The children of the lower classes read with difficulty, and did not read for amusement. That has all been changed . . . We have now to face an agent of moral corruption, no longer confined to persons willing and ready to be corrupted, but obtruding itself on everybody.”⁴³

Such concerns were commonplace in late-nineteenth-century Europe, but there was no common logic to state and private responses. In France, officials monitored peasant reading with an anxious diligence apparently unmatched in Britain, yet from 1881, print censorship was all but abandoned in France.⁴⁴ In Britain, although obscene publications occasionally became the subjects of national debate, as in the 1880s, the suppression of obscenity was handled in a decentralized and reactive manner. As infringements of “the peace,” obscenity offenses could be dealt with by the system of cheap magisterial justice, whose reach was extended dramatically in the Victorian period.⁴⁵ Obscenity cases were conducted before lay justices of the peace and in front of magistrates and juries at the “quarter sessions.” They seldom worked their way up to the superior courts. The most common proceedings involved the mechanisms for the seizure and destruction of books, photographs, postcards, and so on authorized by the Obscene Publications Act of 1857. The act’s “destruction orders” were proceedings *in rem*—that is, they involved the objects rather than their

⁴⁰ Walter Besant, “The Amusements of the People,” *Contemporary Review* 45 (March 1884): 342–353, here 343–344; Johns, “The Literature of the Streets,” 60–61; Gattie, “What English People Read,” 308.

⁴¹ Humphery, “The Reading of the Working Classes,” 692.

⁴² *House of Commons Debates* [hereafter *HC Deb.*], vol. 325, May 8, 1888, cols. 1708, 1711. See also Anthony Cummins, “Émile Zola’s Cheap English Dress: The Vizetelly Translations, Late-Victorian Print Culture, and the Crisis of Literary Value,” *Review of English Studies*, new ser., 60, no. 243 (2009): 108–132, here 119; Samuel Smith, *My Life-Work* (London, 1902), 477.

⁴³ “A Censorship of Morals,” *St James’s Gazette*, November 1, 1888, 3; Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, vol. 1: *The Nineteenth Century* (London, 1981), 233–234.

⁴⁴ Martyn Lyons, “What Did the Peasants Read? Written and Printed Culture in Rural France, 1815–1914,” *European History Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1997): 165–197; Theodore Zeldin, *France, 1848–1945*, vol. 2: *Intellect, Taste, and Anxiety* (Oxford, 1977), 548–551.

⁴⁵ On magisterial justice, see Margot C. Finn, “The Authority of the Law,” in Mandler, *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain*, 159–178, here 162–164, 177. On justices of the peace, see Leo Page, *Justice of the Peace* (London, 1936).

owners or handlers.⁴⁶ A hawker whose stock of pornographic postcards was seized and destroyed was not personally charged with a criminal offense. There were, however, a variety of criminal provisions to punish publishers and distributors (more often than authors) of obscene material, ranging from vagrancy laws to the common-law misdemeanor of "uttering an obscene libel," which was punishable by fines or imprisonment or both.⁴⁷

The social and cultural judgments at work in Victorian obscenity proceedings were demonstrated starkly in the case of Henry Vizetelly. Vizetelly was prosecuted twice, in 1888 and 1889, for publishing insufficiently expurgated translations of Émile Zola's novels in cheap editions. His crime was to make the novels available to "the common market," rather than catering to "the select literary class," to quote one of the prosecutors.⁴⁸ There was no parallel effort to restrict access to the French originals.⁴⁹ Several years after the Vizetelly trials, another publisher issued translations of Zola's novels in expensive editions on handmade paper or Japanese vellum. They would be available only by subscription and would not be offered to "the ordinary English public."⁵⁰ These editions did not attract prosecution. The authorities' decision to pursue Vizetelly but not the publishers of the deluxe editions resembled the strategy that had been behind the taxes on knowledge. If dangerous books were expensive, they were less likely to obtrude themselves on everybody. They would circulate among better-off people, who, it was assumed, typically had powers of judgment that would enable them to read such books without being corrupted in the process. Though Zola's novels were widely condemned in Britain, the eminent monthly and quarterly reviews did discuss them calmly and at some length. The understanding that cultivated readers could cope with Zola is reflected in the fact that a good deal of British Zola criticism in the 1880s and 1890s was written by middle-class women.⁵¹

Two assumptions were in play here. The first was that the middle and upper classes could be counted on to exercise the self-government characteristic of the

⁴⁶ William Cornish, J. Stuart Anderson, Ray Cocks, Michael Lobban, Patrick Polden, and Keith Smith, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England*, vol. 13: 1820–1914: *Fields of Development* (Oxford, 2010), 367; TNA, Home Office Papers, HO 302/4, "Confidential: House of Commons: Select Committee on Obscene Publications Bill: Memorandum Submitted on Behalf of the Home Secretary" (May 1957).

⁴⁷ Cornish et al., *1820–1914: Fields of Development*, 364–365; Hunter, Saunders, and Williamson, *On Pornography*, 73–74; Alfred Hughes, *Leaves from the Note-Book of a Chief of Police* (London, n.d. [1864?]), 192–193. On the targeting of publishers and distributors rather than authors, at least before the 1930s, see Colin Manchester, "A History of the Crime of Obscene Libel," *Journal of Legal History* 12, no. 1 (1991): 36–57, here 46.

⁴⁸ Cummins, "Émile Zola's Cheap English Dress," 124; see also 123.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 110, 123; M. J. D. Roberts, "Morals, Art and the Law: The Passing of the Obscene Publications Act, 1857," *Victorian Studies* 28, no. 4 (1985): 609–629, here 628. Compare the opinion of the *Liverpool Mercury*: "If the English versions are offensive to the law, it is hard to understand why the far more revolting French versions are allowed to circulate." National Vigilance Association, *Pernicious Literature: Debate in the House of Commons—Trial and Conviction for Sale of Zola's Novels, with Opinions of the Press* (London, 1889), 22. Samuel Smith was unmoved by the notion that immoral literature could circulate safely in expensive editions; the market was such that it would always be profitable to produce cheap versions for mass circulation. *HC Deb.*, vol. 325, May 8, 1888, col. 1714.

⁵⁰ Cummins, "Émile Zola's Cheap English Dress," 128–129.

⁵¹ Emily Crawford, "Emile Zola," *Contemporary Review* 55 (January 1889): 94–113; Janet E. Ho-garth, "Literary Degenerates," *Fortnightly Review*, new ser., 57 (April 1895): 586–592, here 587; Robert Lee Wolff, *Sensational Victorian: The Life and Fiction of Mary Elizabeth Braddon* (New York, 1979), 317–320.

liberal subject. The second was that such self-government could be indexed to social position (the ability to read Zola in French was as much a marker of class as was the disposable income needed to buy lavishly produced books). This second assumption had been central in the calculations made in the debates over the franchise in the 1860s. William Gladstone, the architect of the Liberal electoral reform bill that failed to pass in 1866, declared: "Some classes have more independence; others, unhappily, have less. Some classes have more education; others, unhappily, have less." While this remained the case, it was "right to make some distinction; and not invest all with the title to the political franchise." The most appropriate way of making that distinction was by class: "the condition of a man in life, his presumable character, his presumable amount of education, and his presumable amount of independence, are the criteria which you should employ in order to ascertain who should have the franchise."⁵²

Gladstone's position presupposed that education and other qualities that justified the right to vote could be more or less reliably read off class position. He shared with his Conservative opponent, Benjamin Disraeli, the belief that liability for one kind of taxation or another (including local government rates) was a serviceable guide to a man's independence.⁵³ Despite his differences with both Gladstone and Disraeli, the Radical John Bright agreed, and his argument for yoking suffrage to taxation helped him build "an alliance of working- and middle-class reformers."⁵⁴ "I believe," Bright told the House of Commons in March of 1867, "that the solid and ancient basis of the suffrage is that all persons who are rated to some tax . . . should be admitted to the franchise." The impoverished "residuum" should not be enfranchised, because they had "no independence whatsoever."⁵⁵ The opposite of the residuum, as José Harris writes, was "the regularly employed, rate-paying working man (possessed of a house, a wife, children, furniture, and the habit of obeying the law)."⁵⁶ This image of the respectable working-class patriarch grew out of Chartism's profoundly gendered conceptions of class and the rights of men as workers. The Chartists, as Joan Wallach Scott has written, "developed one aspect of Lockean theory that associated property with the enjoyment of individual political rights, by claiming that the fruit of one's labor or labor power was itself property."⁵⁷ At a practical level, for working-class men as well as landowners, satisfying certain economic and bureaucratic criteria functioned as a proxy for the implicitly and often explicitly masculine quality of "character" deemed a prerequisite for the vote.⁵⁸ This same nexus of assumptions about character and class guided the decisions made in

⁵² *HC Deb.*, vol. 186, March 25, 1867, cols. 485, 487.

⁵³ H. C. G. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809–1874* (Oxford, 1986), 127–128.

⁵⁴ Hall, McClelland, and Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation*, 93.

⁵⁵ *HC Deb.*, vol. 186, March 26, 1867, cols. 636–637.

⁵⁶ José Harris, "Between Civic Virtue and Social Darwinism: The Concept of the Residuum," in David Englander and Rosemary O'Day, eds., *Retrieved Riches: Social Investigation in Britain, 1840–1914* (Aldershot, 1995), 67–87, here 74.

⁵⁷ Joan Wallach Scott, "On Language, Gender, and Working-Class History," in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 54–67, here 62–63.

⁵⁸ On the masculinity of "character," see Hall, McClelland, and Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation*, chap. 2; Clark, "Gender, Class, and the Nation"; Stefan Collini, "Political Theory and the 'Science of Society' in Victorian Britain," *Historical Journal* 23, no. 1 (1980): 203–231, here 217.

obscenity cases about whether a volume should be proscribed, as twentieth-century cases would show again and again.⁵⁹

THE SOCIAL JUDGMENTS THAT UNDERPINNED English obscenity law were often stated with quotable frankness, but they can also be discerned in the "unspectacular" routines of law enforcement that Lisa Z. Sigel and Deana Heath have urged historians of obscenity to concentrate on.⁶⁰ Consider the case of Harry Sidney Nicholls in London at the turn of the twentieth century. The Metropolitan Police had received sixty-three complaints—"chiefly from solicitors, barristers; justices of the peace &c. & one from a lady"—about Nicholls's prospectuses describing a book titled *Kalogynomia; or, The Laws of Female Beauty*. It purported to be an anatomical textbook "privately printed at the Walpole Press for subscribers only." However, Nicholls was known to the police for selling obscene books when he was in business in Soho Square, and they suspected that the medical trappings of the book were a cover for pornography. Nicholls was duly charged with uttering an obscene libel. The prosecution called a doctor as an expert witness to demolish the book's claims to science. The detective responsible for the case, Inspector Charles Arrow, also took pains to analyze Nicholls's account book to show that *Kalogynomia* had not been printed in a limited edition for subscribers only but had been "broadcast to the public addressed by post irrespective of profession."⁶¹ To prove that the book was not being sold exclusively to doctors, Arrow had only to refer to the names of customers in the ledger. Nevertheless, he went further, calculating, and reporting under oath, the prices that had been paid for them: one guinea per copy in 742 cases, and fourteen shillings in four other instances.⁶² Ostentatiously exclusive books usually cost far more than one guinea, let alone fourteen shillings. Arrow did not make much of the point in his

⁵⁹ There is a parallel with the law relating to personal finance in Victorian England. Paul Johnson has contrasted the strict regulation of working-class financial institutions and personal indebtedness and the more forgiving regime of bankruptcy law and limited liability that governed middle-class finances after the 1860s. The disparity "came to be justified by the alleged difference in the moral characteristics of the rich and the poor." The salience of these class judgments is especially significant in the case of financial arrangements, because "in a genuine contract economy" they would have been "the least subject to any kind of moral imposition." Thus neither freedom of contract nor freedom of speech dislodged formal and informal theories of the order of class and character. Paul Johnson, "Class Law in Victorian England," *Past and Present*, no. 141 (November 1993): 147–169, here 168; Johnson, *Making the Market: Victorian Origins of Corporate Capitalism* (Cambridge, 2010), 59–64. I owe the parallel between obscenity law and Johnson's argument about the regulation of debt and financial institutions to Lawrence, "Paternalism, Class, and the British Path to Modernity," 155–156.

⁶⁰ Sigel, "Censorship in Inter-War Britain," 62; Deana Heath, "Obscenity, Censorship, and Modernity," in Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, eds., *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden, Mass., 2007), 508–519, here 509, building on David Saunders, "Copyright, Obscenity and Literary History," *ELH: English Literary History* 57, no. 2 (1990): 431–444, here 432.

⁶¹ TNA, Records of the Central Criminal Court, CRIM 1/60/4, Bow Street Police Court, deposition of Charles Arrow, January 10, 1900. Before the advent of radio, the word "broadcast" referred to a way of sowing seeds. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. "broadcast," v.²) records metaphorical uses, but none connected with selling. Nevertheless, to sell something "broadcast" appears to have been police argot. An officer wrote in 1916 of Boccaccio's *Decameron*: "It would seem that as this work has for many years been sold broadcast, and has been generally accepted as a classic." TNA, Metropolitan Police Office, MEPO 3/2459, report by Inspector J. Lawrence, October 23, 1916.

⁶² TNA, CRIM 1/60/4, Bow Street Police Court, *R. v. Harry Sidney Nicholls and Alice Maud Taylor* depositions file, 13–14 (January 17, 1900). A guinea was a pound plus a shilling (twenty-one shillings in total).

deposition, but he, like Nicholls, clearly knew that the price of a book was a relevant factor in determining whether it was likely to fall into the hands of poorer readers whose minds were open to immoral influences. In court, Nicholls's counsel pressed Arrow to admit that the list of subscribers included "the names of persons of very good social position."⁶³

Limited editions, high prices, and lavish paper and bindings could protect a questionable book in several ways.⁶⁴ An expensive book was less likely to be handled carelessly, and there were fewer copies to fall into the hands of people who might be seen reading them on street corners or in schools, attracting the attention of their teachers, the police, or "justices of the peace &c."—people whose professions or social standing conferred the obligation or entitlement to act as moral guardians.⁶⁵ In this way, publication itself could function as a form of censorship. One inflammatory novel of the 1930s circulated for three years in an expensive limited edition and then in several "trade" editions with some scenes and language toned down. The partially expurgated text was then packaged in a provocative cover as a "cheap" edition, and a small chain of commercial lending libraries based in Lancashire bought multiple copies. Only at this point were the publishers charged with the common-law obscenity offense, when police in Bury heard that the novel was being much discussed in the town.⁶⁶

Publishing in costly limited editions could also be presented as a mark of the publishers' good faith, a sign that they were not trying to reach a popular readership: the steps taken meant that it was not foreseeable that "ordinary" or working-class readers would encounter the book. This was the line a small press took in 1929 when it published a volume of reproductions of D. H. Lawrence's paintings. The publisher prepared a memorandum in anticipation of legal difficulties. The document argued that the book did not satisfy Chief Justice Cockburn's criteria for an obscene publication because it was "issued for subscription only by connoisseurs and collectors," and sold at an extremely high price (ten guineas) that "prevents any possibility of the book ever reaching a wider market." Although the paintings were not indecent, they were "unusual in treatment and subject," and "consequently only persons of intellectual maturity could view them with advantage."⁶⁷ The publisher was not prosecuted.⁶⁸ In the same year, a volume of Lawrence's scatological poems survived be-

⁶³ Ibid., 42 (February 13, 1900).

⁶⁴ On the ways these tactics intersected with enthusiasm for artisanal book production, see Christopher Hilliard, "The Literary Underground of 1920s London," *Social History* 33, no. 2 (2008): 164–182, here 170–179.

⁶⁵ Allison Lorna Elizabeth Wee, "Trials and Eros: The British Home Office v. Indecent Publications, 1857–1932" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 2004), chap. 6, provides a well-documented sampling of complaints from the public and the Home Office's responses. See also Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London, 1992), 123–124.

⁶⁶ James Armstrong, "The Publication, Prosecution, and Re-publication of James Hanley's *Boy* (1931)," *Library*, 6th ser., 19, no. 4 (1997): 351–362, here 351–356, 360; Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, James Hanley Papers, "Summary—Report of the Police Proceedings against the Directors and the Firm of Boriswood Limited in Regard to the Book Entitled 'Boy' Written by James Hanley," n.d.

⁶⁷ State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, P. R. Stephensen Papers, MLMSS 1284, box 25, "Mandrake Press—Points for Defence," n.d. See also Craig Munro, *Inky Stephensen: Wild Man of Letters* (1984; repr., St Lucia, Queensland, 1992), 85–86.

⁶⁸ The police raided an exhibition of Lawrence's paintings at a London gallery and seized copies of the book as well as some of the original paintings. The copies of the book that had been on sale at

cause it was published for subscribers only. The director of public prosecutions, Sir Archibald Bodkin, explained his decision: "if it be correct that the present edition was for private circulation to subscribers then the case stands differently from a book which is on every bookstall for indiscriminate publication."⁶⁹ As a group of civil servants drily put it in the 1950s, "In practice, the obscenity of a work was considerably affected by the circumstances of its sale."⁷⁰

The circumstances under which the gangster fiction of Hank Janson was sold became an issue in several cases in the 1950s (the importing and mimicking of American pulp fiction and "horror comics" were the subject of considerable cultural unease and legislative and policing activity in that decade).⁷¹ In 1952, police on the Isle of Man charged booksellers for selling obscene books, many of which were by Janson. The Isle of Man was independent of the mainland's law, and the charges were brought under the island's own Obscene Publications and Indecent Advertisements Act of 1907. All the same, the police inspector presenting the case used the language of the *Hicklin* definition as he argued before the high bailiff. For the sake of comparison, the high bailiff asked the officer whether he had read the bestseller of the previous year, Nicholas Monserrat's World War II novel *The Cruel Sea*: "There's a passage in that which could hardly be more obscene." The officer responded that *The Cruel Sea* was not likely to fall into the hands of young people on vacation at the Isle of Man.⁷² The high bailiff decided that he had a point and a week later granted a destruction order. Like late-nineteenth-century commentators on popular literacy, the police officer identified young adulthood as a time when working-class readers were particularly impressionable. The distinction between *The Cruel Sea* and the sort of book that would fall into the hands of young holiday-makers was a judgment about class as well as age: Janson's novels would not be found in respectable bookshops or circulating libraries, but in the cheap newsagents' shops that, in seaside towns, were known for their risqué postcards.⁷³ The previous year, the publisher of Janson's *Milady Took the Rap* had been charged on the mainland, in Blackburn, with publishing an obscene libel. Her barrister asked the court rhetorically: "Is the standard to be different in the case of books printed in stiff covers and in the reach of the pockets of the limited class, and in the case of the working man's literature in a paperback cover?" He got nowhere.⁷⁴

the gallery were destroyed, but the police did not seek to have the edition itself suppressed. Munro, *Inky Stephensen*, 85–86.

⁶⁹ TNA, HO 144/20642, Sir Archibald Bodkin to Sir John Anderson, September 6, 1929. In 1934 a magistrate condemned the distributors of an American book titled *Sane Sex Life and Living* for exercising "no sort of discrimination . . . in the manner in which it was brought to the attention of the public." "Books on Sex Matters: Magistrate and Police Action," *The Times*, March 13, 1935; TNA, MEPO 3/932, F. Sharpe to A. Askew, October 11, 1934, July 18, 1935.

⁷⁰ TNA, HO 302/13, minutes of a meeting of the interdepartmental working party on obscene literature, March 8, 1955.

⁷¹ John Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gangsta-Rap, 1830–1996* (Basingstoke, 1998), 141–146; Sue Owen, "The Abuse of Literacy and the Feeling Heart: The Trials of Richard Hoggart," *Cambridge Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (2005): 147–176, here 166–175. Hank Janson was the creation of Stephen Frances, though after about 1953 other authors wrote under the name.

⁷² Steve Holland, *The Trials of Hank Janson* (Tolworth, 2004), 133–135.

⁷³ See George Orwell, "The Art of Donald McGill" (1941), in *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, 4 vols. (Boston, 2000), 2: 155–165, here 155.

⁷⁴ Holland, *The Trials of Hank Janson*, 128.

These ideas about governing access to borderline books with reference to class obtruded into arguments in the 1920s about novels whose treatment of femininity was what gave offense. Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*, with its far from explicit representation of a lesbian relationship, was one of the novels in question; the other was Norah C. James's *The Sleeveless Errand*, a story about jaded heterosexual bohemians. The prosecutions of Hall's publisher in 1928 and James's early the following year were a response on the part of the authorities to the perceived gender disruption of the decade. *The Well of Loneliness* was published the same year that young women were enfranchised (most women over the age of thirty had won the vote in 1918), and younger women's sexuality, work, and leisure were the subjects of periodically intense debate throughout the decade.⁷⁵ Women's reading habits formed part of these discussions. The heated coverage of the 1922 trial of Edith Thompson and her lover, Freddy Bywaters, for the murder of Thompson's husband dwelled on the letters she had written to Bywaters in which she reflected on the bestselling novels she read voraciously. As Matt Houlbrook has shown, Thompson's imaginative life was treated as evidence of a feminine failure to function as a liberal subject. Thompson's absorption in fantasy and "melodramatic novels," her critics argued, compromised her reason and self-regulation: she was "the creature and creation of a hectic and hysterical age."⁷⁶

The quoted analyst of Thompson and her age was James Douglas, editor of the mass-circulation *Sunday Express*. Later in the 1920s, he provoked the *Well of Loneliness* prosecution. Hall's novel had been soberly reviewed until Douglas launched a tirade against it on the front page of his newspaper. Douglas said he would rather give "a healthy boy or a healthy girl" poison than let them read *The Well of Loneliness*.⁷⁷ Yet though the ensuing case was unmistakably animated by concerns about youth, sexuality, and femininity, the novel's publisher, Jonathan Cape, was minded to see his troubles in class terms. Cape wrote to the *Express* to complain that the result of the editorial "can only be to nullify our most careful attempts to see that this book reaches the right class of reader. A wide and unnecessary advertisement has been given to the book, and all the curious will now want to read it."⁷⁸ In another context, the phrase "right class of reader" might not have been a reference to social position, but the context of the opposition between the readership of mass-market newspapers and the buyers of hardcover books gave it a social inflection comparable to that of the Vizetelly prosecution's "select literary class."

The director of public prosecutions personally briefed the barrister who was handling the case of *The Sleeveless Errand*. "That a book containing such matter should be written by a woman is startling," Bodkin wrote. "The Director particularly in-

⁷⁵ Adrian Bingham, *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford, 2004); Billie Melman, *Women and the Popular Imagination in the Twenties: Flappers and Nymphs* (London, 1988).

⁷⁶ Matt Houlbrook, "'A Pin to See the Peepshow': Culture, Fiction and Selfhood in Edith Thompson's Letters, 1921–1922," *Past and Present*, no. 207 (May 2010): 215–249, here 217, 248.

⁷⁷ Laura Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern English Lesbian Culture* (New York, 2001), chap. 1; TNA, DPP 1/88, Rubinstein, Nash & Co to Director of Public Prosecutions, October 19, 1928; "A Book That Must Be Suppressed," *Sunday Express*, August 19, 1928.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Cape, letter to the *Daily Express*, August 20, 1928, quoted in Huw F. Clayton, "'A Frisky, Tiresome Colt?'" Sir William Joynson-Hicks, the Home Office and the 'Roaring Twenties,' 1924–1929" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2008), 122.

structs Counsel" to "denounce the scandal which the publication of such a book as a piece of literature undoubtedly amounts to. It must not be forgotten that this . . . might lie on anybody's table and be picked up and read by a youth or a girl . . . Imagine a daughter in a respectable English household reading . . . page 227 and coming across the passage 'We're bored with people who aren't bawdy. We call them prigs and prudes if they don't want to talk about copulation at lunch time and buggery at dinner.'" Elsewhere in his brief, however, Bodkin implied that the publication of James's novel would have been less objectionable had it been in the form of a limited edition. He was shocked that the publisher "should without hesitation distribute it through the trade in the ordinary course of business."⁷⁹ Even in the late 1920s, in cases saturated with contemporary concerns about younger women's character and faculties, publishers and lawyers were capable of thinking in terms of nineteenth-century class calculations.

The resilience of this pattern of thought and action was in part a consequence of the importance of precedent in the common-law tradition. The law's teachable precedents and maxims establish circuits of thought that can acquire a degree of self-sufficiency through continuous iteration. Precedents weighed on non-lawyers, too. For police and publishers alike, the lessons of past practice provided the best chance of security. For that reason, variable obscenity was a game that publishers were compelled to play even when it was at odds with their own politics. The publisher of the volume of Lawrence's paintings, for example, was an idiosyncratic member of the Communist Party. The archives of the Metropolitan Police provide glimpses of the force trying to keep up with the rules of a sometimes unpredictable game. Officers secured practical legal advice on obscene publications as they did in other areas of the law with complexities or loopholes, such as liquor licensing.⁸⁰ They worked to make sense of magistrates' thinking and adjust their practice to it. In the file on what an internal Metropolitan Police solicitor described as one of "these troublesome dirty book cases" in 1934, officers questioned why a book that had been circulating undisturbed for five years was confiscated along with others taken from two booksellers on the Buckingham Palace Road.⁸¹ Three years later, a detective sergeant was surprised when the chief magistrate at the Bow Street Police Court in central London ordered a book on sadism and masochism destroyed even though he "was satisfied that the book was a medical work and a serious study." The magistrate held that this particular copy was tainted by association, since it could be "obtained at a shop where other publications which are undoubtedly of an obscene character were kept and a shop to which those who desired to obtain such obscene publications

⁷⁹ TNA, DPP 1/92, "Re 'Sleeveless Errand': Rex v. Eric Honeywood Partridge—Brief to Apply for Order of Destruction," n.d. (ca. March 1929). In this brief, Bodkin said that he had been told by Sir John Anderson, the senior civil servant in the Home Office, that the law should be pressed to the limit against a book of this kind. In the case of Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*, too, Bodkin was actively supported by the Home Office. The cabinet minister responsible was Sir William Joynson-Hicks, a vigorous moral campaigner. On Joynson-Hicks's politics, see James J. Nott, "'The Plague Spots of London': William Joynson-Hicks, the Conservative Party and the Campaign against London's Nightclubs, 1924–29," in Clare V. J. Griffiths, James J. Nott, and William Whyte, eds., *Classes, Cultures, and Politics: Essays on British History for Ross McKibbin* (Oxford, 2011), 227–246.

⁸⁰ Stefan Petrow, *Policing Morals: The Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, 1870–1914* (Oxford, 1994), 39, 195.

⁸¹ TNA, MEPO 3/932.

would go.” The sergeant reported this “particularly interesting judgment” to his chief inspector.⁸² A report of the magistrate’s comments was “made the subject of a general file.” Another official who reviewed the file commented: “Interesting but it fits in with the line we have taken for a long time.”⁸³

Thus, like most legal structures, variable obscenity was to some extent an impersonal machine, and the inhabitants of the “closed, archaic world” of upper-middle-class privilege were not the only ones who kept it operating. That said, there certainly were men among the barristers who represented the state in court, the judges they appeared before, and the civil servants with whom they cooperated, for whom the legal position corresponded with strongly held personal beliefs. The Westminster Police Court magistrate Ronald Powell was one of these men. Powell asked one witness in 1935 whether she considered a quoted passage “fit and decent for people of the working class to read.”⁸⁴

Speaking from the bench gave a magistrate such as Powell license to express opinions that like-minded people in less secure positions would have been more cautious about stating publicly. When the electorate trebled in size after 1918—the vote was extended to the minority of men previously unenfranchised, as well as to most women over the age of thirty—elected politicians were compelled to practice such caution. Stanley Baldwin, the architect of the Conservative Party’s hegemony during the 1920s and 1930s, worked hard in the face of internal resistance to adjust to the new dispensation. The Conservatives needed, Baldwin argued, to become “a democratic and democratised Party,” addressing working-class and female voters and opening local party organizations to people other than the well-off. Little headway was made in the constituency organizations, but Baldwin’s development of a “national” and democratic rhetoric was key to his party’s success in competing against the Labour Party for working-class votes.⁸⁵ For any member of Parliament from the 1920s onward, failure to pay lip service (at the very least) to “the formal political equality of every member of the mass electorate” could have “fatal electoral consequences.”⁸⁶

The fact that Griffith-Jones a generation later thought wives and servants might be especially vulnerable is less significant than his assumption that he could say so, unchallenged, in a courtroom. The increasingly democratic popular culture of interwar and post-World War II Britain coexisted with an enduring deference to pa-

⁸² TNA, MEPO 3/938, William James Skardon to Chief Inspector, August 5, 1937; “Extract from ‘Justice of the Peace’ dated July 31st 1937” (typescript, n.d.); TNA, HO 302/13, working party minutes, March 8, 1955.

⁸³ TNA, MEPO 3/938, notes in the comments pages at the beginning of the file.

⁸⁴ “Woman’s Defence of a Book: ‘Ignorance Leads to Divorce Court’—Magistrate’s View of Verses,” *Daily Telegraph*, October 17, 1935; “Defence of a Book: Evidence for Publishers,” *The Times*, October 17, 1935; Alec Craig, “The Sexual Impulse Prosecution,” *Plan*, November 1935, 17–20, here 18, copy in University of London, Senate House Library, Alec Craig Papers, MS1091/2/4.

⁸⁵ Philip Williamson, *Stanley Baldwin: Conservative Leadership and National Values* (Cambridge, 1999), 218–222, quotation from 219; Ross McKibbin, “Class and Conventional Wisdom: The Conservative Party and the ‘Public’ in Inter-War Britain,” in McKibbin, *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880–1950* (Oxford, 1990), 259–293. On the Labour Party’s response, see Jon Lawrence, “Labour and the Politics of Class, 1900–1940,” in David Feldman and Jon Lawrence, eds., *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge, 2011), 237–260, here 248–251.

⁸⁶ Helen McCarthy, “Whose Democracy? Histories of British Political Culture between the Wars,” *Historical Journal* 55, no. 1 (2012): 221–238, here 237.

trician authority.⁸⁷ The reform of obscenity law that culminated in the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial occurred at a critical moment in the reconfiguration of the relationship between elite authority and democratic culture. Social change did not simply overwhelm obscenity law; it was mediated by the particularity of legislative reform.

CIVIL LIBERTARIANS, AUTHORS, AND PUBLISHERS had many complaints about English obscenity law, but its uneven application was not usually one of them. The chief criticisms were the way literature was lumped together with pornography and the arbitrariness and unpredictability of the existing system. Given the variation in standards from place to place and magistrate to magistrate, publishers could not know whether a book would be safe until after they had assumed legal responsibility for it—and spent money on printing, binding, and advertising it.⁸⁸ The cross-party group of members of Parliament working in the 1950s for a new Obscene Publications Act were primarily concerned with making it safe to publish serious and substantial books in Britain.⁸⁹ The Society of Authors drafted the first bill that these MPs brought forward (these were private members' bills, not bills introduced by the government, and private members' bills often fell at procedural hurdles). This first effort was, in the judgment of a committee of civil servants reviewing obscenity law in an effort to preempt or subvert these private members' bills, "very much an *author's Bill*, prepared in their interest and not in that of the general public. It might protect a handful of alleged works of art but only at the expense of making much more difficult the suppression of pornography."⁹⁰ The bill that finally passed in 1959 preserved the emphasis on protecting material that qualified as literature.⁹¹

The question of the system's bias was visible, however, in the case of Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita*, which was referred to in parliamentary select committee hearings on obscenity law reform. On two occasions in 1956, London distributors of French editions of Nabokov's novel had been convicted of publishing an obscene libel.⁹² The first British edition was published by Weidenfeld & Nicolson, and one of the firm's directors, Nigel Nicolson, used the fact that he was also a Conservative MP to draw

⁸⁷ Lawrence, "Paternalism, Class, and the British Path to Modernity," 155–156; and, on democratizing tendencies in popular culture and their limits, see McCarthy, "Whose Democracy?," esp. 234; LeMahieu, *A Culture for Democracy*; McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, 527–528.

⁸⁸ Aldous Huxley, "Lord Campbell and Mr. Charles," *New Statesman and Nation*, November 9, 1938, 673–674; "The Hardship of the Existing Law Relating to 'An Obscene Libel,'" *Publishers' Circular*, March 7, 1936, 323–324; Stanley Unwin, "Introduction: The Book World," in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London, 1935), 1–11, here 5; TNA, HO 302/4, Sir Reginald Manningham-Buller to Sir Frank Newsam, May 1957 (day not specified).

⁸⁹ This is clear from the questions (recorded in the *Minutes of Evidence*) that the House of Commons Select Committee on the 1957 Obscene Publications Bill put to the publishers, officials, and police officers appearing before it.

⁹⁰ TNA, HO 302/13, H. Stotesbury, "Obscene Publications Bill: Note for S. of S's Use at Legislation Committee, Tuesday, November 22nd" (1955), emphasis in the original.

⁹¹ On the legislative maneuvering, see Roy Jenkins, *A Life at the Centre* (London, 1991), 120–124; Mark Jarvis, *Conservative Governments, Morality and Social Change in Affluent Britain, 1957–64* (Manchester, 2005), 114–116.

⁹² TNA, Law Officers' Department, LO 2/146, G. E. Dudman to Manningham-Buller, December 17, 1958; Robert Jenkins to Sir Theobald Mathew, December 18, 1959.

attention to the uncertainty and danger he faced in publishing the novel.⁹³ When the book was published, in 1959, the director of public prosecutions decided not to prosecute Weidenfeld & Nicolson.⁹⁴ A London newspaper reported that a “kindly official” telephoned the company to inform them of this decision shortly before the *Lolita* launch party at the Ritz.⁹⁵ The news did not please Reginald Carter. Carter was one of Hank Janson’s several publishers. The trial in Blackburn in 1952 had involved another publisher of Janson’s books; in 1954, Carter and his business partner Julius Reiter faced an obscenity trial of their own, and went to prison.⁹⁶ Reiter had repeatedly shown manuscripts to detectives, hoping to get a definitive answer on whether or not a work was obscene, but they always refused to give assurances.⁹⁷ Carter now wrote to the director of public prosecutions about the *Lolita* decision: “If this report is factual, please advise us by return of the kindly official concerned in order that we, as publishers, may submit manuscripts for similar vetting.”⁹⁸

While Nicolson’s connections or position doubtless had something to do with the special treatment his company received, it is not certain that *Lolita* was given a pass because it was being published in hardcover for a trustworthy readership. This was nevertheless an interpretation that occurred to some people at the time. A Labour MP speaking at a 1960 conference on popular culture and the mass media declared: “As an Englishman I am opposed to censorship, particularly a censorship which allows ‘Lolita’ to be published because it costs 25/- but has a court case over ‘Lady Chatterley’s Lover’ because it costs 3/6.”⁹⁹ (So *Lolita* cost more than seven times as much as the Penguin *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*.)¹⁰⁰ There was widespread awareness of the contrasting treatment of publications with different markets. The editor of a Church of England magazine regretted that the first unexpurgated edition of Lawrence’s novel would be an affordable paperback, but accepted that the argument “O.K. in vellum and not O.K. in paper” could be “rather easily shot down.”¹⁰¹

In its brief for Griffith-Jones in the *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* case, the director of public prosecutions’ office described the book as being so obscene that “its publication on a 3/6d Penguin [was] unjustifiable”—the implication being that a more expensive edition might have been tolerated.¹⁰² Griffith-Jones floated such a hypothetical in his opening remarks, telling the jury that they had to consider “how freely”

⁹³ *HC Deb.*, vol. 597, December 16, 1958, cols. 1046–1050.

⁹⁴ TNA, LO 2/146, G. E. Dudman, “Note,” November 11, 1959.

⁹⁵ TNA, LO 2/146, R. A. Carter to Sir Theobald Mathew, November 7, 1959, with copy of the report from the *Evening Standard*, November 6, 1959; “Lady Chatterley Challenged,” *New Statesman*, August 20, 1960, 229.

⁹⁶ Holland, *The Trials of Hank Janson*, chaps. 12–13. The prosecutor was Griffith-Jones.

⁹⁷ TNA, DPP 2/2301, “Statement of Reginald Alfred Baldwin,” November 25, 1953; “Statement of Hugh Watson,” November 25, 1953.

⁹⁸ TNA, LO 2/146, Carter to Mathew, November 7, 1959.

⁹⁹ National Union of Teachers, *Popular Culture and Personal Responsibility: A Conference of Those Engaged in Education . . . Verbatim Report* (London, [1960]), 51. The speaker was Horace King, MP for Southampton Itchen.

¹⁰⁰ John Sutherland says that *Lolita* in fact cost twenty-two shillings and sixpence, about six and a half times as much as the Penguin *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*. Sutherland, *Reading the Decades: Fifty Years of the Nation’s Bestselling Books* (London, 2002), 49.

¹⁰¹ Borthwick Institute, University of York, Mirfield Papers, R. T. Davies to Martin Jarrett-Kerr, October 4, 1960, quoted in Mark Roodhouse, “Lady Chatterley and the Monk: Anglican Radicals and the Lady Chatterley Trial of 1960,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 59, no. 3 (2008): 475–500, here 486.

¹⁰² TNA, DPP 2/3077, pt. 1, “The Queen against Penguin Books Limited: Case to Advise,” n.d.

the book would be distributed: "Is it a book that is published at £5 a time as, perhaps, an historical document, being part of the works of a great writer, or is it, on the other hand, a book which is widely distributed at a price that the merest infant can afford?"¹⁰³ Griffith-Jones repeatedly mentioned the price of three shillings and sixpence, driving home the point that anyone might read this book.¹⁰⁴ Mocking one critic's claim that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* treated sex "on a holy basis," Griffith-Jones asked whether it was realistic to think the novel would be read that way by "the young boys and men leaving school, thousands of them, tens of thousands every year, I suppose, leaving school at the age of fifteen, going into their first jobs."¹⁰⁵ Practically everyone leaving school at fifteen to begin paid employment was working-class; again, like George R. Humphery in 1893, Griffith-Jones treated the years immediately after a young person had left the pastoral or disciplinary influence of school as a time when their moral development was a matter of special concern. The judge in his summing-up echoed the prosecutor. If the novel was published, he said, it would not remain confined to "the rarefied atmosphere of some academic institution where the young mind will be perhaps directed to it and shewn how to approach it and have indicated to it the real meaning, and so forth; it finds its way into the bookshops and onto bookstalls, at three-and-sixpence a time, into public libraries, where it is available for all and sundry to read."¹⁰⁶

The defense had prepared for a battle over the cheapness of the book. Penguin's solicitor, Michael Rubinstein, sketched an argument in the brief he wrote for Gerald Gardiner, the barrister who would argue the case in court.¹⁰⁷ It was hypocrisy, Rubinstein wrote, to suggest that a hardback edition "would not have been obscene, while the Penguin edition is obscene, because of a different range of persons likely in all the relevant circumstances to see two such editions—unless it is suggested that . . . the regular or chance purchaser of a paper-back book is more likely to be depraved and corrupted than one who can afford to buy (as very many teenagers can these days) or can borrow from a library or friend a hard-back book in demand because of its ill-deserved notoriety."¹⁰⁸ By suggesting that the distinction between paperback readers and readers of hardcover books no longer corresponded with social differences, Rubinstein was trying to neutralize the issue of class. Griffith-Jones's conduct of the prosecution placed it front and center, and in his closing statement for the defense, Gardiner confronted the politics of variable obscenity directly, making a much bolder argument than Rubinstein had in the brief.

After quoting Griffith-Jones's rhetorical question about wives and servants, Gar-

¹⁰³ Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley's Lover Trial*, 57.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 61, 282, 286.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 285–286.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 303.

¹⁰⁷ In England, barristers constitute a profession distinct from solicitors, who do not argue cases in court. At this time, solicitors were usually apprenticed ("articled") after leaving school, while barristers began their training after graduating from university—nearly always Oxford or Cambridge in the first half of the twentieth century. "The bar," as the fraternity of barristers was known, was much more socially exclusive than the rest of the legal profession. On the social profile of the bar, see Leonard Schwarz, "Professions, Elites, and Universities in England, 1870–1970," *Historical Journal* 47, no. 4 (2004): 941–962, here 952, 953.

¹⁰⁸ University of Bristol Library [hereafter UBL], Penguin Archive, DM1679/9, Michael B. Rubinstein, "Regina v. Penguin Books Limited: re: *Lady Chatterley's Lover*—Draft Brief on Hearing of the Trial at the Old Bailey: Mr Gerald Gardiner Q.C.," October 7, 1960, 12–13.

diner remarked: "I cannot help thinking this was, consciously or unconsciously, an echo from an observation which had fallen from the bench in an earlier case: 'It would never do to let members of the working class read this.'" After teasing Griffith-Jones that "there are a certain number of people nowadays who as a matter of fact do not have servants," Gardiner moved in for the kill: "the whole attitude is one which Penguin Books was formed to fight against . . . this attitude that it is all right to publish a special edition at five or ten guineas, so that people who are less well off cannot read what other people do. Is not everybody, whether they are in effect earning £10 a week or £20 a week, equally interested in the society in which we live, in the problems of human relationship, including sexual relationship? In view of the reference made to wives, are not women equally interested in human relations, including sexual relationships?"¹⁰⁹ Many of the cross-examinations of literary critics had lingered over Lawrence's intense repetition of keywords such as "tenderness." Gardiner had done the same himself with "equal," a central term in Penguin's synthesis of democracy and commerce. In saying that Penguin had been founded to "fight against" attitudes such as Griffith-Jones's, Gardiner was linking the publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* to Penguin's mission, from its beginnings in the 1930s, to make classics and "good" contemporary fiction and nonfiction accessible and affordable. In the early days, Penguins could be bought from vending machines in central London, and each volume was to be the same price as a pack of cigarettes: serious reading was to be democratized through commoditization, as smoking had been.¹¹⁰

Yet it would be simplistic to see Penguin's victory as a defeat for "the Establishment," as scholars and media commentators have described it.¹¹¹ Rubinstein sought early on to mobilize formidable supporters, and wrote to hundreds of potential witnesses. At least some of those who agreed sent him draft scripts of their testimony before the trial.¹¹² Rubinstein's efforts ensured that Gardiner could call a succession of distinguished authors such as E. M. Forster and critics from Cambridge, Oxford, and the metropolitan press to attest to the worth of the novel. On the one hand, the members of the jury were being asked to make up their own minds; on the other, they were being invited to defer to expertise.

Before the Obscene Publications Act, practically all the authority in an obscenity trial rested with the prosecution. With the defense able to call expert witnesses, the balance of power shifted significantly. Rubinstein and Gardiner's strategy of enlisting eminent opinion was thus a direct consequence of the 1959 act. In a sense, though, it was an unintended consequence. Roy Jenkins, the Labour MP who shepherded

¹⁰⁹ Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley's Lover Trial*, 268. See also Lewis, *Penguin Special*, 325.

¹¹⁰ On Penguin Books, see Rick Rylance, "Reading with a Mission: The Public Sphere of Penguin Books," *Critical Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (2005): 48–66; Nicholas Joicey, "A Paperback Guide to Progress: Penguin Books, 1935–c. 1951," *Twentieth Century British History* 4, no. 1 (1993): 25–56; Lewis, *Penguin Special*, chaps. 5–6; and the insider's account in Hoggart, *An Imagined Life*, 51. On smoking, see Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800–2000: Perfect Pleasures* (Manchester, 2000), 126; and, for a comparison of reading and smoking from a different angle, see George Orwell, "Books v. Cigarettes" (1946), in Orwell, *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters*, 4: 92–96.

¹¹¹ See, for example, Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London, 2005), 376.

¹¹² Lewis, *Penguin Special*, 323; McCleery, "Lady Chatterley's Lover Re-Covered," 70; Roodhouse, "Lady Chatterley and the Monk," 478, 489, 490; UBL, Penguin Archive, DM1679/9, Rubinstein to Hans Schmoller, August 8, 1960.

the legislation through the House of Commons, expected that strengthening the publishers' hand would mean fewer trials.¹¹³ After they failed to deter a prosecution, the expert-testimony sections of the act set the stage for a highly publicized exchange about issues that were seldom discussed in such frankness and at such length.

In addition to making evidence of literary merit admissible, the act empowered defense lawyers to call witnesses to testify about "other objects of general concern" that could make publication of a book in the public interest.¹¹⁴ Griffith-Jones did not grasp the implications of this change. He had expected Penguin's lawyers to call authors and critics, but he was taken by surprise when they also called bishops and other witnesses to address the ethical and religious value of Lawrence's novel.¹¹⁵ The day after the verdict, *The Times* criticized the prosecution for not calling countervailing witnesses, recognizing that the defense had succeeded in claiming the support of prominent citizens.¹¹⁶ The critic F. R. Leavis, who declined to testify for Penguin, was scathing about the expert witnesses: establishment figures who had not defended Lawrence when it was risky to were now lining up to articulate an emergent "orthodoxy" of permissiveness.¹¹⁷

The fact that these people were rallying around the *defense*, however, indicates that there was no monolithic "Establishment."¹¹⁸ Indeed, since the term had been popularized in the mid-1950s to refer to the "interlocking circles" of Britain's governing classes and its professional and intellectual elites, journalists had questioned whether the Establishment was still coherent and whether it had much hold over newer corporations or educational institutions.¹¹⁹ Noel Annan, an Establishment figure if ever there was one (the provost of King's College, Cambridge, Annan testified for Penguin and was one of Leavis's prime targets), would later write a personal history that presented his generation of his class as a liberalizing elite (at least before

¹¹³ Rolph, *The Trial of Lady Chatterley*, 113–114. Several years later, when the Metropolitan Police proposed to prosecute the publishers of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* "to avenge the repulse we suffered in the Lady Chatterley case," Griffith-Jones said no: "even if the book should be considered by some to be 'obscene,' I think it extremely doubtful whether a conviction would ever be obtained. In its curious style I find it well written—better written than 'Lady Chatterley's Lover'—and with considerable humour so that the question of its literary merit would present difficulties. The author is apparently well recognized as a writer of distinction. It would appear that in the event of a prosecution there would be no shortage of distinguished 'experts' ready to speak on behalf of the book . . . For these reasons I advise that no criminal proceedings be instituted." TNA, MEPO 2/10400, J. Kennedy to ACC, April 8, 1963; Mervyn Griffith-Jones, "Re: John Calder (Publishers) Limited: Opinion," April 2, 1963.

¹¹⁴ Obscene Publications Act, 1959 (7 & 8 Eliz. 2), s. 4. In the past, such testimony had occasionally been admitted, but usually it was disallowed, and suggestions that there could be public-interest defenses against obscenity charges had lacked the sanction of the superior courts. James Fitzjames Stephen, *A Digest of the Criminal Law (Crimes and Punishments)* (London, 1877), 105; Atkinson, *Obscene Literature in Law and Practice*, 10–11; *Minutes of Evidence*, 3.

¹¹⁵ Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley's Lover Trial*, 125–126.

¹¹⁶ "A Decent Reticence," *The Times*, November 3, 1960; see also G. W. H. Lampe, Donald M. Mackinnon, Hugh Montefiore, Alec R. Vidler, and H. A. Williams, letter to *The Times*, November 10, 1960; Roodhouse, "Lady Chatterley and the Monk," 490.

¹¹⁷ Ian MacKillop, *F. R. Leavis: A Life in Criticism* (London, 1995), 304–309.

¹¹⁸ The opposing barristers both had impeccable elite backgrounds. Where Griffith-Jones was educated at Eton—long a training ground for Britain's rulers—and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Gardiner went to the no less exclusive Harrow and then Magdalen College, Oxford. Both men have entries in the online *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, as do others connected with the trial, such as Sir Allen Lane, Michael Rubinstein, Sir Theobald Mathew, Roy Jenkins, and C. H. Rolph.

¹¹⁹ Anthony Sampson, *Anatomy of Britain* (London, 1962), chap. 39. See also Hugh Thomas, ed., *The Establishment: A Symposium* (London, 1959); Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), 216–217.

the 1970s), working to lift restrictions on divorce, homosexuality, and freedom of the press.¹²⁰ People from privileged backgrounds were also largely responsible for the British “satire boom” of the same period associated with the Establishment nightclub in Soho, with revues and television programs such as *Beyond the Fringe* and *That Was the Week That Was*, and with the magazine *Private Eye*, in which young men with Oxbridge educations poked fun at august institutions. The satire boom, as Lawrence Black has observed, was corrosive of politics generally—“as public service, civic duty, ideology, party”—but it did amplify other critiques of traditions especially dear to Conservatives.¹²¹ Gardiner’s conduct of Penguin’s defense was, like many other interventions by Annan’s liberalizing elite, a questioning of assumptions about authority and social hierarchy long held by his own class. And in openly making fun of the idea that barristers or judges knew what was best for other people, he was putting aside traditional class solidarity to make a critique in a spirit consonant with that of the younger satirists.

Not all the defense witnesses had “old school ties” or personal connections with powerbrokers. Two important witnesses were so-called scholarship boys of working-class origin. In 1950s Britain, where social mobility, the future of the working class, and the tendencies of popular culture were much debated, a “special premium was attached to those who embodied as well as analysed” the changes of the postwar period.¹²² In *Culture and Society* (1958), Raymond Williams, a Welsh railway worker’s son who won a scholarship to Cambridge, was able to make arguments about the relationship between “high culture” and the traditions of ordinary people with a force and concreteness that few other cultural critics could have matched.¹²³ Williams was, at this time, an adult education tutor, teaching evening classes to manual workers in the south of England.¹²⁴ Gardiner reminded the jury of Williams’s adult education credentials as he summarized his testimony. “As no one knows better than Penguin Books,” he added, “students of literature come from all classes of the community.”¹²⁵

In *The Uses of Literacy* (1957), Richard Hoggart complemented his analyses of the impact of mass culture and “Americanization” on the English working class with an elegy for community life in the impoverished part of Leeds where he grew up and a highly autobiographical section on the displacement experienced by upwardly mobile scholarship children.¹²⁶ Hoggart’s working-class background equipped him to

¹²⁰ Noel Annan, *Our Age: English Intellectuals between the World Wars—A Group Portrait* (New York, 1990). Annan was one of the few scholars whom the prosecution also tried, unsuccessfully, to recruit. TNA, DPP 2/3077, pt. 1, N. G. Annan to Sir Theobald Mathew, August 24, 1960.

¹²¹ Lawrence Black, *Redefining British Politics: Culture, Consumerism and Participation, 1954–70* (Basingstoke, 2010), 202, 204; Humphrey Carpenter, *That Was Satire That Was: Beyond the Fringe, The Establishment Club, Private Eye and That Was The Week That Was* (London, 2000), pt. 2, chaps. 2–5; pt. 3, chaps. 2–4.

¹²² Stefan Collini, “Critical Minds: Raymond Williams and Richard Hoggart,” in Collini, *English Pasts: Essays in History and Culture* (Oxford, 1999), 210–230, here 227; Stephen Brooke, “Gender and Working Class Identity in Britain during the 1950s,” *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 4 (2001): 773–795.

¹²³ Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (1958; repr., Harmondsworth, 1963), conclusion.

¹²⁴ Dai Smith, *Raymond Williams: A Warrior’s Tale* (Cardigan, 2008), 301–317, 378–382; John McIlroy and Sallie Westwood, eds., *Border Country: Raymond Williams in Adult Education* (Leicester, 1993).

¹²⁵ Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley’s Lover Trial*, 251.

¹²⁶ Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life, with Special References to Publications and Entertainments* (London, 1957), chaps. 1–5, 10.

function as a sort of "native informant" in the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial. Gardiner's deputy asked Hoggart about his upbringing as a step toward the question: "What is your view as to the genuineness and necessity in this book for the use of the four-letter words in the mouth of Mellors [the gamekeeper]?" Hoggart replied that although working-class people were hardly the only ones to utter profanities, they certainly did use those words. "If you have worked on a building site, like I have, you will find they recur over and over again."¹²⁷

Hoggart, too, had spent more than a decade as an adult education tutor. In the trial he used his teaching experience to good effect, explaining how Lawrence was trying to redeem profane words and how he was the inheritor of the "puritan" tradition.¹²⁸ (The defense cast Lawrence as a visionary or a preacher, someone with a message to get across. By tying the novel's value as literature to a higher purpose, the defense was able to sidestep complicated questions about literary form and did not have to base its case on the public value of aesthetic experiences.)¹²⁹ Hoggart remained determinedly patient while Griffith-Jones tried to make him look like an obnoxious intellectual: "I am obliged for that lecture"; "the question is quite a simple one to answer without another lecture. You are not at Leicester University at the moment." Sybille Bedford italicized "Leicester" in the account of the trial she wrote for *Esquire* to indicate the "thin distaste" in Griffith-Jones's voice. The way Hoggart remembered it, Griffith-Jones paused slightly before the name of the university, "as if he had to recover the name of so insignificant a place from the depths of his memory . . . He had given himself away. He saw himself as cross-examining someone who taught at a provincial and therefore inconsiderable place, for inconsiderable people."¹³⁰ The contrast between the two men's manner reinforced the impression of more than one observer that Hoggart had won the duel.¹³¹

The trial is remembered as a symbolic threshold to the 1960s, but its politics were very characteristic of the 1950s. The position of the expert witnesses exemplifies that decade's "double helix of democratization and deference."¹³² After World War II, established scholars and men and women of letters addressed much larger and more diverse audiences, as a consequence of changes in the media landscape and perhaps because of educational reforms as well. Younger and self-consciously provincial or

¹²⁷ Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley's Lover Trial*, 144. See also Sean Matthews, "The Uses of D. H. Lawrence," in Sue Owen, ed., *Re-reading Richard Hoggart: Life, Literature, Language, Education* (Newcastle, 2008), 85–101, here 92.

¹²⁸ Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley's Lover Trial*, 144–145, 148–154. The argument about "purifying" profane words was one that the defense solicitors wanted to push. UBL, Penguin Archive, DM1679/9, Rubinstein, "Draft Brief," 8, 14.

¹²⁹ Consequently, the arguments in the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial were less complex than those a *Lolita* trial would have generated. Lawrence's narration is third-person, whereas Nabokov's novel is narrated by its "nymphet-loving" protagonist. While *Lady Chatterley's Lover* could be plausibly said to articulate its author's philosophy, the spiraling ambivalence of *Lolita* makes it much harder to discuss in terms of authorial philosophy and authorial responsibility. For some of the problems that indirect modes of narration could give rise to in obscenity trials, see Dominick LaCapra, *"Madame Bovary" on Trial* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982).

¹³⁰ Bedford, "The Trial of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*," 162; Hoggart, *An Imagined Life*, 55–56; Rolph, *The Trial of Lady Chatterley*, 100. The version used by Hyde does not name Hoggart's institution but renders the sentence "You are not addressing the university at the moment" (Hyde, *The Lady Chatterley's Lover Trial*, 149). I think the court stenographer on whom Hyde relied misheard Griffith-Jones.

¹³¹ Annan, *Our Age*, 131; Bedford, "The Trial of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*," 160–163.

¹³² Christopher Hilliard, *English as a Vocation: The "Scrutiny" Movement* (Oxford, 2012), 250.

working-class writers and intellectuals, not least Hoggart, also reached this broad public. Liberal or dissenting voices benefited especially from these developments in Britain's public culture (there had long been ample media opportunities for more populist commentators as well as standard-bearers for tradition). This was a moment of cultural democratization that depended on the persistence of social hierarchy and intellectual authority. The deference was not just to established elites, but also to the value of art and learning. As Michael Bell has observed, the period between the end of World War II and the early 1960s was "one in which the older hierarchical assumptions of social leadership overlapped with a new openness as to who might perform this function."¹³³ Men from modest backgrounds speaking for "culture" assumed the gendered privileges of social leadership. Penguin won the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* case both because it could lay claim to that authority and because it, and most definitely not the prosecution, could claim sympathy with the popular sentiments of the time.

There is, in this combination of deference and democratization, an echo of the uneasy coexistence of the idea of the liberal subject and hierarchical Tory thinking. However, the postwar conjunction of the democratic and the deferential was much shorter-lived. It was undone by the more thoroughgoing cultural transformations of the early and mid-1960s, as those assumptions of social leadership collapsed.¹³⁴ A decade later, the spectacle of middle-aged male academics earnestly explicating Lawrence's treatment of sex would have seemed almost as ridiculous as Griffith-Jones's question about wives and servants.

THE OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS ACT HAD NOT BEEN drafted to put an end to variable obscenity, but its expert-testimony provisions opened a space in which the social assumptions of the law could be exposed to challenge. Now a court confronted the question that had gone begging in the 1952 Hank Janson trial: Were there to be different standards for books priced for "the limited class" and books within reach of factory workers? Even before Gardiner had argued against the unfairness of the distinction, however, Griffith-Jones's reference to wives and servants had made the working assumptions of the prosecution appear absurd and outdated. Variable obscenity was, like the Marseille dockworkers' entitlements that William H. Sewell, Jr., has analyzed so suggestively, a "pattern . . . of social relations" capable of being "reproduced over time even in the context of environing social changes."¹³⁵ It had been reproduced not only by the paternalism of senior lawyers but also by the routines of policing and the iterative force of reasoning from precedent, the circularity

¹³³ Michael Bell, "F. R. Leavis," in A. Walton Litz, Louis Menand, and Lawrence Rainey, eds., *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 7: *Modernism and the New Criticism* (Cambridge, 2000), 389–422, here 392. See also Stefan Collini, *Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain* (Oxford, 2006), esp. chaps. 6, 7, 16–18, and p. 421.

¹³⁴ Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800–2000* (2001; repr., Abingdon, 2009), chap. 8; Mort, *Capital Affairs*, chap. 7; Marcus Collins, ed., *The Permissive Society and Its Enemies: Sixties British Culture* (London, 2007).

¹³⁵ William H. Sewell, Jr., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago, 2005), 272.

of which meant that the social judgments of obscenity law did not reflect the "envi-roning social changes" of a democratizing culture.¹³⁶

Griffith-Jones's question and the defense's license to talk about the social and ethical value of making an explicit book freely available disrupted this circuit. Although the lawyers' and witnesses' public "seminar" rapidly established the trial as tellingly representative of a critical moment in the history of modern Britain, it was a highly contingent event.¹³⁷ Yet this is often how major change occurs in a culture-within-a-culture such as the law. Large-scale social transformations can be "envi-roning" without being pervasive. It is frequently via a change in a localized practice or mechanism that they make their impact on law, or literature, or education, or another cultural formation with its own distinctive organization.

After the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial, obscenity law in England was democratized in the sense that purported differences between types of adult readers were no longer material. When Gardiner made his most expansive democratic claims, he spoke of equality rather than liberty. In this respect, he was working with the tradition he had inherited. Since the nineteenth century, the social judgments of English obscenity law had focused on readers' defenses against corruption, their capacity for self-government, rather than on the place of reading and freedom of expression in British culture. Police and prosecutors' reasoning did not move from the premise of a general freedom down into specific exceptions: the operative questions turned on entitlement and qualification to read certain books. The point is not that the reality of state action failed to live up to the rhetoric of "English liberties," but that the rhetoric itself often was absent.

So in K. D. Ewing and C. A. Gearty's scrupulous account of "the struggle for civil liberties" in the era of the two world wars, freedom of expression seldom appears as a consideration that courts and the executive had to work around or make excuses about.¹³⁸ Earlier English jurisprudence has provided little guidance in judgments involving the generally worded guarantee of "freedom of expression" in Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and enshrined in the United Kingdom's Human Rights Act of 1998.¹³⁹ Ideas of free expression were muted, or barely registered, even in areas of law that concerned speech acts or writing where there were no countervailing concerns such as public morals (as there were in obscenity cases) or national security (as in sedition cases). Criminal libel provides a good example. Unlike the corresponding tort, criminal libel did not require publication to a third party and reputational damage: the offense lay in making hurtful statements. As late as the mid-twentieth century, criminal libel was widely used by police and by citizens bringing private prosecutions to punish or restrain people who assailed

¹³⁶ For an acute discussion of the nostrum that "the legal system adapts to changing social needs," see Robert W. Gordon, "Critical Legal Histories," *Stanford Law Review* 36 (1984): 57–125, here 64–65, 68.

¹³⁷ The back cover of Rolph, *The Trial of Lady Chatterley*, described the trial as "probably the most thorough and expensive seminar on Lawrence's work ever given."

¹³⁸ K. D. Ewing and C. A. Gearty, *The Struggle for Civil Liberties: Political Freedom and the Rule of Law in Britain, 1914–1945* (Oxford, 2000), esp. 153–154.

¹³⁹ Jane Wright, *Tort Law and Human Rights* (Oxford, 2001), chap. 6, provides evidence for this contention, though this is not her argument.

others with insulting letters. The propriety of using a law governing expression to deal with personal harassment did not become an issue.¹⁴⁰

With criminal libel and obscene libel alike, the laws relating to expression were treated as components in the machinery of social order. We come back to Blackstone: at stake in the punishment of offensive utterances was “the public peace,” not “the *liberty of the press*, properly understood.” In an age pervaded by rights talk, as our own time is, it is worth exploring the ways in which acts of reading and writing could be conceived quite differently only half a century ago.

¹⁴⁰ Even in a case that was subjected to unusually intense scrutiny by lawyers in the Home Office and the Court of Criminal Appeal, questions of freedom of expression were not raised. This was the “Littlehampton letters case,” an account of which appears in Travers Humphreys, *Criminal Days: Recollections and Reflections* (London, 1946), chap. 7. There are case files in TNA, MEPO 3/380 and HO 144/2452. Other twentieth-century criminal libel cases that support the generalization above include *R. v. Nelson*, 1900 (TNA, CRIM 1/64/10); *R. v. Cheeseman*, 1904 (TNA, CRIM 1/89/2); *R. v. Shepherd*, 1932 (TNA, CRIM 1/593); *R. v. Cooksey*, 1934 (TNA, CRIM 1/723); *R. v. Gray*, 1936 (TNA, CRIM 1/818); *R. v. Abraham*, 1943 (TNA, CRIM 1/1547); *R. v. Elliott*, 1951 (TNA, CRIM 1/2142); *R. v. Leftley*, 1953 (TNA, ASSI 45/163); *R. v. Flynn*, 1962 (TNA, CRIM 1/4009); *R. v. Calthorpe*, 1972 (TNA, J 202/12). Criminal libel cases were usually confined to police or magistrates’ courts and were not reported—hence the archival references. For a detailed survey of reported cases, see G. S. McBain, “Abolishing Criminal Libel,” *Australian Law Journal* 84, no. 7 (2010): 439–504.

Christopher Hilliard is Associate Professor of History at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *To Exercise Our Talents: The Democratization of Writing in Britain* (Harvard University Press, 2006) and *English as a Vocation: The “Scrutiny” Movement* (Oxford University Press, 2012). He is currently working on libel law and the theory and practice of freedom of expression in modern Britain.

Sudden Nationhood: The Microdynamics of Intercommunal Relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina after World War II

MAX BERGHOLZ

ON A DAY IN 1962 NEAR VIŠEGRAD, the town in eastern Bosnia that the Nobel laureate Ivo Andrić made famous in his novel *The Bridge on the Drina* (1945), a fight occurred in which one man killed another. While the dead man was a Muslim and his fellow combatant was a Serb, when the local communist authorities put the latter on trial for murder, it was not clear whether the incident had a basis in “ethnic conflict.” Violence among local men, sometimes resulting in death, was not uncommon in the region, but such altercations were often rooted in ongoing personal disputes, especially when alcohol was involved, and did not necessarily have anything to do with the national identities of those who took part. Moreover, this killing occurred during the heyday of the government’s promotion of the ideology of “Brotherhood and Unity” [*bratstvo i jedinstvo*], which stressed interethnic solidarity while strongly sanctioning expressions of nationalism, both of which led to a dramatic decrease in the everyday use of national categories after World War II. Nevertheless, at one point the nearly fifty Muslims who had come to watch the trial began shouting “Fuck your Serb-Chetnik mother!” toward the accused, making reference not only to his nationality, but also to the mostly Serb guerrilla fighters, known as Chetniks, who had murdered thousands of Muslims in the region during the Second World War. They demanded that the court sentence the man to death, or else they would take matters into their own hands. Things got so out of control that at least ten policemen had to intervene to restore order. After the incident, local Muslims were reported to have told each other that the accused “will not be punished the way he deserves because

For funding this research, I thank the International Research and Exchanges Board; the American Council of Learned Societies; the Fulbright International Institute for Education; the American Councils for International Education; the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities; and the American Historical Association. None of these organizations and institutions is responsible for my interpretations. For support and critical feedback, I thank Lynne Viola, Maria Todorova, Edin Hajdarpasić, Alex Toshkov, Pieter Judson, Charles King, Jeffrey Kopstein, Doris Bergen, Derek Penslar, Dave Gerlach, and especially the editors of and the anonymous reviewers for the *American Historical Review*. Special thanks to Theodora Dragostinova for the invitation to present an early version of this article at the conference “Beyond Mosque, Church, and State,” held at Ohio State University in October 2011. Many thanks to those in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the wider region without whose assistance and trust this article could not have been written: Asija Filan, Enisa Keča, Dženita Halilagić, Amela Mujagić, Zoran Bibanović, Jovan Pešalj, Šaban Zahirović, Sandra Biletić, Saša Glamočak, Fahrudin Kulenović, Mina Kujović, Ljiljana Stanković, Saša Ilić, Boro Jurišić, Nataša “Đina” Kadić, Branislava Vojnović, Nikica Barić, and Verica Stošić. Very special thanks to Eleanor Mallet and Ayla Khosroshahi. I dedicate this work to the late Michael F. Jiménez.

his Serb friends in the government are protecting him. If he were Muslim, he would have been sentenced to death.”¹

What explains this rapid crystallization of an antagonistic sense of “us” and “them,” especially before the court had the chance to establish whether the nationalities of the victim and the accused had anything to do with the killing? How can such a powerful sense of nationhood suddenly appear at such moments? Influential scholars of nationalism, including Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, and Miroslav Hroch, have proposed various developmental explanations of nationhood, arguing that a strong sense of it evolves gradually over a long period of time, mostly in response to significant economic, political, and cultural transformations.² Others, such as historians Pieter Judson, Jeremy King, James Bjork, and Tara Zahra, have questioned this developmental paradigm by showing that ordinary people often remain indifferent when elites attempt to promote a sense of nationhood.³ Some political scientists have also pointed to the national indifference of the masses, highlighting instead the role of political elites in fomenting conflicts along ethnic lines when widespread feelings of interethnic animosity apparently do not exist.⁴

While these approaches certainly have their merits, they offer little in the way of answers to the questions that arise from the account of the fight near Višegrad. How are we to make sense of situations in which, like a train switching tracks, an abrupt shift takes place, leading to the emergence of a sense of “sudden nationhood,” marked by an antagonistic form of intensely felt collective solidarity and a simultaneous collective categorization of others as enemies? Despite the booming interest in the study of ethnicity and nationhood, this phenomenon remains curiously understudied, especially at the micro level. As the sociologist Rogers Brubaker observed, “I know of no sustained analytical discussions of nationness as an event, as something that suddenly crystallizes rather than gradually develops, as a contingent, conjuncturally fluctuating, and precarious frame of vision and basis for individual and collective action.”⁵ Some scholars have responded to his observation by producing macro-level studies of the role played by large-scale, contingent events in the

¹ Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine [hereafter ABiH], Fond Centralnog komiteta Saveza komunista Bosne i Hercegovine [hereafter CK SK BiH], kutija [hereafter kut.] 37, Aktuelni problemi u oblasti međunacionalnih odnosa, November 1962, 22–23.

² Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983); Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Cambridge, 1985).

³ Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006); Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton, N.J., 2002); James E. Bjork, *Neither German nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2008); Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1948* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2008). See also the contributions in *Austria History Yearbook 43* (April 2012), edited by Pieter M. Judson and Tara Zahra, which are largely devoted to the subject of “national indifference” in East-Central Europe.

⁴ See, for example, V. P. Gagnon, Jr., *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004).

⁵ Rogers Brubaker, “Rethinking Nationhood: Nation as Institutionalized Form, Practical Category, Contingent Event,” in Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge, 1996), 13–22, here 19.

success and failure of nationalist movements.⁶ Yet few have taken up the challenge of investigating and explaining how nationhood can suddenly surface at the micro level—in small communities and among neighbors. This is a subject that demands attention if we wish to better understand how ordinary people practice nationhood, and how their actions affect local intercommunal relations.⁷

A newly available source base, containing reports on local intercommunal relations in post–World War II Bosnia-Herzegovina, has made such a micro-level examination possible. These documents, compiled during the 1950s and 1960s by municipal committees [*opštinski komiteti*] of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Savez komunista Bosne i Hercegovine] and only recently released by the State Archive of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo and the Archive of the Una-Sana Canton in Bihać, were originally produced for internal use only. The purpose of their creation was to help the League's Central Committee conduct surveillance on local intercommunal relations and, most importantly, to aid in finding ways to eradicate any manifestations of “national chauvinism” among the residents in local communities who were now living together in the shadow of a civil war and inter-ethnic violence. By examining the reports from a single region, and supplementing those documents with the views of some local residents, we can undertake an eventful analysis of local incidents of conflict, thereby shedding new light on the microdynamics of nationhood and the power of contingent and unexpected events to radically and suddenly transform social relations.⁸ By analyzing how local incidents can trigger mental schemas of collective categorization that are based in traumatic memories and experiences of mass violence, we can better understand how nationhood can suddenly become such a powerful lens through which ordinary people interpret their world.⁹ More broadly, we can open up new ways for historians and others to explain how nationalism works.

LOCATED APPROXIMATELY FIFTY KILOMETERS southeast of the city of Bihać in northwestern Bosnia, the Kulen Vakuf region was, on the eve of the Second World War, composed primarily of Muslims and Orthodox Serbs, along with a smaller number of Catholic Croats.¹⁰ The community's pre–World War II history, though not without

⁶ See, for example, Mark R. Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (Cambridge, 2002); Eric Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: The Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003).

⁷ For an important study that devotes extensive attention to how ordinary people use (and especially how they do not use) the idiom of nationhood in everyday life, but which does not focus on accounting for sudden surges in a sense of antagonistic nationhood, see Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox, and Liana Grancea, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton, N.J., 2006).

⁸ On the definition and merits of an eventful analysis, see William H. Sewell, Jr., “Three Temporalities: Toward an Eventful Sociology,” in Terrence J. McDonald, ed., *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), 245–280.

⁹ On how events can activate existing cultural schemas, see Marshall Sahlin, “The Return of the Event, Again,” in Sahlin, *Culture in Practice: Selected Essays* (London, 2000), 293–352.

¹⁰ The approximate ethnic structure of the region in 1941 was as follows: 5,600 Muslims, 8,600 Serb Orthodox, and 1,600 Croat Catholics. The category “Muslim” originally had only religious meaning in Bosnia, with the Islamic community being created as a result of the Ottoman conquest of the region in the fifteenth century. It was during the second half of the nineteenth century, and throughout the twentieth, that activists emerged and sought, in various ways and at various points, to conceptualize Bosnia's

conflict (due mostly to Ottoman policies that pitted Muslim landlords against their predominantly Orthodox Christian tenants), was one of long-term peace and manageable discord. Prior to the Second World War, serious intercommunal violence had occurred only once in the region, during the peasant uprising of 1875–1878.¹¹

The watershed moment when mass violence first took hold was the summer of 1941. It began in June with the killings of Serbs by small numbers of local Croats and Muslims known as Ustašas, who had taken power after the German invasion of Yugoslavia and the creation of the fascist Independent State of Croatia.¹² As was true of the mass killings in 1941 in other parts of Eastern Europe and the Balkans, such as Poland, Ukraine, Belorussia, and Romania, it appears that many of the local perpetrators took part primarily to settle personal disputes with their neighbors and to steal from them.¹³ The Ustašas' murder of about six hundred unarmed Serb ci-

Muslim population in terms more like a "nation," akin, e.g., to "Serbs" and "Croats." For an introduction to this subject, see Ivo Banac, "Bosnian Muslims: From Religious Community to Socialist Nationhood and Post-Communist Statehood, 1918–1992," in Mark Pinson, ed., *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 129–153; Fikret Adanir, "The Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Historiographic Discussion," in Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faruqi, eds., *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography* (Leiden, 2002), 267–304. For a pathbreaking analysis of nationalist activists in Bosnia during the second half of the nineteenth century, see Edin Hajdarpasić, "Whose Bosnia? National Movements, Imperial Reforms, and the Political Re-ordering of the Late Ottoman Balkans, 1840–1875" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2008).

¹¹ While the community was divided along the lines of confession because of the Ottoman authorities' policy of rewarding Muslims with land and other privileges (which turned most Christians into landless tenant farmers, akin to serfs [known in Bosnia as *kmetovi*]), serious tensions and conflicts also existed in the region *among* Muslims and *among* Christians. On this under-researched subject, see Esad Bibanović, "Stanovništvo Kulen Vakufa i okoline kroz istoriju" (unpub. ms., private collection, Sarajevo, 1980). For examples of the violence between 1875 and 1878, much of which was committed against Orthodox Serb peasants in the villages near Kulen Vakuf by local Muslims under the command of landholding elites (*begovi*), see Sir Arthur J. Evans, *Illyrian Letters: A Revised Selection of Correspondence from the Illyrian Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, Addressed to the "Manchester Guardian" during the Year 1877* (1878; repr., New York, 2007), 39, 77–81, 85, 90–91; on the violence that Serb Orthodox rebels committed against local Muslims, see Bibanović, "Stanovništvo Kulen Vakufa i okoline kroz istoriju," 92–95.

¹² Archival documents suggest that at least fifty-one local men joined the Ustašas (thirty-two of whom were Muslims and nineteen Croats). See Arhiv Jugoslavije [hereafter AJ], Fond 110, Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača, kut. 817, Okružni sud Bihać, Pojedinačne optužnice i presude, 1946, dos. br. 817-320, Javno tužništvo za Okrug Bihać, Krivični predmet protiv Burzić Ave, May 27, 1946; *ibid.*, dos. br. 817-376, Javno tužništvo za Okrug Bihać, Krivični predmet protiv Kadić Bege, September 23, 1946; *ibid.*, dos. br. 817-403, Javno tužništvo za Okrug Bihać, Krivični predmet protiv Kozlice Agana, October 12, 1946; *ibid.*, dos. br. 817-421, Javno tužništvo za Okrug Bihać, Krivični predmet protiv Kulenović Mahmuta, August 26, 1946; *ibid.*, dos. br. 817-469, Javno tužništvo za Okrug Bihać, Krivični predmet protiv Pehlivanović Ibrahim, May 30, 1946; *ibid.*, dos. br. 817-534, Javno tužništvo za Okrug Bihać, Krivični predmet protiv Sušnjar-Vukalić Mujage, October 15, 1946; *ibid.*, kut. 531, dos. br. 5361, Zapisnik br. 14, Mjesni odbor: Vrtoče, July 31, 1946; *ibid.*, Zapisnik br. 10, Mjesni odbor: Kalati, August 5, 1946; *ibid.*, Zapisnik br. 20, Mjesni odbor: Rajinovci, August 7, 1946; *ibid.*, Zapisnik br. 21, Mjesni odbor: Veliki Stjenjani, August 8, 1946; *ibid.*, Zapisnik br. 22, Mjesni odbor: Kulen Vakuf, August 9, 1946; ABiH, Fond Zemaljske komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njegovih pomagača, kut. 91, Zapisnik br. 22, Mjesni odbor: Malo Očijevo, August 9, 1946; *ibid.*, kut. 68, Srez Bosanski Petrovac, Zapisnik br. 18, Mjesni odbor: Prkosi, August 4, 1946; *ibid.*, kut. 14, Srez Bihać, Zapisnik br. 21, Mjesni odbor: Veliki Stjenjani, August 8, 1946.

¹³ For Poland, see Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogroms and Massacres during the Summer of 1941 in the Łomża and Białystok District: The Case of Radziłów," in Beate Kosmala and Georgi Verbeec, eds., *Facing the Catastrophe: Jews and Non-Jews in Europe during World War II* (Oxford, 2011), 41–72; Żbikowski, "Local Anti-Jewish Pogroms in the Occupied Territories of Eastern Poland, June–July 1941," in Lucjan Dobroszycki and Jeffrey Gurock, eds., *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Studies and Sources*

vilians caused a Serb insurgency, which the handful of local communists struggled to mold into a multiethnic guerrilla army fighting for socialist revolution. The communist leadership's weak hold over the insurgents became evident in late July and early August, when the peasant fighters attacked four Croatian villages and, instead of settling scores only with local Ustašas, massacred every Croat they could find. Several hundred people were killed, including many women and children.¹⁴ Yet the climax of communist failure was a much larger series of massacres that occurred in and around the town of Kulen Vakuf between September 6 and 8, 1941. During those three days, revenge-driven Serb insurgents and peasants murdered nearly two thousand of their mostly unarmed Muslim neighbors.¹⁵

The most striking aspect of this local violence was the importance of short-term situational factors in triggering and escalating the mass killing. It was not deeply rooted, widespread hatred among neighbors that led a small group of extremists and opportunists to plunder and commit murder, but rather the sudden arrival of war and the establishment of a fascist regime. This violence then set off a series of massacres that quickly engulfed the entire community and assumed genocidal dimensions. Similar to the dynamics of mass violence in Rwanda in 1994, the context of war and the initial acts of killing in Kulen Vakuf produced a rapid "collective categorization of the other," in which the soft boundaries of religion and nationality between former neighbors who historically had generally interacted peacefully were quickly transformed into hard, lethal lines of division.¹⁶ Many of the Serbs who survived the massacres committed by the Ustašas suddenly viewed all Muslims and Croats as guilty, which led them to commit revenge killings. In turn, many of the Croats and Muslims who survived those retaliatory killings now suddenly felt that all Serbs were guilty, which further escalated the violence.¹⁷ The violence in the

on the Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941–1945 (New York, 1993), 173–179; for Ukraine, see Wendy Lower, "Pogroms, Mob Violence and Genocide in Western Ukraine, Summer 1941: Varied Histories, Explanations and Comparisons," *Journal of Genocide Research* 13, no. 3 (September 2011): 217–246; Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington, Ind., 2008); Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1919–1945* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002); for Belorussia, see Leonid Rein, "Local Collaboration in the Execution of the 'Final Solution' in Nazi-Occupied Belorussia," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20, no. 3 (Winter 2006): 381–409; for Romania, see Radu Ioanid, "The Holocaust in Romania: The Iași Pogrom of June 1941," in David Cesarani, ed., *Holocaust: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies* (London, 2004), 475–509; Vladimir Solonari, "Patterns of Violence: The Local Population and the Mass Murder of Jews in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, July–August 1941," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 8, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 749–787.

¹⁴ The Croatian villages included Boričevac, Brotnja, Vrtoče, and Krnjeuša. On these killings, see Josip Jurjević, *Pogrom u Krnjeuši 9. i 10. kolovoza 1941. godine* (Zagreb, 1999); Ana Došen, *To je bilo onda* (Zagreb, 2006); Došen, *Krnjeuša u srcu i sjećanju* (Opatija, 1994); Josip Pavičić, ed., *Dossier Boričevac* (Zagreb, 2012); Dane Ivezić, "Srbi su pobili cijeli rod Ivezića u selu Brotnja," *Vila Velebita: list Like i velibitskog primorja*, br. 31, March 17, 1995, 10; Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, *Odmetnička zvjerstva pustošenja u Nezavisnoj državi Hrvatskoj u prvim mjesecima života Hrvatske Narodne Države* (Zagreb, 1942), 38.

¹⁵ On the history of mass violence in the Kulen Vakuf region during 1941, see Max Bergholz, "The Strange Silence: Explaining the Absence of Monuments for Muslim Civilians Killed in Bosnia during the Second World War," *East European Politics & Societies* 24, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 408–434.

¹⁶ On the "collective categorization of the other" in Rwanda during 1994, see Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006). For a more theoretical treatment of this concept, see James Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (New York, 2002).

¹⁷ For examples of the rapid emergence of this sensibility in the aftermath of the mass killings in



FIGURE 1: The community together before the Second World War: Muslim and Serb members of the soccer team Mladost [Youth] in Kulen Vakuf posing together for a photograph in 1937. From Esad Bibanović, "Kulen Vakuf: Svjedočanstvo jednog vremena" [Kulen Vakuf: Testimony of a Time] (unpublished manuscript, written during the 1970s and 1980s), 39.

region thus rapidly created new perceptions of extremely polarized group identities by inscribing hard boundaries through the act of killing. This counterintuitive dynamic—in which violence creates antagonistic identities rather than antagonistic identities leading to violence—is one that scholars have begun to call attention to in other contexts, such as the civil war in Greece and riots at various places in South Asia.¹⁸

In short, the mass killings were driven primarily by unexpected local situational events rather than a meticulous plan conceived by a state leadership seeking to exploit deep, preexisting antagonistic social cleavages, and the mass violence that occurred rapidly produced high levels of intercommunal polarization. As the civil war unfolded, the communist-led, multiethnic Partisan resistance movement, which was dedicated to interethnic coexistence, eventually gained the upper hand. Paradoxically, it absorbed many of the Serbs who had perpetrated the massacres of Croats and Muslims. This wartime dynamic resulted, after the Partisan victory in 1945, in

the Kulen Vakuf region during the summer of 1941, see Esad Bibanović, "Kulen Vakuf: Svjedočanstvo jednog vremena" (unpub. ms., private collection), 54–55; Milan Vukmanović, *Ustaški zločini na području Bihaća u ljeto 1941. godine* (Banja Luka, 1987), 130; Mara Kecman-Hodak, "Sjećanje na Bušević, Kestenovac, Bosanske Strpčice i Kalate," in Vladimir Čerkez, ed., *Bosanski Petrovac u NOB: Zbornik sjećanja*, 7 vols. (Bosanski Petrovac, 1974), 3: 150–159; Nikola Karanović, "Sadještvo sa ličkim ustanicima," in Pero Morača, ed., *Drvar, 1941–1945: Sjećanja učesnika*, 5 vols. (Drvar, 1972), 2: 407–414, here 410.

¹⁸ For Greece, see Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge, 2006); for South Asia, see Veena Das, "Collective Violence and the Shifting Categories of Communal Riots, Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide," in Dan Stone, ed., *The Historiography of Genocide* (Basingstoke, 2008), 93–127; on this dynamic more generally, see Glenn Bowman, "The Violence in Identity," in Bettina E. Schmidt and Ingo W. Schröder, eds., *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict* (London, 2001), 25–46.

the formation of a multifaceted culture of silence regarding the mass killings of Croat and Muslim civilians, which the communist authorities, along with local perpetrators and survivors, helped to create and enforce.¹⁹

In the postwar period, there were three main mental schemas that structured people's thinking about intercommunal relations. The first was harmony. Given the amount of violence during the war, it is perhaps surprising that relations among some residents were more positive after it ended. A key element was the lengths to which some neighbors had gone to save each other during the peak of the violence (June–September 1941). More than a few took great risks to rescue their neighbors, sometimes paying with their lives.²⁰ Those whose lives were saved in one round of massacres might then go on to save those who had previously saved them. This dynamic ensured that deep feelings of admiration and gratitude existed after 1945. For example, the wife of a local Muslim man named Mujo Dervišević, who narrowly escaped being murdered at a pit where Serb insurgents executed more than four hundred Muslims, always praised the Serb who saved her family, inviting him for coffee and referring to him as “my brother.”²¹ Other Muslims fondly recalled their Serb neighbors who had saved their lives during the war, making it a point to remind others who had not experienced the same treatment that “the Serbs are not all the same.”²² Those who were rescued by their neighbors during the war apparently came to believe that it was a person's character and behavior that mattered most, not his or her nationality.²³

The positive postwar relations between some Serbs and Muslims in the region were visible once the two communities began rebuilding their houses of worship in Kulen Vakuf during the mid to late 1950s. When the Serbs were rebuilding their Orthodox church, they received assistance from some Muslim neighbors, who donated materials and money.²⁴ In 1962, the local communist authorities were surprised to discover that the man who had made the largest contribution, for the church's bell and tower, was a Muslim.²⁵ This generosity went both ways: when the

¹⁹ On the postwar silence about the killing of Croat and Muslim civilians, see Bergholz, “The Strange Silence.”

²⁰ For examples of intercommunal rescue during the summer of 1941, see Bibanović, “Kulen Vakuf,” 48–50; Bibanović, “Kulenvakufski komunisti u radničkom pokretu i ustanku,” in Galib Šljivo, ed., *Bihać u novijoj istoriji (1918–1945): Zbornik radova sa Naučnog skupa održanog u Bihaću 9. i 10. oktobra 1986. godine*, 2 vols. (Banjaluka, 1987), 1: 419–466, here 432–434; Bibanović, “Stanovništvo Kulen Vakufa i okoline kroz istoriju,” 120–124; Abas Mušeta, “Kulen Vakuf: Tragedija od 10.04 do 06–18.09 1941. godine” (unpub. ms., private collection), 36; Milan Šijan, “Nastanak i djelovanje KPJ na teritoriji kotara do oslobođenja Donjeg Lapca februara 1942. godine,” in Đuro Zatezalo, ed., *Kotar Donji Lapac u Narodnooslobodilačkom ratu, 1941–1945* (Karlovac, 1985), 34–52, here 41, 43; Đoko Jovanić, “Ustanak u donjolapačkom kotaru 1941. godine,” *ibid.*, 96–156, here 105; Milan Obradović, “Zločini na kotaru Donji Lapac od 1941. do 1945,” *ibid.*, 821–847, here 824, 831–832; Mićo Medić, “Obavještajna služba na području donjolapačkog kotara,” *ibid.*, 888–926, here 889.

²¹ Interview with Đula Seferović, October 13, 2008, Ostrovica.

²² Interviews with Sead Kadić, November 3, 2008, Bihać; Adil Kulenović, November 7, 2006, Sarajevo; and Svetozar Tankosić, October 16, 2008, Martin Brod.

²³ Interview with Branko Dobrac, October 1, 2008, Kulen Vakuf.

²⁴ Interviews with Mujo Hasanagić, November 4, 2008, Kulen Vakuf; Ale Galijašević, October 12, 2008, Kulen Vakuf; and Sead Kadić, November 3, 2008, Bihać.

²⁵ Arhiv Unsko-sanskog kantona [hereafter AUSK], Fond Saveza komunista Sreskog komiteta Bosne i Hercegovine Bihać [hereafter SK SK BiH Bihać], kut. 195, Informacija o nekim pitanjima ideološkog i političkog djelovanja osnovnih organizacija Saveza komunista na opštini Bihać, February 2, 1962, 5–6. On the reaction of the local authorities to the building of the Orthodox church in Kulen

Muslims began rebuilding their mosque, some of their Serb neighbors gave donations.²⁶ It is impossible to know exactly what motivated these individuals, but it seems likely that the violence of 1941—specifically, surviving the mass killings because of what their neighbors did to save them—had the paradoxical effect of strengthening intercommunal relations. This made postwar social harmony a reality for some.

A second mental schema, which at least gave the appearance of harmony, was state-enforced “Brotherhood and Unity.” As a local Serb Partisan remembered, “[National] relations were good, but they had to be good. Brotherhood and Unity was the law.”²⁷ Toward this end, the local authorities staged various celebrations, memorializing such events as President Josip Broz Tito’s birthday on May 25 and the day that marked the communist insurgency, July 27, 1941.²⁸ These were engineered, in part, to provide citizens of different nationalities with common holidays.²⁹ Another method that was used to unify the multiethnic population was to selectively remember the war dead in non-ethnic ways, such as through the public ritual of carrying wreaths to the graves of “Fallen Fighters” [*pali borci*] and “Victims of Fascist Terror” [*žrtve fašističkog terora*] on July 4, “The Day of the Fighter” [*Dan borca*], and other commemorative days related to the war.³⁰ The authorities also organized “work actions” [*radne akcije*], such as building roads and rail lines.³¹ Not only were these activities geared toward rebuilding and expanding the existing infrastructure, they were also designed to encourage people of different nationalities who were now living together after a civil war to work together toward common objectives.

This is not to say that the Yugoslav communists sought to transform their multiethnic population into a new monoethnic “Yugoslav nation.” Like their Soviet counterparts, they generally supported the national principle and often encouraged nationally defined territories, languages, and cultures. But all such expressions had to take place within the framework of “Brotherhood and Unity,” which could be loosely compared to the concept of “the Friendship of Peoples” in the Soviet Union. In both cases, “nations” could be national in form, but they had to be socialist in content and united as “brothers.” Antagonistic nationalism was not tolerated.³²

Vakuf, see *ibid.*, kut. 196 I, Narodni odbor sreza Bihać, Komisija za vjerska pitanja, Informacija o stanju i nekim problemima u razvitku odnosa država-crkva (na srezu), 1962, 3.

²⁶ Interview with Mujo Hasanagić, November 4, 2008, Kulen Vakuf.

²⁷ Interview with Dimitar Reljić, October 10, 2008, Martin Brod.

²⁸ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 318, Dnevne informacije sreskih komiteta, 1949, Sreski komitet Bihać, May 3, 1949, 1; May 26, 1949, 1; *ibid.*, kut. 139, Oblasni komitet KP BiH, Odjeljenje za propagandu i agitaciju, U vezi proslave dana ustanka 27. jula, July 8, 1950, 1.

²⁹ By 1961, which was the twentieth anniversary of the insurgency, at least fifteen such holidays were to be celebrated in the Bihać region. For a complete list, see *ibid.*, kut. 199, Program proslave 20-to godišnjice Ustanka naroda Jugoslavije na području opštine Bihać, February 9, 1961, 2–4.

³⁰ See, for example, AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 196, Opštinski odbor Saveza boraca Bihać, Pripreme proslave 4. jula, “Dana borca,” pripremanje i polaganje vijenaca na grobove palih boraca i žrtve fašističkog terora, June 17, 1956. See also *Krajina: list Saveza socijalističkog radnog naroda bihačkog sreza*, “Svečano je proslavljen ‘4. juli’ Dan borca,” July 27, 1956, 1.

³¹ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 318, Dnevne informacije sreskih komiteta, 1949, Sreski komitet Bihać, May 3, 1949, 1; May 11, 1949, 1; May 14, 1949, 1; *ibid.*, Sreski komitet Bosanski Petrovac, May 20, 1949, 1.

³² On the similarities and differences between Yugoslav and Soviet nationality policies, see Veljko Vujačić and Viktor Zaslavsky, “The Causes of Disintegration in the USSR and Yugoslavia,” *Telos* 1991, no. 88 (1991): 120–140; for a discussion of the cultural politics of “Brotherhood and Unity” in Yugoslavia, see Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics*

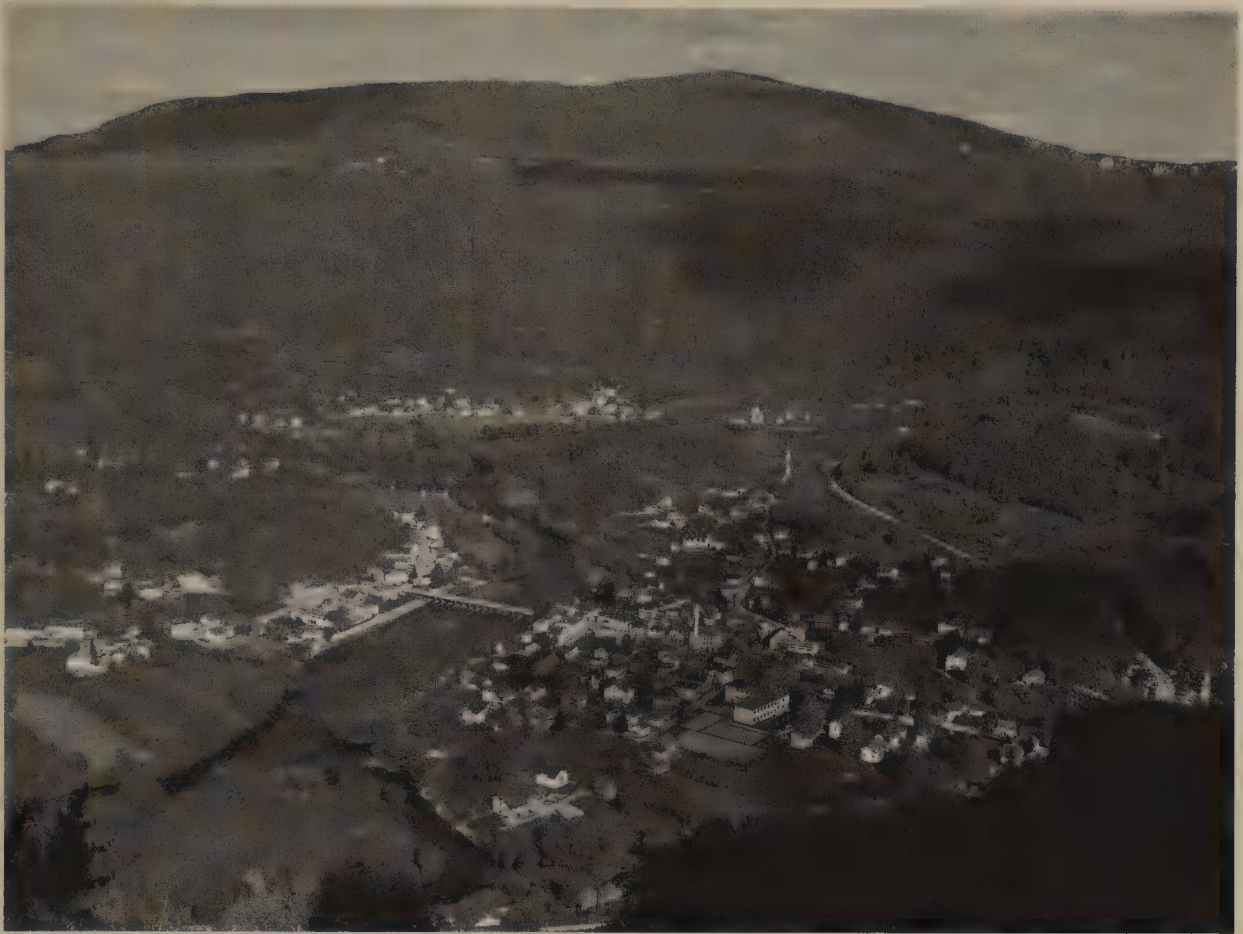


FIGURE 2: The town of Kulen Vakuf was home to a small garrison of Croat and Muslim Ustašas who organized the killing of hundreds of local Serbs during the summer of 1941. This caused a Serb insurgency, which culminated in the revenge killing of nearly two thousand non-Serbs, most of whom were Muslims. The legacy of this locally executed violence exerted a decisive influence on intercommunal relations for decades after 1945. Photograph taken by the author in October 2008.

A central element in the cultivation and enforcement of “Brotherhood and Unity” was the local authorities’ monitoring of intercommunal relations. They conducted such surveillance not only to gather information, but also to find ways of molding the population’s behavior in accordance with the desire for true “Brotherhood and Unity.”³³ Following the war, the Central Committee of the Communist Party instructed its local committees to amass information on national relations in the localities. It was primarily interested in finding out whether “Brotherhood and Unity” existed, or was coming into existence, and if not, then who were the indi-

in Yugoslavia (Stanford, Calif., 1998), chap. 3; on the history of Soviet nationality policy, see Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001); Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (Oxford, 2001); Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005).

³³ This understanding of surveillance carried out by the communist authorities is based on an analysis of scores of documents produced by various organs of the League of Communists on the state of national relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1945 and the late 1960s. For an important discussion of surveillance as a method of social engineering, see Peter Holquist, “‘Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work’: Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context,” *Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 3 (1997): 415–450.

viduals, groups, or “elements” standing in the way.³⁴ This information-gathering remained a top priority for decades.³⁵

A report on national relations in the Kulen Vakuf municipality produced in December 1958 provides examples of the types of behaviors that concerned the authorities. A Muslim named Omer Kulenović referred to Kulen Vakuf as having been “Turkish” until 1918, after which it fell into Serb hands; he criticized the Serbian monarchy during the interwar period and the dominance of Serbs in the Partisan movement during the war and in the Communist Party after 1945. At a gathering organized by the Serbian Orthodox church in the village of Mali Cvjetnić, a Serb named Miloš Knežević was said to have yelled to the crowd: “Here are the Serbs of Cvjetnić! Where are the Turks of [Kulen] Vakuf? Fuck their Turkish mothers!” The report contained a number of examples of behavior that the authorities classified as “chauvinism,” acts deemed threatening to individuals of a different nationality, and thus damaging to “Brotherhood and Unity.”³⁶

Having gathered this information, the authorities then dealt with the offenders. They instructed the Socialist Association of Working People [Socijalistički savez radnog naroda], a large sociopolitical organization to which most citizens belonged, to organize public meetings for all local residents regarding “Some chauvinist expressions in our municipality and the work of the organization of the Socialist Association on this question.”³⁷ Prior to the meetings, local communists spoke privately with each of the offenders and advised them that they would have to attend and apologize to the entire community. Later, most stood up at the meetings and expressed regret for their comments.³⁸

Such public events provided a forum for the authorities to communicate to the local population that insulting their neighbors on the basis of nationality would not be tolerated.³⁹ This practice provided local residents with powerful incentives to get

³⁴ ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 175, Izvještaj za mjesec decembar 1947. godine o radu i stanju na terenu sreza Bosanski Petrovac, December 29, 1947, 2; *ibid.*, kut. 294, Razni izvještaji, Stanje po okruzima: Okrug Bihać, Političko stanje, 1948, 1.

³⁵ For examples of the emphasis on monitoring intercommunal relations from the wider region during the 1950s, see AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 140, Analiza o djelovanju klera na srezu bihaćkom, April 20, 1952, 1; *ibid.*, Političko stanje i rad masovnih organizacija na terenu sreza Bihać, 1952, 7–8; ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 56, O nekim negativnim pojavama u partiskim organizacijama, 1952, 11; *ibid.*, kut. 6N-103, Iz informacije Sreskog komiteta Bihać o radu osnovnih organizacija i nekim negativnim pojavama, June 13, 1953, 2; *ibid.*, Iz izvještaja Sreskog komiteta SK Bihać, December 25, 1953, 3; AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 144, Materijali sa opštinske konferencije, August 4, 1955, 5; *ibid.*, kut. 148, Zapisnik sa sastanka Sekretarijata Sreskog komiteta Saveza komunista BiH Bihać, June 6, 1956, 11; *ibid.*, Sastanak Sreskog komiteta Saveza komunista u Bihaću, 1956, 5; *ibid.*, kut. 159, Referat koji je podnesen na III Plenumu CK SK BiH, June 20, 1957, 19–23.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, kut. 161, Opštinski komitet Saveza komunista Bosne i Hercegovine [hereafter OK SK BiH] Kulen Vakuf, Informacija o oblicima ispoljavanja šovinizma na opštini Kulen Vakuf, December 28, 1958, 1–3.

³⁷ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 168, Sastanci Opštinskog odbora Socijalističkog saveza radnog naroda Jugoslavije za opštinu Kulen Vakuf, dnevni redovi i datumi održanih sastanka, 1958, “Neke šovinističke pojave na našoj opštini i rad organizacije Socijalističkog saveza po ovom pitanju,” November 10, 1958. For further information about the organization of these meetings on the problem of chauvinism, see *ibid.*, kut. 167, Referat o radu Opštinskog komiteta i organizacije Saveza komunista na opštini Kulen Vakuf u vremenu od III do IV opštinske konferencije Saveza komunista, January 5, 1958–February 8, 1959, 11.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, kut. 161, OK SK BiH Kulen Vakuf, Informacija o oblicima ispoljavanja šovinizma na opštini Kulen Vakuf, December 28, 1958, 1–3.

³⁹ For examples from the wider region in which the municipality of Kulen Vakuf was located, see

along, at least on the surface, irrespective of their true feelings. People knew that they were being watched, and that they would be reprimanded if they acted in ways damaging to “Brotherhood and Unity.” These anti-nationalist practices had two additional effects, one intentional and one not. First, the use of surveillance and discipline taught the population to speak the language of “Brotherhood and Unity,” an element of which was learning how to criticize in non-ethnic ways.⁴⁰ Second, the official punishment meted out for such infractions showed them that by accusing local enemies of being “national chauvinists,” they could potentially leverage the state against their opponents. This dynamic was similar to what Jan Gross has called “the privatization of politics” in his study of the Sovietization of parts of Eastern Europe between 1939 and 1941.⁴¹ It may have unintentionally encouraged people to view everyday incidents and personal conflicts as possible manifestations of “chauvinism” that could be brought to the attention of the authorities as a way to settle local disputes.⁴² In this sense, the state’s enforcement of the anti-nationalist ideology of “Brotherhood and Unity” may have resulted in people thinking more—not less—about using nationalism and national categories in their interpretations of everyday experiences.

When individuals who had insulted others on the basis of nationality chose not to apologize at public meetings, or when the offenses were considered egregious enough that a public apology would not suffice, the authorities employed other methods. Local communists had no qualms about instructing the local police and courts to arrest, prosecute, and punish the offenders, usually through expulsion from sociopolitical organizations, fines, and/or imprisonment. In January 1957, for example, Milka Grubiša, a Serb member of the League of Communists from the municipality of Kulen Vakuf, got into a “chauvinistic fight” with a Muslim schoolteacher. The incident was serious enough that those present called the police. When the officers, who appeared to be Muslims, arrived, Grubiša insulted them as well. The regional committee of the League of Communists in Bihać, to which Grubiša belonged, recommended that she be expelled from the organization because of this incident, as well as a number of other occasions on which she had exhibited behavior considered unacceptable for a member of the League.⁴³

In another instance, in 1958, a Serb named Branko Altagić tried to persuade a group of Serbs from the village of Prkosi to leave their municipality and join the

ibid., kut. 164, Informacija o nekim pojavama šovinizma na području opštine Velike Kladuše, December 26, 1958, 1–2; ibid., Informacija o nekim pojavama šovinizma na području opštine Bužim, December 26, 1958, 1–2; ibid., Informacije Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista Bosanska Krupa, Predmet: Pojave šovinizma, December 28, 1958, 1–2; ibid., Informacija o nekim pojavama šovinizma na terenu bihačke opštine u 1958 godini, December 30, 1958, 1–2; ibid., Informacije o šovinističkim pojavama na terenu Bosanski Petrovac, 1958, 1; ibid., kut. 165, Informacija o nekim pojavama šovinizma na području sreza Bihać, December 31, 1958, 1–2.

⁴⁰ My thinking about the notion of speaking the language of “Brotherhood and Unity” was influenced by Stephen Kotkin’s work on “speaking Bolshevik” in the Soviet context. See Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995).

⁴¹ On “the privatization of politics,” see Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland’s Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton, N.J., 1988).

⁴² See, for example, ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 37, Analiza o međunacionalnim odnosima na goraždanskom srezu, July 1962, 8–10.

⁴³ AUSK, SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 196, Odluka Sreskog komiteta sa kojom se potvrđuje kazna “Isključenje iz SKJ” Grubiše Milke, January 12, 1957, 1.



FIGURE 3: A political meeting in Kulen Vakuf, ca. the late 1950s or early 1960s. On such occasions the local communist authorities would stress the need to protect “Brotherhood and Unity” and publicly chastise anyone who spoke the language of “national chauvinism.” Arhiv Muzeja Unsko-sanskog kantona u Bihaću, Fond Zbirke fotografija bivšeg sreza i opštine Bihać, Kulen Vakuf, sheet 161, photograph 12.

future municipality of Vrtoče, promising that if they did so, they would be given a store in their village. They responded by saying that they already had one. It happened to be operated by the trading firm “Ostrovica,” which was based in Kulen Vakuf and run by Muslims. The firm also employed a mostly Muslim workforce. Altagić exploded in anger, yelling out to the other Serbs: “The store in Prkosi is Ustaša! We Serbs from Vrtoče liberated you Serbs in Prkosi and Oraško Brdo from the Ustašas whose municipality you now love being part of. The time will come again when they will slaughter you, and so let them slaughter you . . . we won’t defend you from them.” The Ministry of Internal Affairs recommended that he be prosecuted and punished for this chauvinistic verbal assault.⁴⁴

The enforcement of “Brotherhood and Unity” through vigorous policing consumed a significant amount of the attention of the authorities in the region, and in fact throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, during the late 1950s and early 1960s. In the

⁴⁴ Ibid., kut. 161, Sekretarijat za unutrašnje poslove Bihać, Predmet: Altagić, Branko—prijedlog za krivično gonjenje, December 13, 1958.

Bihać region (in which the municipality of Kulen Vakuf was located), the Secretariat of Internal Affairs [Sekretarijat unutrašnjih poslova] prosecuted 110 cases in 1961 against individuals who had acted in ways that were considered to be “chauvinistic,” and thus damaging to “Brotherhood and Unity.”⁴⁵ The number of people who were arrested and warned but not prosecuted was likely much higher. Throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, thousands of individuals were disciplined by the authorities for “chauvinism” during the same period. Between January 1958 and September 1961, local police counted 329 serious physical altercations that had started because of chauvinistic comments, involving more than 2,500 individuals.⁴⁶ From late 1959 or early 1960 until mid-1962, 7,433 individual acts of “chauvinism” were reported across the republic, an average of 8 per day. It is not clear whether all the offending individuals were formally charged and prosecuted, although the existence of such precise statistical information strongly suggests the involvement of the police in some way, and a high probability of some kind of punishment.⁴⁷ The large number of reported incidents and the extensive involvement of the police and courts illustrate the importance that the communist authorities placed on rigorously policing “Brotherhood and Unity.” If anyone wavered in supporting this ideology, the government’s readiness to enforce positive national relations was a compelling incentive for people to get along in their everyday affairs.

A third mental schema affected intercommunal relations among a smaller number of people: discord. The evidence suggests that their attitudes were rooted in the mass killings of 1941 and other instances of wartime violence. Some of those who actively spread these views were religious leaders. Father Branislav Branić, an Orthodox priest from the Kulen Vakuf region, was known to refer to Muslims as “dogs.” Alluding to the fact that some Muslims had murdered Serbs during the war, he warned Serbs that they should protect themselves from their Muslim neighbors, because “the dog that bit you last year will bite you again this year.”⁴⁸ Several Muslim clerics in the wider region reportedly warned local Muslims that they were in danger from former Serb Partisans, whom they sometimes called “Chetnik-Communists”—a reference to the Partisans’ absorption during the war of many Serb fighters

⁴⁵ Ibid., kut. 187, Šovinstički istupci i tuče u 1961. godini, 1961. (This document contains no information about who was responsible for its production, but its style and form suggest that it was created by members of either the Secretariat of Internal Affairs [SUP] or State Security [UDBA].)

⁴⁶ On prosecutions of individuals for chauvinistic behavior in other regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina, see ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 9, Neke pojave i problemi u međunacionalnim i vjerskim odnosima u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1959, 57; *ibid.*, kut. 37, Organizaciono-politička komisija CK SK BiH, Analiza o raznim vidovima neprijateljske aktivnosti i djelovanja stihije i konzervatizma u današnjim uslovima, November 1961, 66.

⁴⁷ Ibid., kut. 37, Aktuelni problemi u oblasti međunacionalnih odnosa, November 1962, 22. The data on the number of violations, arrests, and prosecutions for the 1960s is incomplete. However, the available documentation suggests that the police remained busy throughout the decade policing “Brotherhood and Unity.” For example, during the first eight months of 1969, there were 220 criminal charges and around 1,600 more minor violations for chauvinism, nationalism, and acts against the communist leadership. On these numbers, see *ibid.*, kut. bez broja, Razni napisi koji se odnose na neke aktuelne probleme nacionalnih odnosa u Jugoslaviji, 1969, Podaci, Sekretarijat unutrašnjih poslova, 1968.

⁴⁸ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 140, Analiza o djelovanju klera na srezu bihaćkom, April 20, 1952, 1. The Orthodox priest Dragoljub Jovanović from the Bosanski Petrovac region was also apparently making anti-Muslim comments around the same time. On his acts, see ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 6N-103, Iz izvještaja Sreskog komiteta SK Bihać, December 25, 1953, 3.

who had previously murdered Muslims.⁴⁹ Such examples suggest the importance of wartime events in structuring the negative attitudes toward Muslims and Serbs that were espoused by some Orthodox and Islamic clerics after the war.

Even some of those who were in the vanguard of promoting “Brotherhood and Unity”—communist officials and members of the military—held negative views about their neighbors of different nationalities.⁵⁰ A number of local Serbs, including a handful of members of the League of Communists, were noted during 1958 to have referred to Muslims in the area in a derogatory way as “Turks” and to have cursed their “Turkish mothers,” especially while drinking.⁵¹ Such comments could cause fights, as was the case in 1958 when a Serb who was an active major in the Yugoslav People’s Army was drinking heavily in a hotel at a table with a number of other Serbs. At one point he turned toward a Muslim sitting nearby and shouted that he was an Ustaša. The Muslim and the others he was sitting with shouted back that the major and his company were Chetniks. The two men stood up and faced off against each other, with the major drawing his pistol. Approximately twenty Serbs gathered around the major, and sixty to seventy Muslims assembled opposite them. Some pulled out knives, while others picked up chairs. At the last moment, a Muslim former Partisan managed to calm the Serbs down, and a mass brawl was avoided.⁵² This example suggests that wartime experiences and categories, which often overlapped with national categories (e.g., Ustašas as Muslims and Chetniks as Serbs), continued to exert a strong influence on some individuals after the war, even among communists and members of the military, despite their mandate to promote “Brotherhood and Unity.”⁵³

There were similar occurrences in other parts of the wider region during the late 1950s and early 1960s. In 1962, a group of Serb youth crept into a Croatian village one night and began singing Serbian songs and yelling “Fuck your Ustaša mothers!” to the Croats. A number of Croat youth came out of their houses to confront them, and a brawl started, involving thirty to forty people. In a report about the incident, the League of Communists identified the legacy of the war as a direct cause, noting that many of the Croats’ parents were Ustašas who had murdered the parents of the Serbs in 1941.⁵⁴ On other occasions, no physical altercations occurred, but the legacy

⁴⁹ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 140, Političko stanje i rad masovnih organizacija na terenu sreza Bihać, 1952, 7–8.

⁵⁰ On the involvement of some members of the League of Communists in chauvinistic incidents in the wider Bihać region, see *ibid.*, kut. 169, Razni materijali vezani za rad Sreskog komiteta SKJ Bihać, March 20, 1959, 8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, kut. 161, OK SK BiH Kulen Vakuf, Informacija o oblicima ispoljavanja šovinizma na opštini Kulen Vakuf, December 28, 1958, 1–3. The Communist Party [Komunistička partija] was renamed the League of Communists [Savez komunista] in 1952.

⁵² *Ibid.*, kut. 164, Informacija o nekim pojavama šovinizma na području opštine Velike Kladuše, December 26, 1958, 1–2.

⁵³ The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina noted in a classified 1959 report on national relations throughout the republic that some members of the organization were guilty of holding extremely negative views of members of other nationalities, which were often based in wartime events. See ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 9, Neke pojave i problemi u međunacionalnim i vjerskim odnosima u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1959, 31.

⁵⁴ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 184, Informacija o šovinističkim pojavama na terenu Bihać, October 19, 1962, 6. Similar incidents occurred in other regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina. For example, during 1962, in the municipality of Duvno, some schoolchildren who had gotten into a fight quickly divided along the lines of nationality. They threw rocks at each other, and shouted that they would one

of the war in structuring perceptions was clearly evident. Some Serbs criticized the installation of electricity and the construction of water and sewage systems in Muslim villages and towns, arguing that these were “Ustaša places” that did not deserve infrastructure.⁵⁵

In 1963, the regional League of Communists indicated that a special problem with regard to “chauvinism” was that some individuals who had lost relatives in the wartime mass killings were expressing a desire to take revenge.⁵⁶ The situation was similar in other regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In some Serbian and Muslim villages in the Zenica region, many residents had been either Chetniks or Ustašas during the war. The League noted that conflicts between several individuals that were rooted in wartime mass killings had stretched on into the 1960s.⁵⁷ In the commune of Lukavac, a Muslim and a Serb got into a fight in a tavern, and the Muslim yelled out: “What happened to your father [in 1941] will happen to you . . . you need to be slaughtered just like your father . . . your time will come!”⁵⁸ These examples lend support to a claim made by the League of Communists in a 1962 report: “Aside from economic and cultural issues, the war has had the biggest impact on contemporary national relations.”⁵⁹ For some, the traumas that they endured during the war had left them with seemingly unchangeable negative views of their neighbors of different nationalities. And this attitude sometimes permeated perceptions not only of the past, but also of the future. A former Chetnik in the Kakanj region was reported to

day avenge their side’s victims from the war. The authorities determined that the incident was connected to a brawl the previous year between the parents of the children. That fight was also rooted to some extent in wartime events. See ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 37, Aktuelni problemi u oblasti međunacionalnih odnosa, November 1962, 28.

⁵⁵ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 165, Informacija o nekim pojavama šovinizma na području sreza Bihać, December 31, 1958, 2. On Serbs criticizing the building of infrastructure in Muslim towns and villages because they saw them as “Ustaša places,” see *ibid.*, kut. 164, Informacije Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista Bosanska Krupa, Predmet: Pojave šovinizma, December 28, 1958, 1. In other regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Muslims sometimes behaved the same way, and even worse, toward their Serb neighbors. For example, Muslims from the village of Turija (located in the Tuzla region) cut the power lines so that electricity would no longer flow from their village to a neighboring Serbian village. Muslim members of the local committee of the League of Communists were reported to have participated in this incident. It is not clear what compelled the Muslims to take such measures, but conflicts dating back to the war may have been a contributing factor. On this incident, see ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 37, Aktuelni problemi u oblasti međunacionalnih odnosa, November 1962, 6.

⁵⁶ ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 11, Neki idejno-politički organi i organizacije Saveza komunista na selu bihaćkog sreza, September 1963, 11–12.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, kut. 37, Neki vidovi negativnih pojava na planu međunacionalnih odnosa na području zeničkog sreza, August 29, 1962, 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Analiza o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnim odnosa na području komune Lukavac, 1962, 3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Aktuelni problemi u oblasti međunacionalnih odnosa u Bosni i Hercegovini, November 1962, 1. For more examples of problems in various regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina that illustrate how wartime experiences caused some people to hold on to very negative perceptions of their neighbors of different nationalities during the postwar years, see *ibid.*, Analiza o problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na području živiničke komune, June 26, 1962, 2; *ibid.*, Analiza o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na području opštine Srebrenica, June 1962, 3; *ibid.*, Informacija o aktuelnim idejnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa i uticaja iz inostranstva na opštinama: Livno, Duvno, Kupres i Bugojno, July 7, 1962, 1, 5; *ibid.*, Analiza o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na području sreza Prijedora, July 15, 1962, 2; *ibid.*, Analiza o međunacionalnim odnosima na području dobojskog sreza, July 21, 1962, 12–13, 23; *ibid.*, Analiza o međunacionalnim odnosima na goraždanskom srezu, July 1962, 9–10; *ibid.*, Analiza o nekim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa u srezu Brčko, July 1962, 3–6; *ibid.*, Analiza o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na srezu Banjaluka, July 28, 1962, 10, 14; *ibid.*, Analiza o nekim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na srezu Tuzla, August 3, 1962, 3, 5.

have said to his Serb neighbors in 1961: "Hold on to your weapons because there will come a time when you will need them."⁶⁰ At the end of the 1960s in eastern Bosnia, where there had been widespread mass killings of Muslim civilians by Serb Chetniks during the war, a local Muslim man predicted that war would soon return: "Things are difficult for us Muslims. The Serbs will slaughter us once again."⁶¹

THESE THREE MENTAL SCHEMAS—HARMONY, state-enforced "Brotherhood and Unity," and discord—offer a window into the complex nature of local postwar intercommunal relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. But the suggestion of a neat distinction among them, while useful for the sake of analysis, presents a somewhat static portrait of social relations that obscures a much more fluid and volatile dynamic. Previously unavailable documents suggest that high levels of antagonistic "groupness" could rapidly crystallize in response to incidents that were perceived to be based in "ethnic conflict." At such moments, some people would experience an abrupt shift, quickly interpreting the cause of an incident as being rooted in a participant's nationality, and especially the wartime associations they attached to whole nationalities. These interpretations did not merely describe such incidents as "ethnically based"; they actually *constituted* them in such terms.⁶² As a result, incidents between individuals were rapidly transformed into conflicts between collectivities, between an "us" and a "them." In the process, some people would suddenly experience a powerful sense of antagonistic nationhood.

Two further points are relevant in conceptualizing this dynamic of "sudden nationhood." First, the fact that national categories retained their salience for some people after the war should not lead us to conclude that such categories and wartime associations were dominant among a majority of people on an everyday basis. The evidence suggests that they were not, especially because of the authorities' vigorous policing of "Brotherhood and Unity." Rather, they could surface at times when emotions became volatile, usually in response to incidents of conflict. The second point is that the reactions to incidents that produced sudden nationhood were not necessarily driven by a calculated desire to instrumentalize ethnicity for a particular objective, such as to leverage the state against individuals in a personal dispute; rather, individuals suddenly adopted a highly ethnicized interpretation of incidents in a much more un-self-conscious and quasi-automatic way after threats or acts of violence triggered ethnic ways of seeing.⁶³ Sudden nationhood was thus a rapid shift

⁶⁰ Ibid., kut. 37, Organizaciono-politička komisija CK SK BiH, Politička dokumentacija o metodama i formama neprijateljske aktivnosti ustaških, četničkih i mladomuslimanskih elemenata, djelovanje stihije i konzervatizma u današnjim uslovima, November 1961, 157.

⁶¹ Arhiv Republike Srpske [hereafter ARS], Područna jedinica Foča [hereafter PJF], Fond Sreskog komiteta Saveza komunista Bosne i Hercegovine Foča [hereafter SK SK BiH Foča], Zapisnik sa proširene sjednice Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista Foča, April 4, 1969, 12.

⁶² On this dynamic, see Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," in Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 7–27, here 16.

⁶³ On how ethnic ways of seeing can be triggered in un-self-conscious ways, rather than being instrumental, see Rogers Brubaker, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov, "Ethnicity as Cognition," *Theory and Society* 33, no. 1 (2004): 31–64; for a discussion of more instrumentalist interpretations, see Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Situational Ethnicity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4, no. 4 (October 1981): 452–465.

from a generally non-ethnicized to a highly ethnicized way of seeing the world, and it was more an automatic emotional response than a rational, instrumental decision.

Among the incidents that tended to give rise to sudden nationhood were verbal assaults, physical altercations, and murders, many of which appear to have had linkages to wartime events. In a 1963 report, the regional League of Communists demonstrated its awareness of how rapidly such incidents could transform intercommunal relations: "Chauvinism remains an ongoing problem . . . its danger is latently alive. Every improper gesture or action has the potential to awaken and initiate political problems."⁶⁴ Several examples from the 1950s and 1960s illustrate how sudden nationhood could crystallize in the aftermath of local incidents. During the late 1950s, the League of Communists did not characterize intercommunal relations in the wider region as negative. But when several Serbs murdered a Muslim who was walking through their village in the municipality of Bužim one night, a number of local Muslims suddenly lost whatever illusions they might have had about the communist authorities' support of "Brotherhood and Unity." It was not clear whether the murder was rooted in ethnic conflict. Yet as one Muslim later summed up the general sentiment: "If a Serb had been killed, then the government would have killed fifty Muslims, but if fifty Muslims were killed, they wouldn't kill a single Serb."⁶⁵ This murder not only inflamed tensions between local Serbs and Muslims, it also revealed an underlying sense among some Muslims that the authorities were heavily biased against them. The killing showed how quickly such an incident could be interpreted and constituted entirely through the lens of ethnic conflict, as well as the government's potentially disappointing response. It was no longer a murder that involved several individuals, some of whom happened to be Serb and one of whom happened to be Muslim; it was now an incident between "Serbs" and "Muslims" more generally.

Other cases show how incidents of conflict exposed some people's implicit belief that their neighbors were guilty of causing problems not because of their individual behaviors, but rather because they happened to be of a different nationality. Sometime during 1958 in a village located near Kulen Vakuf, a Muslim named Salih Hadžić showed up at his Serb neighbor Branko Rokvić's house in a state of intoxication. He invited himself in, then struck Rokvić for no apparent reason. The police investigation did not conclude that Hadžić had assaulted Rokvić because he hated Serbs; drunkenness and some kind of ongoing personal dispute between the two appeared to be the causes of the incident. But Rokvić's family nevertheless insisted that it be treated as an act of national chauvinism, and began spreading the rumor that "Muslims" were responsible for all acts of chauvinism.⁶⁶ In this case, the family's immediate perception that the fight was about ethnic hatred was a more important factor in their interpretation of the incident than whatever information the police investigation uncovered. The "national" quality of "national conflict" was not self-evident and intrinsic in this case, even though the incident occurred between a Serb

⁶⁴ ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 11, Neki idejno-politički organi i organizacije Saveza komunista na selu bihačkog sreza, September 1963, 12.

⁶⁵ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 164, Informacija o nekim pojavama šovinizma na području opštine Bužim, December 26, 1958, 2.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Informacije o šovinističkim pojavama na terenu Bosanski Petrovac, 1958, 1. On this incident, see also *ibid.*, kut. 186, Analiza metoda i formi neprijateljske djelatnosti na području opštine Bosanski Petrovac, May 30, 1961, 7–8.

and Muslim; rather, relatives of the victim attempted to constitute it as “national conflict” through their post-incident interpretive claims.⁶⁷ In so doing, they were the central actors in producing sudden nationhood.

These sorts of incidents sometimes led people to demand that all the members of a particular nationality be punished, even though the incident in question may have had nothing to do with national conflict, and the guilty party may have been only a single individual. For example, in the late 1950s or early 1960s, a Muslim boy raped an elderly Serb woman in the village of Bušević, near Kulen Vakuf. Even though the police determined that the boy had committed the crime for reasons other than “national chauvinism,” Serbs in the village began to talk about the need to take revenge on “the Muslims” for the incident. In a similar local occurrence, two boys, one Serb and the other Muslim, got into a fight, with the Muslim killing the Serb. The reasons for the fight did not appear to have anything do to with national conflict; it apparently was a personal dispute that had spiraled out of control. Nevertheless, local Serbs spoke about the need to avenge the boy’s death by dealing not only with the Muslim boy who was guilty of the killing, but also with all “the Muslims” in the region, whom they saw as collectively guilty.⁶⁸ In similar cases, some Serbs refused to speak about the murder of one of their own as the act of an individual. In one such case, a Muslim named Haso had killed a Serb boy. The Serbs, however, quickly jumped from saying “Haso killed the boy” to “The Turks killed the boy,” which was a derogatory way of referring to Muslims, and could also mean “Ustašas.”⁶⁹ Such examples illuminate how some people interpreted conflicts that were nominally interethnic exclusively through the lens of national conflict. This perspective then framed their calls for revenge along the lines of nationality. But their interpretive claims and their subsequent calls for revenge were constitutive acts, geared toward making incidents “national,” with the effect of producing sudden nationhood.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina noted in 1959 that it was often small, everyday incidents that ended up snowballing into national conflicts—or, perhaps more accurately, conflicts that people perceived as national. A Muslim’s livestock wandering onto a Serb’s property, or a Serb walking through a Muslim village singing a Serbian song—such incidents could provoke Muslims to curse the “Serb,” “Vlah,” or “Chetnik” mothers of the Serbs, or the Serbs to curse the “Turkish,” “Ustaša,” or “*balijska*” mothers of the Muslims, all of which were highly offensive to those on the receiving end.⁷⁰ These curses, which almost always categorized the recipient in ethnic and/or wartime terms and included a declaration to sexually assault the recipient’s mother, suggest that there was a close intersection between memories of wartime violence, gender, and instances of sudden nationhood. Hurling such insults may have been a means for men—who appear to have been the vast majority of those who yelled these curses—to regain their sense

⁶⁷ See Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 11.

⁶⁸ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 184, Informacija o šovinističkim pojavama na terenu sreza Bihać, October 19, 1962, 3.

⁶⁹ Ibid., kut. 234, Zapisnik sa zajedničke proširene sjednice Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista i Izvršnog odbora Opštinskog odbora Socijalističkog saveza radnog naroda Bosanska Krupa, February 3, 1965, 5.

⁷⁰ The Bosnian word *balijska* originally referred to a Muslim peasant, but it eventually became a derogatory term for Muslims. See Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo, 1966), 118.

of power and masculinity, which had been so profoundly damaged during the war through acts of mass violence, frequently including instances of mass sexual assault against their women.⁷¹ Scholars of South Asia have noted a similar dynamic in local forms of nationalism in which overcoming a sense of effeminization at the hands of the “ethnic other” is a central driving force in instances of local conflict, particularly among young men.⁷²

Thus it is hardly surprising that these verbal assaults, which could readily be construed as making reference to the intimate, traumatic histories of violence against a community’s women during the war, could easily lead to small fights, which could rapidly escalate into mass brawls. On some occasions, entire villages that normally enjoyed a peaceful coexistence suddenly found themselves facing off against each other after a relatively minor incident, often with no clear basis in “national conflict,” sparked a fight between individuals of different nationalities.⁷³ The degree to which individuals would suddenly align themselves exclusively with their co-nationals during and after such incidents was evident when the authorities tried to prosecute the guilty parties. More often than not, only Muslim witnesses would come forward to help Muslims accused of having participated in such fights, and only Serbs would come forward to help Serbs.⁷⁴

Sometimes it was not even necessary for an incident to occur for interpretations that could lead to intercommunal violence to instantly emerge and rapidly spread. Rumors were often all it took to cause a major disturbance, as historians and anthropologists of a number of parts of Europe and South Asia have noted in other contexts.⁷⁵ The Central Committee reported with dismay about a brawl between the Serb and Muslim residents of a village in the Sarajevo region during the late 1950s. The cause of the fight was a report that had quickly circulated among local Serbs that their Muslim neighbors had damaged their Orthodox church and cemetery. A huge

⁷¹ While it appears to have been mostly men who yelled such curses, evidence from eastern Bosnia suggests that women sometimes took part. See, for example, ARS, PJF, Fond SK SK BiH Foča, Preduzetni komitet Saveza komunista rudnika mrkog uglja Miljevina, Predmet: Informacija o nekim pojavama, May 21, 1961, 2.

⁷² For an analysis of this dynamic among Hindu and Muslim youth, see Thomas Blom Hansen, “Recuperating Masculinity: Hindu Nationalism, Violence, and the Exorcism of the Muslim ‘Other,’” *Critique of Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (1996): 137–172; on Hindus and Sikhs, see Veena Das, *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary* (Berkeley, Calif., 2007), 110.

⁷³ ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 9, Neke pojave i problemi u međunacionalnim i vjerskim odnosima u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1959, 7–9.

⁷⁴ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 186, Metod i forme neprijateljske aktivnosti ustaških, četničkih i mladomuslimanskih elemenata, djelovanje stihije i konzervatizma u današnjim uslovima, June 1961, 7.

⁷⁵ For South Asia, see Stanley J. Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi, 1983); for a classic study on France, see Georges Lefebvre, *The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France*, trans. Joan White (London, 1973); see also George F. E. Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1959); for France and England, see Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848* (New York, 1964); for Russia, see Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia: From the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1961); on the phenomenon of rumor more generally, see Peter Lienhardt, “The Interpretation of Rumour,” in J. H. M. Beattie and R. G. Lienhardt, eds., *Studies in Social Anthropology: Essays in Memory of E. E. Evans-Pritchard by His Former Oxford Colleagues* (Oxford, 1975), 105–131; Gordon W. Allport and Leo Postman, *The Psychology of Rumor* (New York, 1947).

fight ensued. The report, however, was false; it had simply been a rumor: the Muslims had done nothing.⁷⁶

In a similar occurrence in 1964 from the Velika Kladuša region, a Muslim boy herding livestock near an Orthodox cemetery threw a rock and damaged a picture on a gravestone. The family of the deceased was incensed and immediately demanded that the local police arrest the boy for a nationalist attack. His family quickly apologized, but the Serb family continued to insist that the League of Communists treat the incident as a chauvinistic act. Wild rumors then began to circulate through the Serbian villages in the area that Muslims were removing corpses from the cemetery and that they planned to build a new mosque next to the Orthodox church.⁷⁷ Even a child's simple act of throwing a stone could quickly escalate into a "national conflict."

These examples do not suggest that communities in which the residents are of different nationalities are somehow more prone to conflict and violence than monocultural communities. It was not an intrinsic sense of antagonistic cultural difference among the local residents that produced the reactions to these incidents. Rather, it was the specific historical dynamics of local intercommunal relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina that predisposed certain individuals to interpret conflicts in a particularly antagonistic way. In many cases, the evidence suggests that the shadow of wartime events was in the background, structuring and giving amplification to the ways in which certain people interpreted rumors and actual incidents of conflict. For example, in 1961, a Serb worker was killed on a jobsite in the Bosanski Petrovac region, near Kulen Vakuf, when some heavy materials accidentally fell on him. Only Muslim workers had been loading such materials that day. Several Serb workers—whom the League of Communists later referred to as "Serb nationalist elements" because they had served time in prison for having been Chetniks during the war—then started a rumor that the Muslim workers had intentionally killed the Serb. After hearing this story, the rest of the Serb workers prepared to engage in a brawl with their Muslim co-workers. The presence of the police averted what would surely have been a serious fight. It appears that the wartime experiences of the Serbs who spread the rumor had conditioned them to instantly interpret such an accident through the prism of national conflict.⁷⁸

Wartime events also played a role in structuring reactions to incidents of inter-ethnic conflict in other regions. In the Foča region of eastern Bosnia, a fight occurred in 1963 between two co-workers, one Muslim and the other Serb, at the region's thermoelectric plant. Reports by the League of Communists did not suggest that the two men had a direct history of interethnic conflict that dated to the Second World War. In fact, it appears that both had been children during the war. Nonetheless, their fight caused the Muslim, Hajrudin Hasanbegović, who was a member of the League, to yell at his Serb co-worker, Anđelko Pavlović, that "people like him" (i.e.,

⁷⁶ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 186, Metod i forme neprijateljske aktivnosti ustaških, četničkih i mladomuslimanskih elemenata, djelovanje stihije i konzervatizma u današnjim uslovima, June 1961, 46.

⁷⁷ Ibid., kut. 219, Neke pojave nacionalne netrpeljivosti i šovinističkih ispada na području velikokladuške opštine, 1964, 4.

⁷⁸ Ibid., kut. 186, Analiza metoda i formi neprijateljske djelatnosti na području opštine Bosanski Petrovac, May 30, 1961, 8.

Serbs) had cut his brother's throat during the war, then stolen everything from their house, and now they were building themselves a new house with what they had plundered. Pavlović responded that the Muslim men of the Hasanbegović family had all been Ustašas during the war, and that Hajrudin would have been one as well had he been old enough.⁷⁹ A key factor here was how the fight triggered a mental schema of wartime experiences and/or memories, perhaps transmitted by relatives, that structured the way each man categorized and disparaged the other. This fight between two co-workers who happened to be of different nationalities was thus transformed into an "ethnic conflict" with strong wartime associations.

A government report compiled in 1961 on "chauvinistic fights and incidents" in the wider region in which the municipality of Kulen Vakuf was located confirmed this tendency on the part of certain individuals to quickly give fights, killings, rapes, and other incidents of violence a "chauvinistic color." It appears that their automatic response was to interpret a given incident as a "chauvinistic attack," or as a manifestation of national conflict, simply because the victim and the perpetrator were of different nationalities.⁸⁰ The League of Communists noted that wartime experiences played a crucial role in some people's interpretations of such incidents.⁸¹

The archival evidence for who, exactly, the main actors were in fueling instances of sudden nationhood is frequently thin, and contemporary ethnographic research can yield frustratingly few insights given the degree to which the most recent war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992–1995) devastated local communities through mass killing, expulsion, and emigration. There often are few survivors who can provide further insights about specific local conflicts noted in archival documents written in the 1950s and 1960s. Nonetheless, it is still possible to sketch a social profile of those who initiated and fed the flames of sudden nationhood.

A majority appear to have been from rural regions and small towns where the wartime intercommunal violence was often most severe and intimate. Many were middle-aged and said to have participated in "Chetnik" and "Ustaša" formations during the war. Others were the children of such individuals, described by the communists as having been imbued with the views of their parents.⁸² The family members of a victim in a given incident often played the most active role in creating and propagating an ethnicized interpretation of a conflict.⁸³ One group that appears prominently is men who were released early from prison during the 1950s and 1960s after serving time for participating in mass killings and other war crimes. In some cases, they returned to their villages and received a hero's welcome, with celebrations lasting for days and guns being fired into the air, all of which unnerved the residents

⁷⁹ ARS, PJF, Fond SK SK BiH Foča, Informacija o sprovođenju zaključaka i stavova Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista usvojenim na ranijim sastancima (undated document, but appears to have been written in late 1963 or early 1964), 11–12.

⁸⁰ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 187, Šovinistički istupi i tuče u 1961. godini, 1961, 10.

⁸¹ Ibid., kut. 184, Informacija o šovinističkim pojavama na terenu sreza Bihać, October 19, 1962, 1–2.

⁸² ARS, PJF, Fond SK SK BiH Foča, Druga sreska konferencija Saveza komunista goraždanskog Sreza, April 1958, 16; *ibid.*, Materijal sa Treće sreske konferencije Saveza komunista goraždanskog sreza, April 11–12, 1960, 18; ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 9. Neke pojave i problemi u međunacionalnim i vjerskim odnosima u Bosni i Hercegovini, May 7, 1959, 23–24, 46.

⁸³ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 164, Informacije o šovinističkim pojavama na terenu Bosanski Petrovac, 1958, 1.

of the neighboring villages where the survivors of their wartime violence lived.⁸⁴ These individuals appear to have often been the key “strong men,” to use Sudhir Kakar’s evocative term from his work on leaders of communal violence in India, in launching attempts to frame incidents in ethnic terms.⁸⁵ According to the authorities, they had more success in mobilizing others to adopt their interpretations when they evoked painful wartime memories. As the League stated in 1962:

A special form of chauvinistic activity relates to evoking events from the war. This influences youth and encourages them to hate other nationalities and to engage in chauvinistic activities. It is expressed especially in regions where there were mass slaughters during the war. Under the influence of such individuals, it is not uncommon for people to express a desire to avenge their loved ones who were killed during the war.⁸⁶

Sometimes it was communists who initiated incidents of sudden nationhood, rather than those whom the communists had fought against and imprisoned for wartime interethnic killings.⁸⁷ Archival evidence shows that there were many instances in which local police officers and members of the League of Communists played the leading role, contradicting the authorities’ argument that it was usually wartime “enemies of the people” who were responsible for triggering and escalating incidents of “national chauvinism.”⁸⁸ Thus whether the instigator was inside or outside the communist government was not a primary determining factor. Rather, it was the direct experience of extreme intercommunal violence, or a memory of it transmitted by relatives and/or neighbors, that resulted in a mental schema in which wartime perpetrator categories and whole “ethnic groups” could easily be conflated during and after highly charged moments of conflict.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ ARS, PJF, Fond SK SK BiH Foča, Informacija o sprovođenju zaključaka i stavova Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista usvojenim na ranijim sastancima (undated document, but appears to have been written in late 1963 or early 1964), 12.

⁸⁵ On the notion of “strong men,” see Sudhir Kakar, *The Colours of Violence* (New Delhi, 1995), 71. On how individuals released from prison after serving sentences for war crimes played a role in framing incidents in ethnic and wartime categories, see ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 37, Informacija o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na području sreza Prijedora, July 15, 1962, 3; *ibid.*, Aktuelni problemi međunacionalnih odnosa na srezu Banjaluka, August 2, 1962, 14; *ibid.*, Analiza o problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na području živiničke komune, June 26, 1962, 2; AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 186, Analiza metoda i formi neprijateljske djelatnosti na području opštine Bosanski Petrovac, May 30, 1961, 8; on the role of those who fought during the war with factions that the communists called “enemy elements” (Ustašas, Chetniks, etc.), see ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 36, O nekim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa i pojavama šovinizma na srezu Sarajeva, November 24, 1962, 13, 24.

⁸⁶ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 184, Informacija o šovinističkim pojavama na terenu srezu Bihać, October 19, 1962, 5.

⁸⁷ See, for example, *ibid.*, kut. 164, Informacija o nekim pojavama šovinizma na području opštine Velike Kladuše, December 26, 1958, 1–2.

⁸⁸ See, for example, ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 37, Analiza o međunacionalnim odnosima na goraždanskom srezu, July 1962, 9–10; *ibid.*, kut. 9, Neke pojave i problemi u međunacionalnim i vjerskim odnosima u Bosni i Hercegovini, May 7, 1959, 51; ARS, PJF, Fond SK SK BiH Foča, Zapisnik sa sastanka Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista Foča, February 29, 1960, 3; *ibid.*, Zapisnik sa Druge sjednice Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista Foča, March 7, 1963, 1–3.

⁸⁹ League reports on national relations written in the late 1950s stated that the local mass killings of Serbs, Muslims, and Croats during the war had “left a deep scar on people’s consciousness, especially among the older generations, and most especially among the families who were directly affected by the consequences of the intercommunal violence,” and that this was a major reason for “unhealthy national relations.” See ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 9, Neke pojave i problemi u međunacionalnim i vjerskim odnosima u Bosni i Hercegovini, May 7, 1959, 2.

The evidence does not suggest that such a schema was dominant in most people's everyday lives. It usually had to be triggered by an incident, often something mundane, in order to provide the fuel for the outbreak and escalation of sudden nationhood. This was a dynamic that was widespread throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1962 in the Jajce region, located southeast of Kulen Vakuf, the League of Communists noted that the "mass liquidation of the population on the basis of nationality" during the war had established a postwar template for "personal conflicts" to rapidly take on "a chauvinistic character." Disputes among neighbors over the borders of their fields and the use of water, or quarrels between sheep herders in the hills who happened to be of different nationalities, could immediately be framed as a "national conflict." This framing in collective ethnic terms could activate local memories of intercommunal violence from the war, which sometimes swept two villages into a mass brawl. At such moments, local communists lamented that because of a simple fight between two shepherds in a field, a mindset rooted in wartime violence had suddenly become paramount: "Every Croat and Muslim is called an Ustaša, and every Serb a Chetnik."⁹⁰

The importance of wartime experiences in conditioning some people to interpret postwar incidents between individuals of different nationalities as "national conflict" can be further seen by examining reactions to intra-ethnic murders—those that occurred only between Serbs or only between Muslims. On such occasions, people paid dramatically less attention. For the most part, there were no wild rumors about the reason for the murder. People did not invoke events from the war to explain why the killing had taken place; nor did they use their wartime experiences to justify the need for any kind of punishment or revenge to be taken against the guilty parties.⁹¹

When the victim and the perpetrator were of the same nationality, people saw the incident as tragic, but they generally did not characterize it as connected to the war, and they did not demand that punishment be extended to everyone perceived to be of the perpetrator's nationality.⁹² This suggests that interethnic incidents of conflict, or rumors of such incidents, had a special power to quickly evoke memories of the extreme violence of the war, especially in regions where the killing had unfolded along ethnic lines and created mental schemas of collective categorization. These emotional responses, rooted in traumatic experiences and memories, appear to have been a critical factor in some people's near-instant interpretation of such incidents exclusively through the prism of national conflict.

Of course, memories of wartime violence were slow to fade in many communities. They were triggered on a regular basis because perpetrators and survivors continued to live in close proximity. In the Kulen Vakuf region, there were men who worked on the railroad every day alongside the very men who had murdered their parents.⁹³ At the weekly Thursday market, women silently passed by others who had tried to

⁹⁰ Ibid., kut. 37, Informacija o međunacionalnim odnosima na terenu Narodnog odbora sreza Jajce, August 6, 1962, 1.

⁹¹ AUSK, Fond SK SK BiH Bihać, kut. 234, Zapisnik sa zajedničke proširene sjednice Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista i Izvršnog odbora Opštinskog odbora Socijalističkog saveza radnog naroda Bosanska Krupa, February 3, 1965, 2, 6.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Interview with Sead Kadić, November 3, 2008, Bihać.

beat them to death in 1941.⁹⁴ And a former insurgent who later joined the Partisans and worked after the war as a census-taker was said to have once knocked on a door to ask how many people lived in the house, only to be told coldly: “You should know; you killed many of them during the war.”⁹⁵ Such meetings ensured that the local, intimate traumas of the war did not easily dissipate.

Bosnia was something of an exception in this regard in comparison with much of the rest of Europe, where a great “unmixing” of peoples—and thus perpetrators and survivors—took place along ethnic lines during and after the war. This made the kinds of daily encounters that caused memories of wartime intercommunal violence to resurface less likely.⁹⁶ In Bosnia, by contrast, the victory of the communist-led Partisans preserved a multiethnic society in postwar Europe’s dramatically ethnically homogenized landscape. But the victory of the multiethnic principle came with a price: survivors and perpetrators, as well as their offspring, remained neighbors, and their daily encounters, especially incidents of conflict, regularly sparked sudden nationhood. Intercommunal relations in post–World War II Bosnia-Herzegovina thus were often exceptionally fluid and highly dependent on the extent to which contemporary incidents of conflict activated forms of collective categorization rooted in wartime experiences and memories. It was in these highly charged moments that a near-instant coding of incidents as “ethnic” rapidly gave rise to an antagonistic sense of “us” and “them” among some people, which they then tried to spread.

WE BEGAN WITH A STORY IN WHICH a man accused of murder suddenly lost his individuality in the courtroom and became a “Serb” and a “Chetnik.” What explains this rapid transformation in which people are relegated to collective and antagonistic categories? How does nationhood abruptly happen in these moments? And what can an eventful analysis of the microdynamics of nationhood contribute more generally to the study of nationalism? Most of the literature on these subjects does not take note of—let alone account for—how a powerful sense of an antagonistic “us” and “them” can suddenly crystallize among the residents of a local community. The use of eventful analysis can help us recognize and contribute to explaining this crucial, yet still understudied, micro-level aspect of nationalism.

Through the example of the Kulen Vakuf region, we can see the emergence after World War II of three primary mental schemas of intercommunal relations: har-

⁹⁴ Interview with anonymous informant, September 24, 2008.

⁹⁵ Interview with Bećo Pehlivanović, October 3, 2008, Bihać.

⁹⁶ On the wartime and postwar “unmixing” of people in Europe, in which the forced separation along ethnic lines also tended to separate perpetrators and survivors of wartime mass violence, especially in much of Eastern Europe as well as parts of the Balkans, see Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak, eds., *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948* (Lanham, Md., 2001); Timothy Snyder, “‘To Resolve the Ukrainian Problem Once and for All’: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ukrainians in Poland, 1943–1947,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 1, no. 2 (1999): 86–120; Snyder, “The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing, 1943,” *Past and Present* 179, no. 1 (2003): 197–234; Steven Béla Várdy and T. Hunt Tooley, eds., *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Boulder, Colo., 2003), especially pt. 2; Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany*; Benjamin Lieberman, *Terrible Fate: Ethnic Cleansing in the Making of Modern Europe* (Chicago, 2006), especially chaps. 5 and 6; Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), chap. 4; Pertti Ahonen, Gustavo Corni, Jerzy Kochanowski, Rainer Schulze, Tamás Stark, and Barbara Stelzl-Marx, *People on the Move: Forced Population Movements in Europe in the Second World War and Its Aftermath* (Oxford, 2008).

mony, state-enforced “Brotherhood and Unity,” and discord. For some, the fact that neighbors saved neighbors of a different nationality during the war drove home the importance of interethnic friendship, and this helped to produce a genuine sense of harmonious postwar intercommunal relations. The intensive work by the communist authorities in enforcing “Brotherhood and Unity” was central in creating and policing social harmony, which was genuine for many, but for others was more a form of “counterfeit courtesy.”⁹⁷ For yet others, the losses they had experienced during the war locked them into a mindset in which national differences, and their association with wartime atrocities, were primary in distinguishing postwar friends from enemies.

While these mental schemas capture an important reality, new local-level evidence reveals the volatile dynamic of sudden nationhood. In postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina, certain people tended to rapidly code local incidents between individuals of different nationalities in terms of “national conflict,” even if the subsequent police investigations did not attribute such motivations to the participants themselves. In this way, they attempted to produce and spread a sense of “ethnic conflict” in their communities, as well as a sense of hard, antagonistic group boundaries, even though prior to these incidents those boundaries may have been soft and unimportant in daily life for many people. In short, it was the after-the-fact coding of incidents as “national conflict”—not a preexisting, widespread sense of antagonistic nationhood—that often led to their being more broadly interpreted as “national conflict.”

The discovery of this dynamic is significant because it enables us to better understand the micromechanisms of nationalism among ordinary people, an often elusive group whose behavior scholars often speculate about but less frequently closely research. Some analysts, for example, claim that nationalism and “ethnic conflict” are elite-created phenomena that can overwhelm ordinary people’s sense of national indifference.⁹⁸ This argument captures an important dynamic of nationalism in many cases, but it also leaves unanswered the question of why certain individuals in small communities almost instantly interpret incidents of conflict through an “ethnic” lens even when there is evidence to the contrary. Accounting for local agency is crucial because micro-level behavior is often of decisive importance for the success or failure of any elite-generated attempt to spread an antagonistic sense of groupness. The notion of sudden nationhood—with an emphasis on the role of mental schemas produced by experiences and memories of mass violence—provides a means of analyzing this agency. It shows us the process whereby ordinary people make local incidents of conflict into “ethnic conflict,” and how their actions can contribute to a dramatic shift in the salience of national categories.

Conversely, in recognizing and analyzing sudden nationhood, we are reminded that moments of intensely felt collective solidarity and the antagonistic collective categorization of others are not constant and enduring features of local life. For

⁹⁷ I say “counterfeit courtesy” because while the policing of “Brotherhood and Unity” by the communist authorities provided most people with powerful incentives to get along—from commemorations and work actions to verbal warnings and imprisonment—it also papered over the existence of more antagonistic relations among some people. The phrase comes from Ivo Andrić’s short story “A Letter from 1920.” Andrić, *The Damned Yard and Other Stories*, ed. and trans. Celia Hawkesworth (London, 1992), 107–119, here 117.

⁹⁸ Cf. Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*.

Bosnia-Herzegovina, unfortunately, source limitations make it difficult to extend this focus beyond incidents in which particular individuals attempted to produce a powerful sense of antagonistic groupness. The communist authorities, who were highly concerned with policing “Brotherhood and Unity,” devoted much more time to writing internal reports about local incidents of conflict that had snowballed into “national chauvinism” than to recording examples of interethnic incidents in which this escalation did not take place.

Yet there were most likely interethnic incidents in which a sense of antagonistic groupness did not suddenly happen. A 1962 report on manifestations of “national chauvinism” by one local committee of the League of Communists concluded that such incidents “frequently did not find support or approval from the local population.”⁹⁹ Thus far, however, the available evidence has not allowed for much analysis of this dynamic. Further research on interethnic incidents of conflict that did not result in sudden nationhood would help us to better explain why it emerges in other instances. For example, it would be important to determine whether the legacy of the intercommunal violence of the Second World War was the primary contributor to some people’s tendency to view events through the lens of “us” and “them.” Perhaps there were interethnic incidents of conflict that took place in regions with a history of wartime interethnic violence but did not produce sudden nationhood. What other factors would explain this?

One possible hypothesis, which is supported by archival evidence in western Bosnia, concerns the behavior of the local political leadership. Many communists from areas that experienced severe intercommunal violence during the war believed strongly in reacting quickly and decisively to ensure that postwar incidents of interethnic conflict did not escalate.¹⁰⁰ Their position was often rooted in their own wartime experiences of witnessing acts of extreme violence, which they wished never to see repeated. The presence of such individuals in positions of power was most likely critical in preventing the appearance of sudden nationhood. After all, the same structural factors—a mixed ethnic makeup, a wartime history of intercommunal violence, and regular postwar incidents of conflict—were common in many communities in Bosnia. But a key factor in whether incidents escalated was the postwar behavior of local leaders: some vigorously intervened to prevent or stop incidents; others remained indifferent or tacitly approved; while a minority actively initiated and/or participated in incidents, which rapidly fueled sudden nationhood.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ ABiH, Fond CK SK BiH, kut. 37, Neki vidovi negativnih pojava na planu međunacionalnih odnosa na području zeničkog sreza, August 30, 1962, 14.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., Informacija o aktuelnim idejnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa i uticaja iz inostranstva na opštinama: Livno, Duvno, Kupres i Bugojno, July 7, 1962, 7–8.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 9–10. On the wide variation in the behavior of local political leaders in response to interethnic incidents, see *ibid.*, Informacija o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na području sreza Mostara, October 1962, 7–8; *ibid.*, Analiza o nekim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa u srezu Brčko, July 25, 1962, 6–7, 21; *ibid.*, Analiza o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na srezu Banjaluka, August 2, 1962, 15; *ibid.*, Neki problemi međunacionalnih odnosa u srezu Tuzla, August 3, 1962, 5; *ibid.*, Analiza o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na području komune Lukavac, 1962, 5–6; *ibid.*, Aktuelni problemi međunacionalnih odnosa na području opštine Srebrenica, June 1962, 7; *ibid.*, Informacija o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na području sreza Prijedor, July 15, 1962, 2; *ibid.*, Analiza o aktuelnim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa na području opštine Livno, August 9, 1962, 3–4; *ibid.*, Neki vidovi negativnih pojava na planu međunacionalnih odnosa na području zeničkog sreza, August 30, 1962, 13–14; *ibid.*, Informacija o

Another hypothesis is that wartime experiences of interethnic rescue may have produced a mental schema that exerted a powerful restraint on sudden nationhood, just as experiences of interethnic persecution might create a schema that could be activated for its escalation.¹⁰² The case of Rajko Srdić is suggestive. As a nine-year-old Serb, he escaped a mass execution in the Kulen Vakuf region during the summer of 1941 and survived thanks to a Muslim family who hid him for more than a month. In early September, they fled the region together, but were soon captured by Serb insurgents. "For most [of the insurgents]," Srdić recalled, "it was enough to be a Muslim or a Croat to lose one's head."¹⁰³ By perfectly reciting several Orthodox prayers, he convinced the insurgents that he was a fellow "Serb," and thereby saved himself and the Muslim family who had saved him. Such an experience could create an unforgettable sense of interethnic solidarity. As Srdić emphatically stated more than forty years after the war, "If not for the Muslims, I wouldn't be alive."¹⁰⁴

This kind of experience may have left such individuals significantly less inclined after the war to engage in, or respond positively to, antagonistic ethnic categorization after local interethnic incidents. Still, systematic microcomparative research on several regions will be needed if we are to better answer this important question about the relationship between the effects of wartime persecution and rescue and the post-war escalation and restraint of sudden nationhood. It will be especially important to investigate cases in which interethnic conflict did not evoke an antagonistic sense of "us vs. them." The study of such cases is thus a future subject for research that holds great potential to better illuminate why certain people in specific communities are more susceptible to initiating and responding to sudden nationhood than others.

But regardless of which cases one examines, the findings of this micro-level analysis provide a cautionary note for scholars who would too easily accept the label "national conflict" in characterizing incidents between individuals of different nationalities.¹⁰⁵ Many of the incidents noted by local committees of the League of Communists were indeed nominally interethnic, but the evidence suggests that this national difference often had little or nothing to do with the actual cause of conflict. What matters is that others chose to ignore the drunkenness and personal disputes that often set off these incidents, and instead decided to turn them into a "national conflict" by invoking the language of nationhood (along with its wartime associations) as a primary cause. Scholars who uncritically adopt such labels make the mistake of conflating the descriptions of incidents given by contemporary historical actors with their causes. In so doing, they replicate the claims of those who would seek

međunacionalnim odnosima na terenu Narodnog odbora sreza Jajce, August 6, 1962, 7; *ibid.*, Neki aktuelni problemi međunacionalnih odnosa u Bosni i Hercegovini, April 10, 1962, 10, 40–42; *ibid.*, kut. NN, Izvještaj grupe Centralnog komiteta SK BiH o nekim političkim i privrednim problemima Hercegovine, 1966, 35; *ibid.*, kut. 36, O nekim problemima međunacionalnih odnosa i pojavama šovinizma na srezu Sarajeva, November 24, 1962, 61–72; ARS, PJF, Fond SK SK BiH Foča, Grupa Opštinskog komiteta Saveza komunista koja je ispitala primjedbe na rad SUP-a Foča, Izvještaj o radu, November 1966, 3–4; Informacija o nekim negativnim pojavama na terenu Foča, October 20, 1960, 2.

¹⁰² On notions of restraint and escalation, see Scott Straus, "Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint," *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 2 (2012): 343–362.

¹⁰³ Ilija Rašeta, *Kazivanje pobjednika smrti* (Zagreb, 1988), 180.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 20–21.

¹⁰⁵ For a paradigmatic example of a study that adopts an uncritical view of how conflicts come to be understood as "national" or "ethnic," see Roger D. Peterson, *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe* (Cambridge, 2002).

to transform interethnic incidents into “national conflict.” In uncritically accepting this description, we short-circuit the task of determining how and why an incident comes to be understood by some people in this way. The challenge, for historians and others, is to uncover the kinds of micro-level evidence that will enable us to look deeply into the process that leads some people to react to interethnic incidents by using “national” to modify “conflict.” Analyzing the specific mechanisms that produce sudden nationhood not only provides scholars with a way to examine how and why historical actors choose to join these two words together; it also pushes us to ask whether the label actually reflects the dynamics of local conflicts, or instead tells us more about how and why some people wish to shape perceptions of them.

Despite scholars’ increasing recognition that nationhood is something that can “happen,” few have attempted to explain the moments when at the local level it suddenly becomes the dominant and antagonistic lens of social categorization. As Rogers Brubaker has written, “We know well from a variety of appalling testimony *that* this has happened; but we know too little about *how* it happened.”¹⁰⁶ The concept of sudden nationhood offers a concrete way to uncover some of the micro-mechanisms of eventful nationhood, especially in wartime and post-civil war local communities. Specifically, it highlights the analytical leverage we can gain by focusing on how incidents of conflict can trigger moments of collective ethnic categorization based in experiences and memories of intercommunal violence. Thinking about these linkages suggests a need to reflect more broadly on how ordinary people practice nationhood. It can be something that people adopt gradually over time in response to structural economic, societal, and cultural transformations. It can be something that people remain stubbornly indifferent to, or use instrumentally.¹⁰⁷ Yet it can also be a way of seeing the world that ordinary people quickly adopt in response to events that trigger ethnicized forms of collective categorization with real roots in their traumatic experiences and memories of violence. This understanding of nationhood helps to explain the complex microdynamics of intercommunal relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina during and after World War II. But it also has the potential to shed light on other instances of rapid, antagonistic collective categorization, such as during the pogroms in Eastern Europe in 1941, the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, and riots in South Asia at various times.¹⁰⁸ The concept of sudden nationhood, with an emphasis on the linkages among violence, memory, and local incidents of conflict, thus offers a promising way to provide new answers to a crucial yet vexing question of interest to many scholars: How do ordinary people come to speak the language of nationalism?

Finally, taking account of, and accounting for, sudden nationhood matters if we want to be able to explain the relationship between nationalism and the outbreak of violence. Interethnic incidents of conflict are not, in and of themselves, sufficient triggers for the eruption of more widespread violence. Rather, it is the coding of such

¹⁰⁶ Brubaker, “Rethinking Nationhood,” 21, emphasis in the original.

¹⁰⁷ On how ordinary people deploy the language of nationhood in instrumental ways, see Theodora Dragostinova, *Between Two Motherlands: Nationality and Emigration among the Greeks of Bulgaria, 1900–1949* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2011).

¹⁰⁸ On pogroms in Eastern Europe in 1941, see Gross, *Neighbors*, and Żbikowski, “Local Anti-Jewish Pogroms in the Occupied Territories of Eastern Poland”; on the genocide in Rwanda, see Straus, *The Order of Genocide*; on communal violence in South Asia, see Das, *Life and Words*, and Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds*.

incidents, and especially the choice to spread such interpretations, that seems to hold the potential to rapidly poison intercommunal relations. It was a relatively small number of individuals in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina who initiated and escalated instances of sudden nationhood. But a majority of the communist authorities were deeply committed to policing such individuals and devoted significant time and resources to containing their actions through the intensive enforcement of “Brotherhood and Unity.”

The most fertile ground for the rapid spread of sudden nationhood, however, would be in a context in which the minority of individuals who practice it would no longer face much resistance from the authorities, and where the specific historical factors that make some people momentarily receptive to it, such as the legacy of intercommunal violence, are front and center in politics and the mass media. This is exactly what happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the late 1980s and early 1990s, a period that witnessed the sudden disappearance of the League of Communists and the rise of nationalist political parties, some of which sought to mobilize their constituencies by drawing linkages between contemporary instances of inter-ethnic incidents (or merely rumors of them) and memories of World War II-era intercommunal violence.¹⁰⁹

While studying the phenomenon of sudden nationhood can help us to better understand the dynamics of intercommunal relations in post-World War II Bosnia-Herzegovina, it potentially has a larger role to play. It may well prove to be crucial in helping to explain the poorly understood processes before and during the wars that ensued during Yugoslavia’s dissolution—a time when, for many, neighbors suddenly lost their individuality and became collective ethnic categories of enemies, with thousands killed as a result. Micro-level research on these critical moments when nationhood suddenly happened can yield important new insights about how the most recent wave of violence took hold in the region on the most intimate level.

¹⁰⁹ The judgments released by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) contain suggestive examples of how Bosnian Serb politicians during the 1990s drew on memories of World War II violence to create an atmosphere of fear and suspicion in local communities. There are also examples of how some local perpetrators used World War II-era categories while committing acts of violence. An important subject for future research would be the role of such memories in the polarization of intercommunal relations and in motivating perpetrators of violence at the micro level. See, for example, International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Former Yugoslavia since 1991, Case no. IT-94-1-T, May 7, 1997, Prosecutor versus Duško Tadić, paragraphs 83, 87, 88, 91, 94, 130, 154; Case no. IT-00-39-T, September 27, 2006, Prosecutor versus Momčilo Krajišnik, paragraphs 43, 45, 47, 638, 802, 896, 923, 1031.

Max Bergholz is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Concordia University in Montreal, Canada, where he holds the James M. Stanford Professorship and Chair in Genocide and Human Rights Studies. He received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Toronto in 2010. His articles have appeared in *East European Politics & Societies* and *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, among others. With support from the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and Le Fonds de recherche du Québec–Société et culture, he is currently completing his first book manuscript, which investigates the dynamics of mass violence in a Bosnian community during World War II and the postwar culture of silence.

AHR Forum
Investigating the History in Prehistories

Introduction

What came before? This is a question that even the most sophisticated historians must ask themselves, if only to establish a starting point for their own investigations, as well as to acknowledge the continuities and contingencies derived from an earlier past. Too often, however, there is a tendency to flatten and freeze this period “before”—to deny the fundamental historicity of earlier periods for the sake of asserting the importance or newness of the particular period under consideration. And, as the contributors to this forum argue, this is especially true in the case of chronologically remote or very early periods of history, which are often burdened with the status of “pre”-history—a convenient marker of a time before time.

This forum might be read in conjunction with a recent *AHR* Roundtable, “Historians and the Question of ‘Modernity’” (June 2011). There, most of the contributors questioned the validity of “modernity” as a legitimate and intellectually relevant category of time, especially, but not exclusively, for societies outside the Western world. In different ways, that is what the authors in this forum are doing with the notion of “prehistory.” Daniel Lord Smail and Andrew Shryock confront the problem most directly, asserting in “History and the ‘Pre’” that the deleterious consequence of “prehistory,” in the sense of pre-historic time, is to render deep time “invisible,” thus denying us insight into the origins and continuities of many human features. James F. Brooks’s “Women, Men, and Cycles of Evangelism in the Southwest Borderlands, A.D. 750 to 1750,” essentially dispenses with any notion of a pre-Columbian past as a meaningful dividing point in the history of North America, offering a thousand-year *longue durée* of historical continuities of episodic religious revivals. Rosalind O’Hanlon brings us to a somewhat different “pre”—the early modernity that is now accepted as the prelude to modernity itself. In “Contested Conjunctions: Brahman Communities and ‘Early Modernity’ in India,” she significantly adds to the emerging notion that societies beyond the West experienced their own “run-up” to modernity, suggesting that “early modernity” was indeed a global phenomenon. Finally, in “The End of Prehistory? An Africanist Comment,” which itself constitutes a significant contribution to the discussion, Akinwumi Ogundiran, while embracing the need for serious engagement with the deep past, also reminds us of the epistemological and methodological adjustments that this approach should entail.

AHR Forum
History and the “Pre”

DANIEL LORD SMAIL AND ANDREW SHRYOCK

THOUGH COINED IN 1635, THE WORD “modernity” trickled into the habits of English diction only toward the end of the nineteenth century. (See Figure 1.) “Modern” itself is a word of venerable antiquity. In its original meaning, it did not denote an era so much as the front edge of the advancing wave of time. In the faintly derisory usage typical of ancient and medieval texts, “modern” gestured to institutions or patterns that were newfangled or gaudy, to kings and queens, princes and popes, who were forgetful of what they owed to the past. The understanding of modernity that is statistically noticeable by 1900 was very different, and not only because the derision had faded. In its more recent meanings, “modernity” represents a new way of thinking about time. The threshold of modernity is not located in the space around us; it is instead a point that lies on a receding horizon. Everything visible on this side of the horizon partakes of modernity, with the exceptions and anomalies we now take (and often mistake) for the residue of earlier times. Invisible over the horizon is the “pre.”

By 1980, the pace of usage of “modernity” began to accelerate. The quiet murmur that marked much of the twentieth century became a hum and then, by 2000, a roar. The new enthusiasm produced many studies of the modern and the postmodern, in history as in many other fields.¹ This turn of events is not without justification. Capitalism, the nation-state, secularism, the corporation, popular sovereignty, mass media, industrialism—these are all associated with modernity, and each is worthy of careful study. But the attention that historians have lavished on this period and its forms has come at a price. When modernity became “the key concept of general history,” as one historian has put it, a subsequent flattening of history was nearly

We have presented versions of this article at the UCL Institute of Archaeology, the University of Michigan, Duke University, and Indiana University; our thanks to our hosts and to the members of the audiences. A number of colleagues read and made suggestions on prior drafts, and we are grateful to all of them, especially David Akin, Carla Heelan, Engseng Ho, Michael Puett, John Robb, and the anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*. We are especially grateful to Jane Lyle for her excellent editorial work.

¹ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (1980; repr., New York, 1991); Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, Calif., 1991); Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, 1996); Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, trans. Frederick Lawrence (Boston, 1987); Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, N.C., 1990).

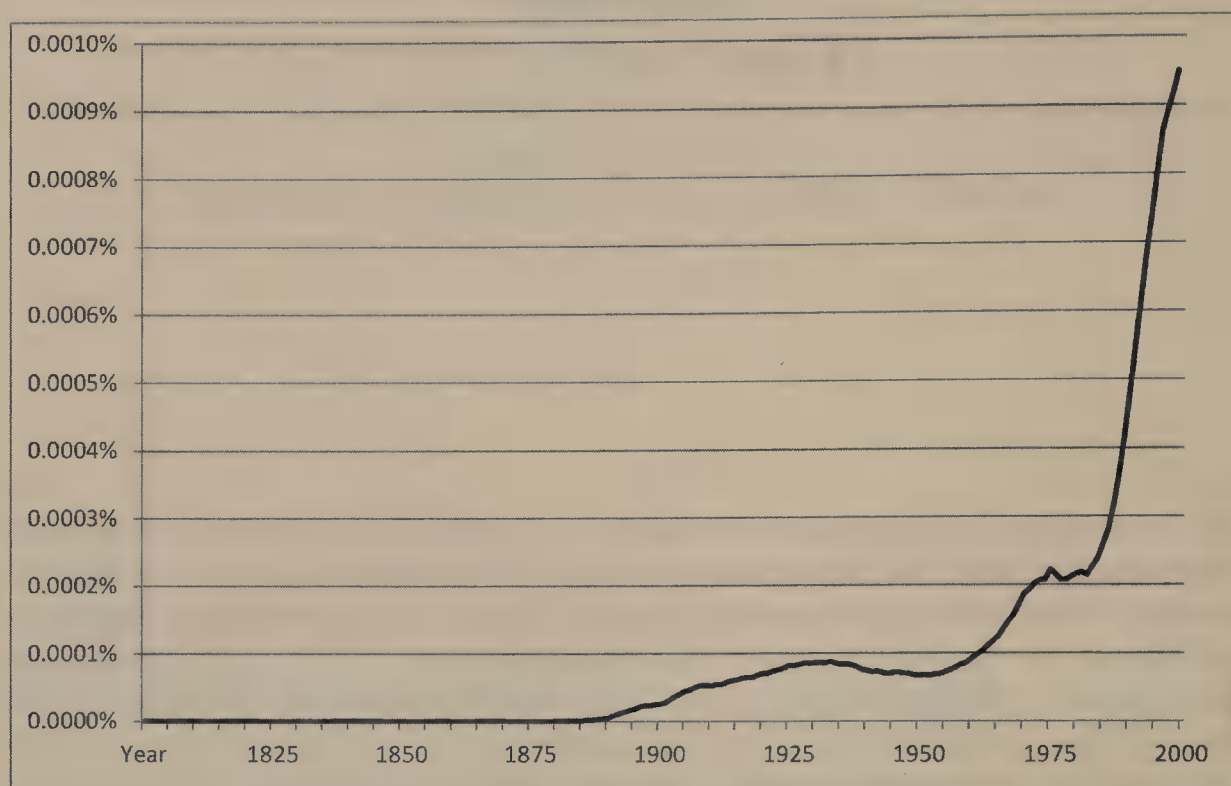


FIGURE 1: The accelerating use of “modernity” in the English language, 1801–2000. From the Google Ngram viewer, available at <http://ngrams.googlelabs.com/>. For the methodological underpinnings of the Ngram viewer, see Jean-Baptiste Michel, Yuan Kui Shen, Aviva Presser Aiden, et al., “Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books,” *Science* 331, no. 6014 (2011): 176–182.

inevitable.² A cursory survey of the book titles, dissertation topics, journal articles, faculty rosters, and conference panels that constitute academic history in North America shows the remarkable extent to which the core of the discipline has migrated into the twentieth century.³ Perhaps more important is a related trend: the flattening of historical conversations into isolated time bands and the tendency to make arguments that look forward in time, toward the modern, at the expense of serious engagement with scholarship that addresses previous historical eras. However we might define this preoccupation with the modern, it would appear that a systematic neglect of the deep past has become one of its diagnostic signs.

There is no virtue in forgetfulness. We acknowledge it as a sin of omission that comes with its own political agendas. As Ernest Renan remarked in 1882, “forgetting, I would even say historical error, is essential to the creation of a nation, which is why the advance of historical study often poses a threat to nationality.”⁴ The past is rife with traumas and divisive conflicts of the sort best passed over by any political com-

² Thomas Nipperdey, “Probleme der Modernisierung in Deutschland,” in Nipperdey, *Nachdenken über die deutsche Geschichte: Essays* (Munich, 1986), 44–64, cited in Geoff Eley, *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), 74.

³ Judith M. Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia, 2006); Daniel Lord Smail, *On Deep History and the Brain* (Berkeley, Calif., 2008); Andrew Shryock, “Editorial Foreword,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 1 (2008): 1–8, here 8; Daniel Lord Smail, Clare Haru Crowston, Kristen B. Neuschel, and Carol Symes, “History and the Telescoping of Time: A Disciplinary Forum,” *French Historical Studies* 34, no. 1 (2011): 1–55. See also the cogent analysis offered in Kathleen Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (Philadelphia, 2008).

⁴ Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? What Is a Nation?*, trans. Wanda Romer Taylor (Toronto,

munity that hopes to imagine itself as a unified body. For much of the first half of the twentieth century, civic-minded historians facilitated the tactical amnesias of nationhood by papering over unpleasant facts. Today, the goal of the academic historian is often quite the opposite: to unsettle the complacent narratives of nation, civilization, and power. Even so, Renan's "advance of historical study" has managed only to reorder our amnesias, not to cure them. In place of a past distorted to suit the triumphal narrative of nation, we have substituted an equally mythic past now subservient to the demands of modernity, whether our attitudes toward modernity are adulatory or insurgent. What we have created is a "pre."

Like the nation-state, modernity generates its own oblivions. Whenever we invoke the term "modernity" as an explanatory concept, as a point of contrast that renders human experience distinct and unanswerable to the past, we are inventing a "pre" to go with it.⁵ The necessity of the "pre" to the narrative of modernity is suggested by the fact that its usage has expanded in the English language alongside that of modernity itself. (Compare Figures 1 and 2.) The "pre" is a shadow cast by modern things, a space of simplified contrasts that is noticeable yet encourages inattention. If we assume that conditions found in the present were not yet possible in the "pre," then history-making—that is, the "rise" of the nation-state or the "birth" of capitalism—requires a decisive movement away from the "pre" and into the modern. The result is a center-periphery model of history that strips the past of its autonomy and renders it provincial. Elsewhere we have abandoned such models. We have moved away from the nexus of nation; we have produced dynamic histories of global capitalism; we have even provincialized Europe.⁶ But as Eurocentrism gradually fades, we are left with the insistent centrality of modernity, which grows heavier with each passing decade and creates the dilemma that bedevils this forum: How do we contemplate the "pre" without getting hopelessly entangled in the modern? Is it possible to write an autonomous history of the past?

IN POPULAR MODES OF EVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT, humanity's deep past conforms to an ontology borrowed from the anthropology and history of an earlier time. This ontology opposes raw and cooked, gift and commodity, country and city, oral and literate, nature and culture, them and us.⁷ It is commonly assumed that these distinctions can be mapped out intelligibly in time, but the resulting cartography is messy. Even in the very remote past, the formative presence of the pre/modern distinction can lead us astray. Consider a shell bead from Europe around 40,000 years ago, a shell that was collected, drilled, strung with other beads onto a necklace, and

1996), 18–19: "L'oubli, et je dirai même l'erreur historique, sont un facteur essentiel de la création d'une nation, et c'est ainsi que le progrès des études historiques est souvent pour la nationalité un danger."

⁵ In his critique of scholarship that treats modernity as distinct and discontinuous, Frederick Cooper notes that modernity itself is a representation that generates its own starting point in the form of tradition; Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005), 126.

⁶ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

⁷ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness," in Richard G. Fox, ed., *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1991), 17–44.

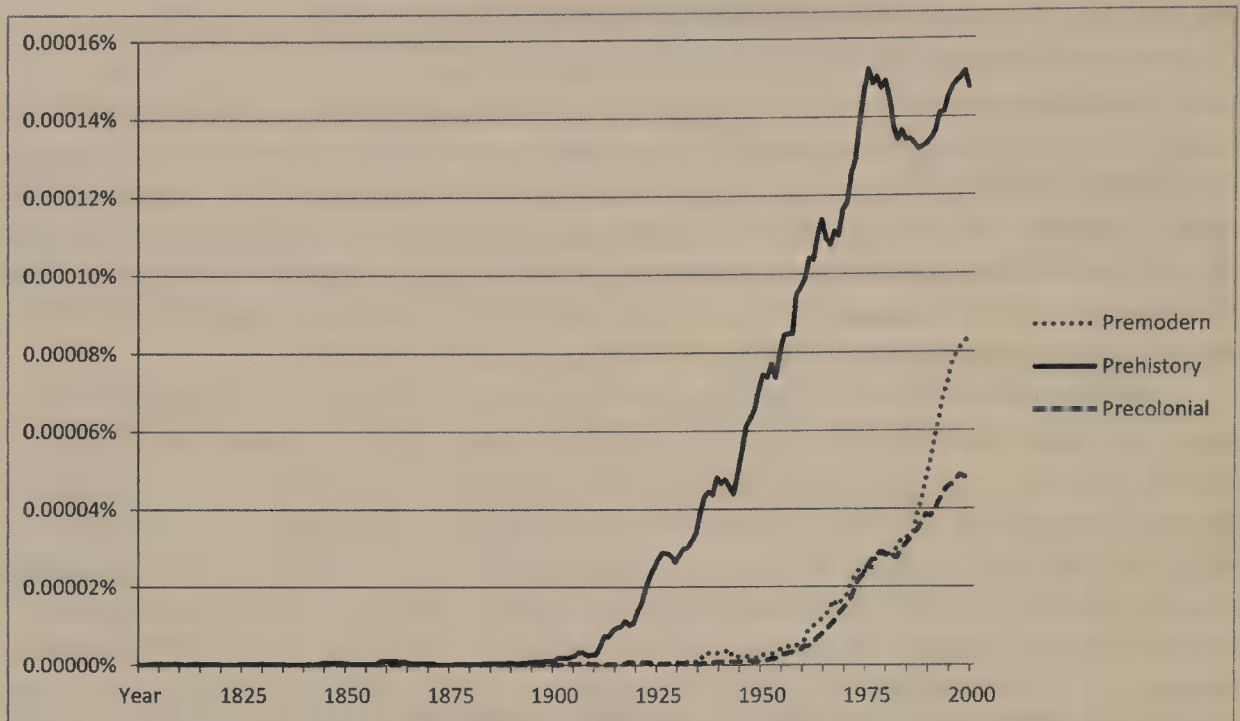


FIGURE 2: The accelerating use of “pre” in the English language, 1801–2000.

then worn for some of the same reasons that anyone wears a necklace today: to display a thing of beauty; to enjoy the pleasures of collecting; to communicate status, taste, and fashion; to signal belonging; to add value to an object; to generate power by giving or trading. These qualities are instantly recognizable to the archaeologists who interpret the beads. The sense of eerie familiarity they evoke encourages the observer to characterize Paleolithic beads as modern. Yet to find the modern in a 40,000-year-old deposit, where it rests alongside artifacts that are utterly strange, is to create a kind of syntactic anomaly, a disturbance that triggers a storytelling response. It is hardly a coincidence that archaeologists have used these early beads to argue that the people who made them were “behaviorally modern,” not just anatomically so.

This usage of “modern” is not simply metaphorical or suggestive. It is a narrative reflex that points to much deeper issues. Describing ancient beads, and their wearers, as modern is an act of retrieval through identification. It is a gift of welcome bestowed on a stranger who has entered a time/space *like* that of the modern. The ritual is essentially a moral one, and it is not undertaken lightly. Entire eras, peoples, and cultural practices are denied this act of incorporation, and inclusion is always provisional. A commitment to female genital cutting, caste endogamy, or tribal law can jeopardize one’s status as fully modern, no matter how many beads one wears, and rejection of these practices in favor of gender equality, social mobility, and civil law will prompt new acts of welcome. The modern world is filled with—one could say it is constituted by—things said to be primitive, traditional, and backward. Distinguishing these qualities and marginalizing them is endless, highly politicized work. Even if we argue, along with Walter Benjamin, that every document of civilization is at the same time a document of barbarism, the claim makes sense, and has its subversive appeal, only to the extent that we acknowledge the semantic alignment

of each term: civilization is assimilated to the modern, whereas barbarism is assimilated to the great Before.⁸

As a by-product of relentless boundary maintenance, the "pre" does not constitute a historical era in its own right. Rather, it is a narrative space auto-populated by features that define temporal Otherness for the self-consciously modern observer. The "pre" is the domain of tradition, nature, stasis, childhood, rawness, simplicity, enchantment, and superstition. To engage with it directly, as such, is to accept a language of moral superiority and political disablement that few scholars are now willing to speak or tolerate. The specific content of this time/space is problematic because the temporal frame it occupies is stigmatized or, in a reversal of moral polarities, romanticized. Avoidance is a common response. Historians who work on periods characterized as premodern make matters worse when they accept the ontology and claim historical relevance for their subject matter by the simple expedient of pushing the threshold of the "pre" to a point just over the horizon. The Middle Ages, classical antiquity, Neolithic farming villages, Paleolithic societies: each is awarded a modernity that, by the logic of the ontology, must be denied to the period that precedes it. This is a comedy routine, a bomb with a burning fuse passed hastily down the line to explode in someone else's face.⁹ What is at stake in this tendency to link one's own period to modernity and to push the "pre" behind? Certainly it is not the same modernity from that point forward—or is it? Why is it so important to invent a moment at which we step over the threshold into "our world"?

Modernity, like Europe in its heyday, is full of itself. The time has come to provincialize it. Since the literature on modernity is already rich, self-critical, and thought-provoking, the way forward is to deprovincialize the deep past.¹⁰ To do so, we can follow the lead of postcolonial theorists who have pursued a similar agenda in the medium of space, though they have done so rarely, if ever, in the medium of time.¹¹ Despite the deprovincializing instinct, in other words, chronological provincialism persists, and its grip on critical theory is a sturdy barrier between historians and knowledge of the human past generated by philologists, archaeologists, genomicists, and paleoanthropologists. Collaboration across this barrier may seem to pose a threat to epistemological purity, but what is to be gained from such purity when it serves only to truncate our understanding of time? Such collaboration can be seen as a way to strengthen the deprovincializing impulse that history shares with other fields. Anthropologists, for instance, realized long ago that the ontology of self and other, near and remote, imposes serious constraints on the analysis of cultural forms;

⁸ Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in Hannah Arendt, ed., *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (1955; repr., New York, 2007), 253–264.

⁹ The "denial of coevalness" would be the more respectful gesture in these cases. Placing the analyst and the subject within a shared time/space was once considered a corrective to exoticism—see Johannes Fabian's famous development of this position in *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983)—but it is equally possible to see "the granting of coevalness" as another example of the imperial inclusion so typical of modern political and intellectual styles.

¹⁰ See the *AHR* Roundtable "Historians and the Question of 'Modernity,'" *American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (June 2011): 631–751.

¹¹ In our introduction to Andrew Shryock, Daniel Lord Smail, et al., *Deep History: The Architecture of Past and Present* (Berkeley, Calif., 2011), we try to explain why the critical potential of postcolonial theory has been contained almost entirely within the study of societies described as modern, early modern, or postmodern. A similar case is made by Thomas Trautmann in *The Clash of Chronologies: Ancient India in the Modern World* (New Delhi, 2009).

to produce new analytical insights, they have chosen to unsettle and even collapse these oppositions. This methodology can be applied to the study of the deep past, but only if the intellectual fixations that draw anthropology and history into the present are rendered explicit, then deliberately reworked.¹²

The best remedy for this historiographical dilemma relies heavily on disenchantment and interpretive criticism—that is, on showing how the illusion of pre/modernity works and why it so often misleads. The principal therapies expose some of the narrative commitments built into the modernity project, along with their effects on history-writing. They gesture to what can be gained when a story about the deep past—a story, say, that explores the life history of shell beads and their related forms over tens of thousands of years, invoking exchange, kinship, obligation, and power—eschews naïve progressivism, and is told instead using other narrative devices. Those devices include fractal articulations, coevolutionary spirals, sustained creativity, and inertia. The history itself is rendered intelligible by playing with scale, an analytical exercise in which distinctions of “pre” and “post” endlessly collapse into new frameworks of historical interpretation.¹³ Before the therapy can begin, however, we need a more thorough diagnosis of why the modernity syndrome so predictably generates the “pre.”

FOR HISTORIANS WHO THINK THEIR DISCIPLINE OWNS “the modern,” it is unsettling to realize how thoroughly the threshold of modernity, as a concept, has permeated the narrative structures of archaeology, paleoanthropology, human genetics, and other fields that study the deep past, not to mention all the historical fields in between. To experience this, all we need to do is travel backward along the pathways of historiography. The easiest way to start this journey is to ask the *wrong* question: At what moment did the people of the “pre” cross the threshold of modernity?

In European historiography, let us take by way of example *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity*, a collection published in 1990 that conveys in nearly undiluted form the hunt-and-peck quality of the modernity project. The shared core of the volume, according to its editor, “is the authors’ recognition that after several crucial antecedents and preludes, modernity has been born out of the French Revolution; further, that modernity ‘is here,’ it has arrived; and, finally, that it has to be given a meaning.”¹⁴ The volume joined an existing body of work and spawned competitors of its own in the pursuit for the pole position. Some historians pointed to England, and emphasized the consumer revolution or coal. Others gestured to fea-

¹² The extent to which modern time/space dominates the convergence of anthropology and history is on vibrant display in Edward Murphy et al., eds., *Anthrohistory: Unsettling Knowledge, Questioning Discipline* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2011). The volume celebrates fifteen years of groundbreaking research in the University of Michigan’s Anthropology and History Program. Of its twenty-two essays, most are situated within the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and only one engages closely with an “early modern” context: namely, E. Natalie Rothman’s “Genealogies of Mediation: ‘Culture Broker’ and Imperial Governmentality” (67–80), which addresses Venetian-Ottoman interactions in the sixteenth century. Given the temporal depth of anthropology and history in their more standard, disciplinary forms, it is interesting that the contributors to the volume seem generally unperplexed by the relentless modernity of their project.

¹³ We explore other therapies in Shryock, Smail, et al., *Deep History*.

¹⁴ Ferenc Fehér, ed., *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 3.

tures of protoindustrialization, the public sphere, the Enlightenment, the shift in disciplinary regimes, the invention of inner subjectivity—the list is long.¹⁵ Regardless of these disagreements, the eighteenth-century historians agree on one thing: their century is when it happened.¹⁶

Yet claims to modernity do not recede as we travel farther back in time. Medieval historians used to claim their period as the point of modernity's origin, though the habit is fading.¹⁷ More puzzling, to historians at least, is the unflagging enthusiasm for modernity among archaeologists and paleoanthropologists. The archaeologists who study the Bronze and Iron Ages, roughly equivalent with ancient civilizations as defined by historians and philologists, associate the birth of the modern with the rise of empires and the arrival of complex political societies. Neolithic archaeologists, working thousands of years earlier, point to the transition to agriculture. They have coined new revolutions, modeled on the French Revolution, that bear labels such as the Neolithic Revolution, the Urban Revolution, and the Secondary Products Revolution.¹⁸ Those who study the later phases of the Upper Paleolithic evoke the concept of a Broad Spectrum Revolution between 30,000 and 15,000 years ago.¹⁹ Specialists on the earliest phase of the Upper Paleolithic identify a dramatic shift to modernity around 50,000 years ago, describing it as the "Upper Paleolithic Revolution" or the "Human Revolution."²⁰ In all these works, an aggressive new modernity is here, it has arrived, and it too has meaning.

The farther back we go, the more metaphorical and suppressed the claims for modernity become. The word itself falls away almost entirely once anatomical modernity, which emerged circa 190,000 years ago, is established as the near miss to behavioral modernity. Beyond this, the threshold no longer sets off modernity; instead, the threshold is one of humanity. Yet the arc of the narrative remains fun-

¹⁵ Important precursors include Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); and Charles Taylor, *The Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). A sampling of recent works includes Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800*, trans. Brian Pierce (Cambridge, 2000); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, Conn., 2004); Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York, 2007).

¹⁶ See Clare Haru Crowston, "Credit and the Metanarrative of Modernity," *French Historical Studies* 34, no. 1 (2011): 7–19.

¹⁷ Classic works include Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, N.J., 1970); Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971); Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (New York, 1972). On the fading of the habit, see Paul Freedman and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (June 1998): 677–704.

¹⁸ V. Gordon Childe, *Man Makes Himself* (London, 1936); Andrew Sherratt, "Plough and Pastoralism: Aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution," in Ian Hodder, Glynn Isaac, and Norman Hammond, eds., *Pattern of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke* (Cambridge, 1981), 261–305.

¹⁹ The term was first proposed in Kent V. Flannery, "Origins and Ecological Effects of Early Domestication in Iran and the Near East," in Peter J. Ucko and G. W. Dimbleby, eds., *The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals* (Chicago, 1969), 73–100; see also Mary C. Stiner, "Thirty Years on the 'Broad Spectrum Revolution' and Paleolithic Demography," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 98, no. 13 (2001): 6993–6996.

²⁰ Paul Mellars and Chris Stringer, eds., *The Human Revolution: Behavioural and Biological Perspectives on the Origins of Modern Humans* (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

damentally the same. To some, humanity emerges 1.8 million years ago with the arrival of the mating system, dietary pattern, and emotional modernity of *Homo erectus*.²¹ Others point to the upright posture of *Australopithecus* and *Ardipithecus*, some 3.5 to 4.5 million years ago.²²

As these examples illustrate, the threshold of modernity is not a moment fixed in time. It is a catchy tune that can be produced anywhere on the keyboard. This flexibility means that claims about the birth of modernity are robust and convincing not solely by virtue of the evidence that they assemble, but because such claims presuppose the abrupt emergence of new kinds of autonomy and agency and an ever-increasing control over the natural and social world. The imagery is that of a butterfly emerging from a chrysalis, or a phase change in a liquid. Although these are vivid storytelling motifs, our ability to apply them to such diverse settings reduces their analytical utility. After all, if modernity is to have any meaning at all, it cannot be a quality that is continually arriving for 2.6 million years. Yet it continues to arrive, and it always arrives as a discontinuity, its temporal distinctiveness asserted relentlessly against the “pre.”

Clearly, something is wrong with this narrative device. But wherein lies the error? One of the most compelling answers to this seemingly intractable problem has been offered by the paleoanthropologists Sally McBrearty and Alison Brooks in an article cogently titled “The Revolution That Wasn’t.”²³ The revolution to which they refer is the Human Revolution or the Upper Paleolithic Revolution. The material factors pointing to such a revolution are significant. As summarized by Ofer Bar-Yosef, they include new kinds of stone tools and associated production technologies, abrupt transformations in personal ornamentation, the functional separation of camp spaces, and striking new evidence for long-distance trade.²⁴ In the face of the evidence, how are McBrearty and Brooks able to argue that the revolution “wasn’t”?

That they can do so springs from the fact that they are Africanists, whereas the main proponents of the idea of the Upper Paleolithic Revolution are Europeanists. The cultural assemblage that appears so abruptly in Europe at the onset of the Upper Paleolithic around 40,000–50,000 years ago was, they argue, assembled more gradually in Africa. It appears to burst out in Europe only because Africans, that is to say modern *Homo sapiens*, carried it with them when they migrated into Europe around 50,000 years ago. But their argument relies on an even subtler idea: the asynchronicity of revolutions. Human history is punctuated by crucial moments of transformation and invention. Using fossil and archaeological evidence, it is possible to mark the unique set of innovations associated with the “Human Revolution” on a timeline. When we do that, we discover a remarkable thing: “These items do not

²¹ Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, *Mothers and Others: The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009); Richard Wrangham, *Catching Fire: How Cooking Made Us Human* (New York, 2009).

²² See Ann Gibbons, “A New Kind of Ancestor: *Ardipithecus* Unveiled,” *Science* 326, no. 5949 (2009): 36–40.

²³ Sally McBrearty and Alison S. Brooks, “The Revolution That Wasn’t: A New Interpretation of the Origin of Modern Human Behavior,” *Journal of Human Evolution* 39, no. 5 (2000): 453–563. A complementary argument has been proposed by Clive Gamble in his *Origins and Revolutions: Human Identity in Earliest Prehistory* (New York, 2007).

²⁴ Ofer Bar-Yosef, “The Upper Paleolithic Revolution,” *American Review of Anthropology* 31 (2002): 363–393.

occur suddenly together as predicted by the 'human revolution' model, but at sites that are widely separated in space and time. This suggests a gradual assembling of the package of modern human behaviors in Africa, and its later export to other regions of the Old World."²⁵ From the paleoanthropological evidence, in other words, it is impossible to say when humans crossed a singular threshold of modernity.

This model has had considerable influence among paleoanthropologists, though more so in the United States than in Europe, where human-revolution orthodoxy remains entrenched.²⁶ For historians who have no particular stake in the matter, the crucial point is that McBrearty and Brooks offer a model of asynchronous revolution that can be fruitfully applied to any historical context. It suggests a series of stepwise transformations that continuously produce new logics and processes, an image similar to the model of punctuated equilibrium proposed by Stephen Jay Gould and Niles Eldredge.²⁷ As novel forms become entangled with already existing practices, they generate unanticipated changes, the very stuff of contingency.²⁸

IN AN EARLIER HISTORIOGRAPHICAL MODE, it was possible to imagine that the currents of history were constrained to flow in particular channels. These channels were laid out by divine providence, by geographically determining factors, or by the pseudo-evolutionism typical of the late-nineteenth-century European historical imagination. They were defined by laws governing the patterns of progress. As Henry Sumner Maine once suggested, the channel of progress itself was both shallow and obscure; it was easy for societies to miss it entirely, or to fall out once in.²⁹ One of the laws of progress, paradoxically, was that few societies were capable of being progressive. But for those that were, history had an inevitable outcome: the modern liberal state, whose citizens could live healthy, wealthy lives in the pursuit of happiness. Such benignity brought with it the moral duty to carry those same benefits to others, a mission that the French, who borrowed the idea from the Romans before them, called *la mission civilisatrice*.

The stationary societies imagined by Maine and others were the original "pre," societies that could never find the right channel and instead turned and turned in a Sisyphean loop. We can trace Maine's visions back to the Hegelian paradigm that emerged earlier in the nineteenth century, wherein history itself was born at an originary moment when mankind escaped the grip of nature. Hegel was writing around the same time that the speculative idea of pre-Adamite humanity was giving way to the new field of archaeology. He was conscious of the thorny problem associated with

²⁵ McBrearty and Brooks, "The Revolution That Wasn't," 453.

²⁶ John J. Shea, "The Human Revolution Rethought," *Evolutionary Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (2006): 42–43.

²⁷ Stephen Jay Gould and Niles Eldredge, "Punctuated Equilibria: The Tempo and Mode of Evolution Reconsidered," *Paleobiology* 3, no. 2 (1977): 115–151.

²⁸ On the theory, see especially Ian Hodder, *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things* (Malden, Mass., 2012). For an example of how this model works in action, see Michael Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2010).

²⁹ Henry Sumner Maine, *Ancient Law: Its Connection with the Early History of Society, and Its Relation to Modern Ideas* (1861; repr., Tucson, Ariz., 1986). See Alan Diamond, ed., *The Victorian Achievement of Sir Henry Maine: A Centennial Reappraisal* (Cambridge, 1991).

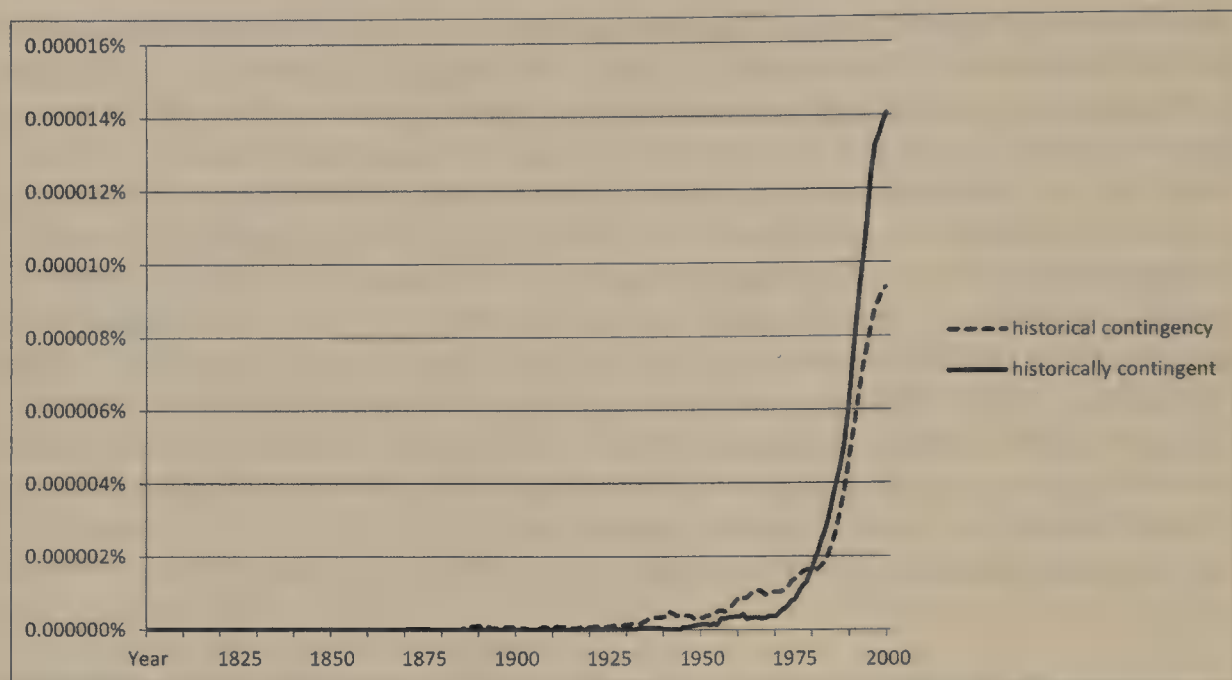


FIGURE 3: Ideas of historical contingency in the English language, 1801–2000. “Historical contingency” and “historically contingent” are the signature phrases used in historical writing to evoke the idea of contingency.

the existence of ancient humans, but he quickly resolved this problem by fixating on the triumph of humanity over nature, a conclusion that joined the progressive evolutionary sensibility of his era with the belief that mankind was set apart from nature, a doctrine essential to the Abrahamic worldview that nineteenth-century philosophy and science were busy dismantling.³⁰ In the same way that humans broke with nature, so too did European civilization break with the stationary societies.

The determinism of this scheme—the idea that very few channels can lead a progressive society out of the Sisyphean loop—is what critical theory from the 1980s onward set about to demolish, along with the grand narrative structures that attended that vision.³¹ One of the concepts that emerged along the way was *contingency*: the idea, simply put, that events did not have to unfold the way they did. (See Figures 3 and 4.) Historical pathways have many forks. At critical junctures, the circumstances of the moment, scarcely more than feathery in their influence, gently lend coherence to emerging trends. As certain trends gather weight and inertia, they acquire the look of historical inevitability—but it is only an illusion. This interpretive stance was the antidote to master narratives of progress. The political message of contingency can be summed up in equally concise terms: there is nothing inherently right or inevitable about the world system as we know it today; it can be wrong, and it can be changed. At stake was the need to reject not just providence or the laws of progress, but also the more immediate danger of genetic determinism. The idea of contingency was much favored by Stephen Jay Gould, who harnessed it to the task

³⁰ For a fuller discussion of these themes, see Shryock and Smail, “Introduction,” in *Deep History*, 3–20.

³¹ The agenda was a reenactment of earlier contests, not all of them conducted on the disciplinary turf of historians. For anthropologists, the battle lines were clearly drawn by the early years of the twentieth century, when Franz Boas and his students were dismantling the grandiose claims of Victorian evolutionism; see George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (1968; repr., Chicago, 1982).

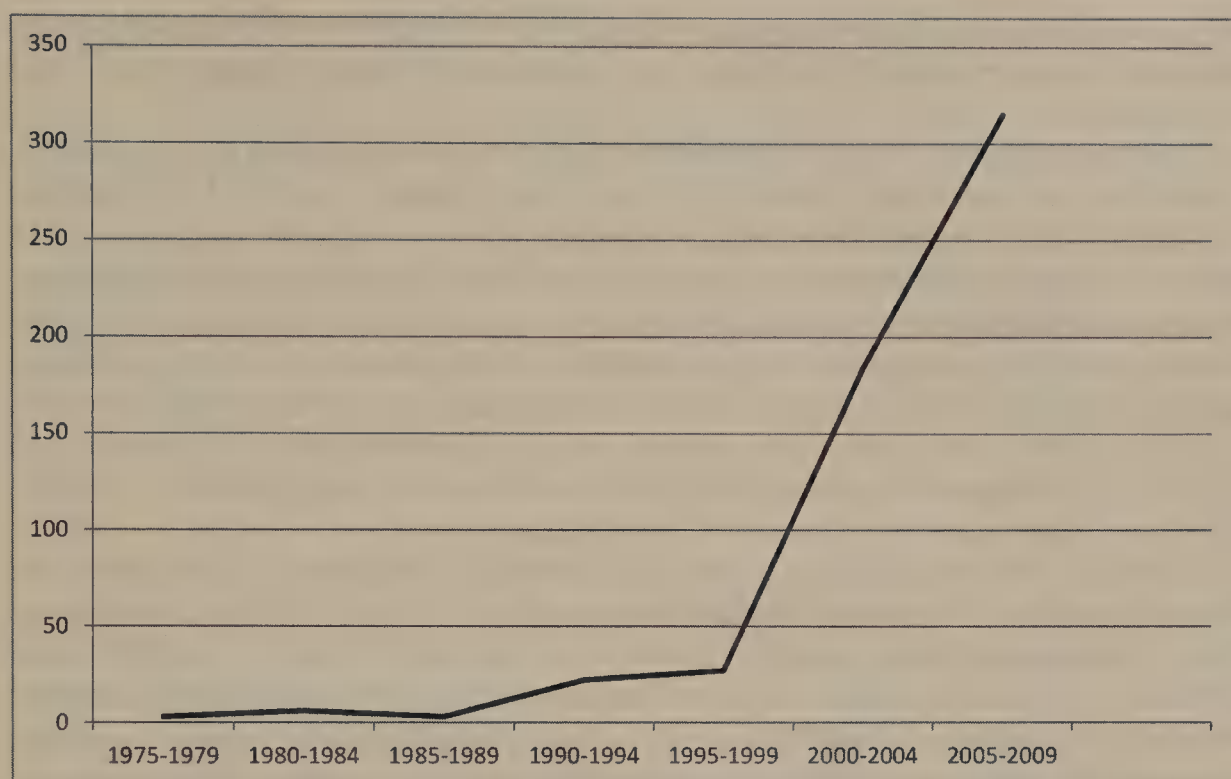


FIGURE 4: The use of "contingency" in historical writing, 1975–2009. This chart illustrates the number of articles and book reviews published in the *American Historical Review* in which the word "contingen*" appears at least once. The data have not been normalized because the annual number of publications is nearly identical across the period. The data are from electronic editions stored in EBSCOhost. The numbers are slightly exaggerated because the database cannot differentiate between two separate book reviews that appear on the same page.

of rejecting sociobiology, pan-selectionism, and other lightly disguised versions of Victorian racialism.³² Gould's usage fed back into historiography, where it fueled the indigenous appetite for indeterminacy.

"Contingency" soon became a convenient way to gesture rapidly to what is, in point of fact, a complex and difficult idea. In contemporary historical and anthropological writing, "contingent" tends to mean accidental, random, conditional, or unique to a particular social context. Used in this way, "contingency" has acquired a mandatory, almost talismanic quality. It is a word that some authors invoke to ward off the specter of reductionism. The current enthusiasm for contingency has temporarily swept aside the useful analytic purchase that can be gained by acknowledging, perhaps ruefully, that human actions, when seen from a distance, really do conform to law-like regularities characteristic of certain kinds of complex systems.³³ Among these are spectacular patterns of convergence that arise simply because certain ecological circumstances can produce only a limited array of viable responses.³⁴ Also valuable, and in danger of being overlooked, are scaling laws such as the "trag-

³² See, in particular, Stephen Jay Gould, *Wonderful Life: The Burgess Shale and the Nature of History* (New York, 1989); Gould, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), esp. 688f. and 1338f. For discussion, see John Beatty, "Chance Variation and Evolutionary Contingency: Darwin, Simpson, *The Simpsons*, and Gould," in Michael Ruse, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Biology* (Oxford, 2008), 189–210.

³³ See David C. Krakauer, John Gaddis, and Kenneth Pomeranz, eds., *History, Big History, and Meta-history*, Special Issue, *Cliodynamics: The Journal of Theoretical and Mathematical History* 2, no. 1 (2011), http://escholarship.ucop.edu/uc/irows_cliodynamics.

³⁴ Simon Conway Morris, *Life's Solution: Inevitable Humans in a Lonely Universe* (Cambridge, 2003);

edy of the commons.”³⁵ These patterns have a beauty of their own. Because they are essential for interpreting how contingency actually works, they will be rediscovered by and by.

Leaving this aside, most historians would agree that contingency is an indispensable aspect of good historical analysis. Low contingency is essential for describing temporally deep histories. Evolutionary biology, whose “pre” is located a very long time ago and consists of a molten earth, is the science of low contingency *par excellence*. All life forms are marked by phylogenetic constraints in areas such as morphology and metabolism that limit, to some degree, possible evolutionary pathways. As time passes, organisms may acquire new constraints. At the same time, however, organisms adapt to unpredictable environmental changes or experience genetic drift, and these contingencies have resulted in the wild diversity characteristic of existing life forms (not to mention human cultural traits).³⁶

Contingency, in short, is an idea of great usefulness to evolutionary biologists and historians alike. The problem is that, like vitamin A, it is not healthy in very large doses.³⁷ Imagine forking pathways that in turn lead to other forks, where history, if we must think of it in a linear way, ends up being no more than a tangle of crooked lines. As accidents accumulate, there is no longer any compelling reason to connect long stretches of history. Under a regime of high contingency, analysis can focus on no more than a single slice of time, a few crooks in the line. When the past becomes wholly discontinuous, when rupture, break, fragmentation, shattering, fracture, and trauma become the root metaphors for change, then history itself dissolves into a series of non-communicating temporal specialties, each with its own cascading set of “pres.”³⁸

As a vision of how change works, high contingency can be enormously liberating. It has been used to undermine the idea that modernity is an inevitable historical outcome, and it is antithetical to any fixed notion of premodernity. After all, the “pre” was a time/space invented by progressivist historians of the Victorian era, and any thoughtful practitioner of critical theory should be allergic to it. Yet the growing use of the “pre” in books published in English closely tracks the arc of both contingency and modernity. (Compare Figures 1, 2, and 3.) As this correlation suggests,

Geerat J. Vermeij, “Historical Contingency and the Purported Uniqueness of Evolutionary Innovations,” *Publications of the National Academy of Sciences* 103, no. 6 (2006): 1804–1809.

³⁵ Garrett Hardin, “The Tragedy of the Commons,” *Science* 162, no. 3859 (1968): 1243–1248.

³⁶ Tina Young Choi argues that Darwin’s theory of evolution, because it moved away from belief in providential design, provided Victorian intellectuals with a new idiom in which to stress ideas of contingency in their accounts of natural systems and human affairs. Her observation suggests that contingency motifs are useful in destabilizing any strong explanatory framework. Choi, “Natural History’s Hypothetical Moments: Narratives of Contingency in Victorian Culture,” *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 2 (2009): 275–297.

³⁷ Dissatisfaction with high contingency—with the idea that almost anything could happen—is often the driving force behind critiques of counterfactual histories. In objecting to fanciful accounts of what the present would look like if the Confederacy had won the American Civil War, Catherine Gallagher makes a strong case for systemic constraints on the flow of historical events. The events in question are entirely imaginary, but their (un)likelihood forces us to consider the factors that limit the range of “real” historical events. Gallagher, “When Did the Confederate States of America Free the Slaves?,” *Representations* 98, no. 1 (2007): 53–61.

³⁸ Helmut Walser Smith, *The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, and Race across the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2008), esp. 3.

modernity has come to be defined as any historical era that lies on this side of a postulated rupture or break. Thanks to a set of epistemological gimmicks particular to the pre/modernity project, the empty "pre" that looms on the other side of the rupture zone is not even untheorized. It is unknowable. It is unknowable because the desire to know it proceeds from a supposedly crippling dependency on the intellectual technologies of modernity itself—science, archives, and abstract representations.³⁹ Similarly, the "pre" is irrelevant to the urgent task of explaining the contingencies of modernity, for nothing of enduring relevance could make its way through the forks and branches that characterize history's non-linear timeline.

By what curious process did contingency come to be associated with the project of pre/modernity? The answer lies in moral assumptions intrinsic to modern political thought, a tradition that in its liberal guises values agency and choice, which together constitute freedom. The conceptual boundary between modernity and the "pre" can be maintained only when contingency, complexity, and emergence, as historical processes, are themselves historically contingent rather than universal. Imagine a world in which people simply act out and accurately reproduce traditions inherited from previous generations. In such a naturalized world, there is no opportunity for contingent processes to emerge, and change, to the extent that it occurs at all, will not be experienced as a social ideal or a sign of progress.⁴⁰ The threshold of modernity, in this view, is defined as the moment at which people are released from nature/tradition, the moment at which they become agents oriented toward change. Only here, in the putative birth of agency, can we begin to detect the ruptures, spiraling take-offs, revolutions, and transformations that students of modernity consider so distinctive.

If these claims are right, "highly contingent" is a synonym for complex, unpredictable, and beyond natural constraint. Squeezed into the role filled by progress in Maine's theory of history, it has become the quality that defines the history of the people-with-history. In keeping with this trend, today's historians, in their efforts to historicize people, seek to demonstrate how cultural forms, even those considered traditional and stable, are in fact "invented."⁴¹ To the extent that they are historical in the modern sense, nation-states, languages, gender dynamics, class structures, kinship systems, foodways, and modes of dress must always be new, endlessly re-created, and (of course) historically contingent.

"The tradition of all dead generations," Marx wrote, "weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living."⁴² When we invoke themes of agency and indeterminacy, we seem to be releasing ourselves from this nightmare. Tradition is no longer dead

³⁹ Timothy Mitchell offers a classic example of this stance in *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991).

⁴⁰ The image brings to mind Claude Lévi-Strauss's famous opposition of hot and cold societies. According to this scheme, so-called primitive cultures are cold, slow to change, and the subject matter of anthropologists, whereas modern cultures are hot, endlessly changing, and a fitting subject for historians. Lévi-Strauss assumed that hot societies developed only after the Neolithic Revolution; see his *Structural Anthropology*, vol. 2, trans. Monique Layton (Chicago, 1983), 28–30.

⁴¹ The trend is routinely traced to Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), but it was already full-blown in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (London, 1983) and Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), which appeared in the same year.

⁴² Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in David McClellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford, 1978), 300–325, here 300.

weight; it is alive, improvisational, and open to dispute. Yet by associating this emancipatory potential with modernity alone, and thereby segregating the “pre” in a time/space of its own, we have managed to outdo the Victorians in denying historicity to large swaths of the human past. We have also ensured that the historicity we do bestow on the people of remote times and places will be unmistakably our own.⁴³ The fact that Maine has the last laugh is only one of the many pungent ironies of this situation. The casual use of contingency in contemporary historical writing provides therapy for Marx’s bad dream by the simple expedient of ignoring it. If one is engaged in farcical reenactment, perhaps it is better not to know.

THE SYNERGY BETWEEN MODERNIST THOUGHT and models of choice and change that depend heavily on contingency has produced a field of analytical attention that is densely compressed in time. When contemporary historians imagine the “pre,” they are likely to think of chronologically recent eras: the precolonial, the premodern, the medieval, and the world of classical antiquity. Lying beyond these is the master “pre”: the prehistorical, the terrain on which written history does not exist and writing history is (supposedly) no longer possible. When pressed, some historians will say that a lack of textual evidence stands between their discipline and prehistory, but this claim can hardly withstand a moment’s scrutiny. If, as R. G. Collingwood argued, the historian’s most essential data are physical traces, then any residue from the past will suffice to construct historical accounts.⁴⁴ Indeed, there is nothing to prevent historians from sifting through potsherds or haplogroups, just as nothing has prevented archaeologists of the Paleolithic from describing ancient human behaviors and anatomies as “modern.”

To work in the distant past, we must shift our focus, break a few well-entrenched analytical habits, and familiarize ourselves with new literatures and methods. As difficult as this retooling itself might be, working outside the narrative arc of modernity is an even greater challenge. What would this move entail? First, it would require that we analyze trends and events in ways that do not preconfigure them as moments of origin or points of culmination. Every developmental sequence would have to be connected to preceding conditions that generate an explanatory present, and this cascade of connectivity would reduce our narrative recourse to high contingency (or rupture) and increase the utility of comparison. Second, working outside the arc of modernity would mean that storylines could privilege neither themes of mastery over nature nor a growing capacity for freedom or agency, notions of moral progress, or attempts to associate these trends with increasing social complexity. It would be wrong to dismiss these tropes as misleading ideological commitments—they are often indispensable to social movements and political action—but they should not be treated as essential elements of historical storytelling.

Consider, by way of example, the deceptively simple career of beads and the deceptively complex career of inscriptions. Around 43,000 years ago, people living

⁴³ For a discussion of how this normalization occurs in the analysis of oral tradition, see Andrew Shryock, *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 25–37.

⁴⁴ R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (1946; repr., Oxford, 1956).



FIGURE 5: Shell beads from the early Upper Paleolithic (Aurignacian) layers of Klissoura Cave 1 in southern Greece, dated by radiocarbon technique to between 33,000 and 35,000 years ago. The holes in the shells were made by humans, using a punch technique. The beads were then strung on a cord; some of the holes show signs of wear. Photo © M. C. Stiner, used here with permission.

in the circum-Mediterranean zone began to produce beads at a remarkable pace.⁴⁵ That marine shells, ostrich egg shells, and the pearl teeth of red deer could be collected, drilled, and strung on fibers to create beautiful necklaces or clothing sequins was not a new discovery to the peoples of the Upper Paleolithic. Perforated beads have been found in sites around 110,000 years old, when the human populations making them lived solely in Africa. But something happened around 43,000 years ago that increased the pace of production. The shift is associated with the movement of new populations of *Homo sapiens* into Europe. These newcomers, unlike the indigenous Neandertals, hunted not only the biggest of big game but also a diverse array of smaller species. They were better at adjusting to the risks associated with hunting, and archaeological evidence suggests that they were developing more expansive social networks that were held together by food-sharing and gift exchange. As an emerging medium for sharing and exchange, beads were themselves coming

⁴⁵ The analysis that follows weaves together some themes developed more fully in Shryock, Smal, et al., *Deep History*, specifically chap. 4, “Energy and Ecosystems,” chap. 9, “Goods,” and chap. 10, “Scale.”

to bear new meanings for the people who made them. If we allow ourselves to imagine beads and other symbolic objects of the Upper Paleolithic as entities with their own capacity to inspire social action, we can postulate a fertile zone, a kind of “middle ground,” where beads and people as two independent lineages came together and creatively began to manipulate each other.⁴⁶

Faced with this evidence for take-off, and the presumed selective competition between populations of Neandertals and *Homo sapiens*, it is tempting to evoke a concept of revolution: in this case, the so-called Human Revolution. But there is another way to understand this change. First, following the arguments of McBrearty and Brooks, change was slow, developing over thousands of years, and using component parts—cooperative behaviors, hunting technologies, body decoration, adornment, and specific materials of exchange—that had existed separately for even longer periods of time. Indeed, there was something fragile and tentative about the earliest human experiments with ornaments and durable art objects: until about 50,000 years ago, production of these artifacts would flare up, then stop, as if people had suddenly lost interest or had fallen out of the networks of exchange sustained by carved bones and beadwork.⁴⁷ The “new” and predictable social relations that emerged after this apparently revolutionary advance took millennia to stabilize in Eurasia, but beads were everywhere part of this trend, and their material qualities—as bearers of memory and sites of distributed cognition, as physical traces of human activity in the past—make them invaluable to contemporary historians. We can use beads much as Upper Paleolithic populations did: to create and keep track of relationships across time and space. The beads themselves, like other belongings, were arguably becoming part of the growing web of human relations.

Beads are good for making both history and kinship because they have physical qualities that other items of exchange do not. They are durable over long periods of time, whereas skins, woven fabrics, wooden tools, and even stone blades wear out quickly and are used up as they are exchanged.⁴⁸ Perhaps most importantly, the durability of shells made them early candidates for inscription. Red deer canines, which have been discovered in Upper Paleolithic sites in quantities rivaling those of shell beads, were harvested in pairs, drilled, and strung on necklaces or on clothing, occasionally finding their way into graves.⁴⁹ Many of them were further elaborated with distinctive score marks; these appear to have been made in a single sitting, probably right after butchering or harvesting. A striking number are found without their pairs. The archaeologists who study them suggest that one of the canines might have been given away as a sign of an enduring relationship.

⁴⁶ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2011).

⁴⁷ Steven L. Kuhn, Mary C. Stiner, David S. Reese, and Erksin Güleş, “Ornaments of the Earliest Upper Paleolithic: New Perspectives from the Levant,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States* 98, no. 13 (2001): 7641–7646; McBrearty and Brooks, “The Revolution That Wasn’t.”

⁴⁸ See, *inter alia*, Steven L. Kuhn and Mary C. Stiner, “Body Ornamentation as Information Technology: Towards an Understanding of the Significance of Early Beads,” in Paul Mellars, Katie Boyle, Ofer Bar-Yosef, and Chris Stringer, eds., *Rethinking the Human Revolution: New Behavioural and Biological Perspectives on the Origin and Dispersal of Modern Humans* (Cambridge, 2007), 45–54.

⁴⁹ Francesco d’Errico and Marian Vanhaeren, “Criteria for Identifying Red Deer (*Cervus elaphus*) Age and Sex from Their Canines: Application to the Study of Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Ornaments,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 29, no. 2 (2002): 211–232.



FIGURE 6: Red deer canines, Aven des Iboussières, France, ca. 10,000 years B.P. Note the scores on the sides of the teeth. Reproduced with permission from Francesco d'Errico and Marian Vanhaeren.

Because shell and bone are durable, they were used to tie larger Upper Paleolithic populations together. Current theories suggest that extensive networks of marriage, friendship, and exchange grew up along chains of bead-giving and receiving. Beads also triggered patterns of intensification and competition. Some Upper Paleolithic groups seem to have had few or no beads—Neandertals were relatively bead-less—and insofar as beads created and extended social relationships, it was clearly advantageous to have beads and give them away. Finally, if beads had additive value, if kinship and marriage required beads, if the exchange of beads prompted the exchange of persons and things, then even rarer and more valuable objects—large shells, shell bracelets, bodies or body parts adorned with shells—could be used to enhance the power and durability of exchange networks. In the contemporary shell currencies of Melanesia, all of these patterns have been amply documented by ethnographers, and the durability of shell artifacts is most strikingly seen in their ability

to accumulate histories, to function as mnemonic devices on a par with place names and kin terms.⁵⁰

In considering the shift from a bead-less to a bead-laden world, it is tempting to embark on a quest for the first bead. Yet we can tell the story without being drawn to what Marc Bloch called the idol of origins.⁵¹ We can focus instead on the qualities of shells and teeth as exchangeable objects that play a continuously changing role in history. In this way, a transition that has been cast as a powerful example of discontinuity (the “Upper Paleolithic Revolution”) can be recast as a deep historical narrative. Against a larger comparative backdrop, we can move, beads in hand, from the Upper Paleolithic to the Trobriand Islands, circa 1918, where Bronisław Malinowski, describing the local *kula* trade in red shell necklaces and white shell bracelets, likened the most valuable of these objects to the crown jewels of the English monarchs.⁵² The realm of associations can be widened even further. What we are contemplating in the case of early shell bead and red deer canine cultures is a pattern similar to the mass production normally equated with historical modernity. Relative to population size, after all, shell beads may have been produced in the Upper Paleolithic at the rate at which iPhones are being manufactured today. But the point is *not* to claim that modernity, or mass production, began earlier than we once thought. Instead, it is more interesting to realize that the language of beads was linked to social conditions that, 43,000 years ago, were already ancient—for instance, the need to signal one’s status to others and to create obligations through the exchange of material objects. Once the language of beads was fluently spoken by humans, it opened up space for other kinds of messages, but the shell bead idiom has never disappeared. All humans speak it, or can learn to speak it, just as surely as they can exchange greetings or identify their kin.

Embedded in the bead cultures of the Upper Paleolithic is a capacity for amplitude, for scaling up and down. By virtue of their nearly identical qualities, shells or teeth can be counted; in being counted, they can become measures or stores of value, a value made explicit at moments of exchange.⁵³ This quality of amplitude was not foreordained. It emerged instead from the qualities that small hard things just happen to have. In the process of enabling amplitude, beads *became* vehicles for a kind of social distinction marked not by the human phenotype alone—by height, facial hair, or the beauty of subcutaneous fat—but also by the extended phenotype; that is to say, by ochre, ornaments, clothing, and other signs that dress the body.⁵⁴ Two Upper Paleolithic inhumations (ca. 24,000 B.P.) at Sungir, in Russia, containing thousands of mammoth ivory beads, each of which required at least an hour to man-

⁵⁰ See the essays in David Akin and Joel Robbins, eds., *Money and Modernity: State and Local Currencies in Melanesia* (Pittsburgh, 1999).

⁵¹ Marc Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam (New York, 1953); see also Carol Symes, “When We Talk about Modernity,” *American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (June 2011): 715–726.

⁵² Bronisław Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London, 1922).

⁵³ Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, trans. Tom Bottomore and David Frisby (London, 1978); Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), 3–63.

⁵⁴ The principle of the extended phenotype was developed by Richard Dawkins in *The Extended Phenotype: The Long Reach of the Gene* (Oxford, 1982); see also our chapter “Body,” in *Deep History*, 55–77.

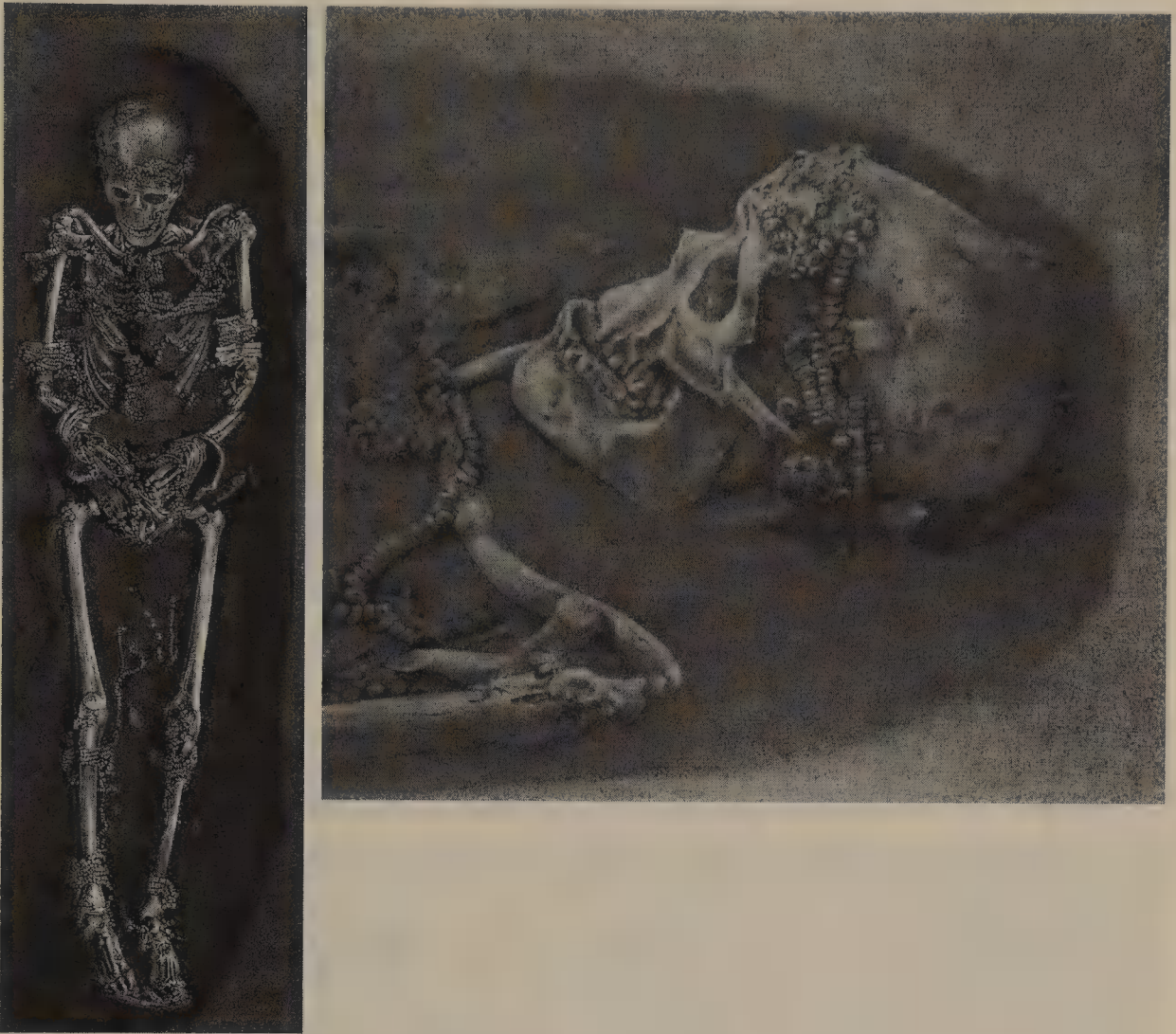


FIGURE 7: Burial at Sunghir, Russia, ca. 24,000 years B.P., showing carved mammoth ivory beads. These images are drawings made by the artist K. N. Nikakhristo. From Institut arkheologii (Rossiiskaia akademiia nauk), *Pozdnepaleoliticheskoe poselenie Sungir': Pogrebeniia i okruzhaiushchaia sreda* (Moscow, 1998), figs. 1 and 22. Reproduced with permission from Mir Publishers.

ufacture, reveal in a spectacular way how beads could be adapted to serve as prestige goods.⁵⁵ The Sunghir bodies might also have been painted, their hair tied or removed in distinctive ways; but the human effort pooled in the form of beadwork could be measured in new ways, on a scale that included, and created, the social obligations that enabled so many identically shaped bits of ivory to accumulate in one place.⁵⁶

Prestige is an age-old concept that resists incorporation into historical arguments for the simple reason that history, for the time being, has lost the conceptual ability to think comparatively, using categories, objects, or relations that are broadly present among humans. These shared frames of reference need not be thought of as

⁵⁵ Vincenzo Formicola and Alexandra P. Buzhilova, "Double Child Burial from Sunghir (Russia): Pathology and Inferences for Upper Paleolithic Funerary Practices," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 124, no. 3 (2004): 189–198; Vincenzo Formicola, "From the Sunghir Children to the Romito Dwarf: Aspects of the Upper Paleolithic Funerary Landscape," *Current Anthropology* 48, no. 3 (2007): 446–453.

⁵⁶ The concentration of beads found at Sunghir, as it happens, was somewhat unusual for its day. In this regard the history of beads is like the history of technology or the history of prestige goods; it is littered with diversions and innovations that do not catch on.

universals, or even as uniform. They develop over time and vary across space, and this quality makes them useful as tools for comparison. The belief that different historical periods are essentially distinctive—because they are the product of highly contingent events—produces a mindset in which enduring patterns or comparisons across time are intellectually suspect. If a pattern transcends the divide between “pre” and “post,” it becomes invisible to analysts who are intent on identifying transition moments. But when analysis shifts from the conventional to-from or before-after models to the spiraling patterns typical of deep historical arguments, human patterning becomes visible again—not because the patterns are unchanging, but because they so readily become sites of innovation.

Some 6,500 years ago, at a Black Sea site now called Varna, high-status individuals were buried with an astonishing array of gold objects, for all intents and purposes the first of their kind—and also the last, as it happens, for Varna is an archaeological anomaly, containing artifacts of a sort that would not appear again for another two thousand years.⁵⁷ Among the finds are recognizably bead-like objects that were worn much like shell beads, as the perforations indicate. Like pseudo-red deer canines carved from mammoth ivory or soapstone found in the Upper Paleolithic, these were expensive copies of inexpensive objects, a strange inversion of the pattern of luxury knock-offs. The advent of gold beads—and an elaborate assemblage of other goods made of, bearing, or encased in gold—is linked archaeologically with new forms of social stratification. Gold, which becomes much more common a few thousand years later, was not for everyone. It accumulated in graves associated with individuals and groups who were clearly set apart, in space and in bodily adornment, from people who did not have access to gold. Shell beads were still available to everyone, but gold beads (along with gold animal figurines, bracelets, scepters, torcs, and penis sheaths) belong to a distinct register of social privilege that is immediately intelligible to contemporary observers. As Colin Renfrew puts it:

Copper and gold clearly afford in each case a new vehicle for the expression of ranking . . . Indeed, it may be suggested that they are not merely reflecting or documenting a degree of ranking in society that would have existed in any case without them. On the contrary, the ownership and display of these valuable objects may have constituted an essential part of the prominence of their owner.⁵⁸

In other words, high-status men, women, and children did not have gold fashioned to reflect their status. Gold, once fashioned, created their prestige.

The introduction of the word “prestige” signals the rarity and unusual quality of these goods when compared to the ubiquitous bead. It also suggests that possession of such goods marks out a different sphere of exchange, a register of communicative power available to influential people who were connected across great distances, and who set themselves apart, in life and death, from people who did not have access to prestige goods. The accelerated production and circulation of prestige goods has traditionally been associated with the emergence of chiefdoms, but the beads are still

⁵⁷ The Eneolithic Necropolis was discovered in Varna in 1972; some of its objects can be visited at <http://www.archaeo.museumvarna.com/>. We thank John Robb for pointing out to us Varna’s anomalous place in the archaeological record.

⁵⁸ Colin Renfrew, “Varna and the Emergence of Wealth in Prehistoric Europe,” in Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, 141–168, here 156.



FIGURE 8: Grave goods from the Varna necropolis, Bulgaria, ca. 4500–4000 B.C.E. Many of the objects have bead-like qualities. Reproduced with permission from the Varna Regional Museum of History.



FIGURE 9: Burial at the Varna necropolis, Bulgaria, ca. 4500–4000 B.C.E. Reproduced with permission from the Varna Regional Museum of History.

in circulation.⁵⁹ In the leap from beads to prestige goods, we see the emergence of high and low social registers that did not exist, or could not be sustained, in earlier times. Yet this scalar shift did not entail a clean break from the past, much less a revolution. Prestige goods moved alongside and fueled exchanges in ordinary things, like staples, beads, and fabric.

We know that these changes were part of transformations in food production and the management of the surpluses made possible by the gradual domestication of plants and animals. The owners of prestige, whose decayed and mummified bodies we now find in the company of gold, copper plates, rare stones, fabrics, and feathers, were often the people who controlled key "bottlenecks" in local and regional exchange systems.⁶⁰ In pre-contact Hawai'i, they monopolized rich alluvial soils, controlled the irrigation systems that watered them, and distributed the bountiful taro and yam crops that grew in them. In Bronze Age Europe, they controlled strategic sites along trade routes, which gave them the ability to tax the flow of prestige goods and the more prosaic forms of wealth that traveled alongside them. What is fascinating about the systems of rank and stratification that materialized around bottlenecks is that, despite their evolutionary novelty, their function was utterly dependent on older technologies of exchange. The ancient habit of gift-giving, expressed in marital payments or in newer forms of "tribute," was the infrastructure of political economy in societies that developed after Varna. The political networks held together by surplus food production and the exchange of prestige goods were everywhere subject to the interests of newly subordinate populations, whose participation in social inequality was not guaranteed by the fact that their leaders decked themselves in metal or wore impressive headdresses.

Almost as soon as they were discernible as social types, members of higher and lower social registers were caught in a process of mutual definition that proceeded by way of inscription and unequal sharing. The gold-bearers did not simply stockpile prestige objects; they also gave them away to ensure loyalty, or create it. Again, the extensive networks of mutual obligation built into prestige goods enabled their owners to pool and manage social effort, creating larger political stages on which to act. As the number of followers and friends grew, however, it became difficult (and unwise) to give away all of one's tripods, cups, bracelets, and scepters. Coinage was a practical solution to this problem. The earliest gold coins, minted in Asia Minor in the seventh century B.C.E., were not coins at all in a traditional monetary sense. They were tokens given by the heads of prominent families to their supporters.⁶¹ In most cases, coins were embossed with the personal seal of the family head.

These tokens were more a badge of loyalty than a medium of exchange. They circulated as gifts and were taken as plunder. Their novelty as a solution to problems of political scale was dependent on a bifurcation in the scalar logic of shell bead exchange. The breaking up and doling out of prestige materials in the form of tokens (a scaling down of sorts) enabled leaders and followers to build larger, more cohesive

⁵⁹ Timothy Earle, *How Chiefs Come to Power: The Political Economy in Prehistory* (Stanford, Calif., 1997).

⁶⁰ The idea of bottlenecks is developed in Timothy Earle, "Redistribution and the Political Economy: The Evolution of an Idea," *American Journal of Archaeology* 115, no. 2 (2011): 237–244.

⁶¹ Sitta von Raden, *Exchange in Ancient Greece* (London, 2003), 177–178; Leslie Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton, N.J., 1999).

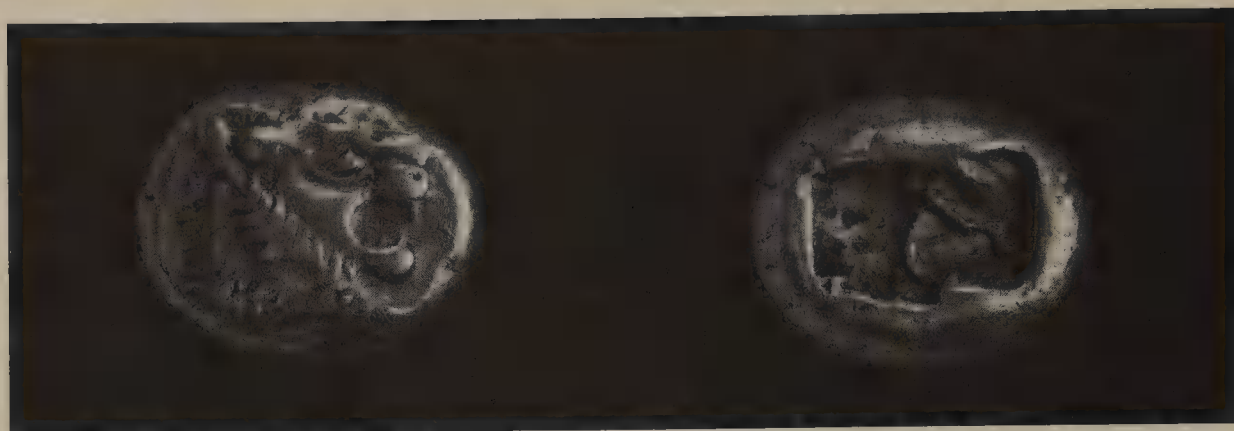


FIGURE 10: Electrum coin, Lydia, sixth century B.C.E. The reverse (on the right) shows the punch mark. © Trustees of the British Museum.

regional alliances (a clear case of scaling up). From an evolutionary perspective, it is hard to say what is distinctively old or new, progressive or inertial, in these developments. The circulation of gold pieces embossed with the heads, names, or seals of local notables would not have made sense, and would not have been possible, without the precedent of bead exchange, just as the emergence of elite houses would have made no sense without the systems of kinship and marriage that predated them.

The emergence of market-oriented currencies is related to the rise of city-states and empires, a process too intricate to explore here.⁶² It is obvious, however, that problems of political and economic scale continued to be addressed in the medium of metal currency, and the early habit of inscribing telltale images on coins was never abandoned. As coinage became increasingly important, patterns that flourished in the world of shell beads and red deer canines were amplified and modified in the medium of coin. First, coinage was used to convey social distinctions and group belonging, but the power to mint and guarantee the value of coin signaled hierarchy in ways that bead-making originally could not. Second, coinage served as a historical marker, revealing its point of origin, its political or divine guarantors, and the outer limits of its own exchangeability. Complex technologies of inscription have given coinage a mnemonic capacity unrivaled by the scored cowrie shell. Because coins diffuse value across socioeconomic strata—as opposed to prestige goods, which concentrate value among elites—the advent of coinage can be seen as a reassertion of the integrative potential of bead exchange. It is hardly a coincidence that some of the oldest coin-like objects found in China, dating to 900 B.C.E., are replicas of cowrie shells cast in bronze or carved from bone, jade, and stone.⁶³ For centuries, Chinese coins had holes in them and were stored and worn on ropes—a habit that brings to mind the bead necklace.

⁶² For an analysis that links the evolution of coinage and markets to patterns of state warfare, see Erica Schoenberger, “The Origins of the Market Economy: State Power, Territorial Control, and Modes of War Fighting,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 3 (2008): 663–691.

⁶³ Peng Xinwei, *A Monetary History of China*, trans. Edward H. Kaplan, 2 vols. (Bellingham, Wash., 1993–1994), 1: 8–22. Li Yung-ti offers a critique of the common assumption that these tokens were coins in his “On the Function of Cowries in Shang and Western Zhou China,” *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 5, no. 1–4 (2003): 1–26. See also Walter Scheidel, “The Monetary Systems of the Han and Roman Empires,” in Scheidel, ed., *Rome and China: Comparative Perspectives on Ancient World Empires* (New York, 2009), 137–207, here 139.

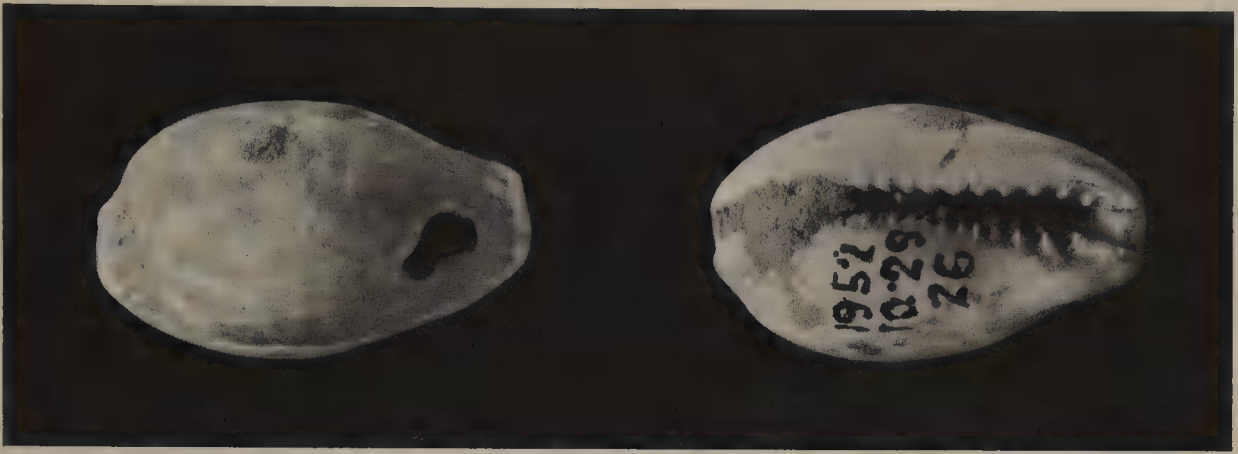


FIGURE 11: Cowrie, Shang or Zhou Dynasty, 1600–1000 B.C.E. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The scalar capacity of currency as a medium of political and economic control was increased by the powers of inscription. It is telling that in all well-developed coin traditions, words or images are placed on the face of the coin, to authenticate it and establish its worth. The availability of paper, a material developed in China in the second century B.C.E., triggered even more daring experiments in scale. Paper developed in conditions oddly parallel to those favoring the development of coinage. Originally a specialty fabric used to wrap prestige goods (notably, bronze mirrors), paper was an attractive surface for inscriptions of all sorts, and as recipes for paper-making improved, it was far cheaper to write on than were silk panels or white deer-skins, materials essential to tributary gift exchange in early Chinese polities.⁶⁴ As a medium of communication and recognition between rulers and subjects, paper was eventually brought into the logic of obligation and exchange that had already incorporated beads, coinage, prestige goods, and the modes of inscription associated with each. The idea of turning paper into a new kind of money took hold in the Song and Yuan dynasties (ca. 960–1368), and the ability of monetary notes to carry ever-higher values (turning them from heavy masses of metal into thin, almost weightless units of wealth) introduced new levels of speed, mobility, and liquidity to political economies.⁶⁵ The look of revolution, however, is misleading. The value of paper money, in Song China and in contemporary financial markets, is secured by coalitions of high-ranking individuals (now called banks) and rulers of state.⁶⁶ Paper money is available to everyone, but the power to make it and the ability to guarantee its value is as much a marker of prestige as a gold penis sheath was to a village notable in Varna. Like the gold token or the bronze cowrie, the bank note still signals (or is

⁶⁴ On paper's early function as a wrapping material, see Tsuen-Hsuei Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, vol. 5, pt. 1, of Joseph Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, 1986), 85, 122. Later, paper was also used for fans, umbrellas, clothing, furnishings, visiting cards, kites, lanterns, napkins, and toilet paper, in addition to its function as a surface for writing. On white deerskin money, see Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1: *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220* (Cambridge, 1986), 587.

⁶⁵ Richard von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000–1700* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 43, 56–70.

⁶⁶ For a study of the evolution of modern bank notes and their relationship to cultural capital and elite social status, see Albert Schrauwers, “‘Money Bound You—Money Shall Loose You’: Micro-Credit, Social Capital, and the Meaning of Money in Upper Canada,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 53, no. 2 (2011): 314–343.



FIGURE 12: Bronze cowrie, Xin Dynasty, 9–23 C.E. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

an attempt to manage) loyalty and belonging; it marks off a political domain. Paper currency, like metal coinage before it, has never escaped the logic of the gift economy. In New Guinea, colonial authorities punched holes in their coinage so it could be strung and worn around the neck in the manner of shell beads used for exchange.⁶⁷ Paper money, too, is easily assimilated to the world of ceremonial exchange—often enough, it arrives wrapped in yet more paper, as the content of a greeting card, a gift card, or a wedding present.

This 43,000-year history of humans, their beads, and the new social forms that have grown out of this relationship could easily be extended into the age of plastic and credit, then into the realm of digital economies. Not that mass markets, national monetary policies, or the emergence of social inequality can be reduced to the logic of bead exchange, or to the durability of shell, bone, or metal; even daily life in Upper Paleolithic societies was too complex to be explained so simply. Instead, what beadwork shows us is how a series of changes, each bearing the signs of progress and culminating in substantial leaps in social complexity, is in fact a steady reworking, at both smaller and larger scales, of a discrete set of ideas, materials, and practices. The analyst who insists on the essential modernity of money—in its paper, plastic, or electronic forms—must scrupulously ignore the historical ties and operative similarities that make bank notes, gold coins, bronze cowries, and shell bead necklaces part of a single, sprawling genealogy. Indeed, it is hard to understand what money is, why it works, and the problems it creates and solves for us today without tracing its deep history, or indeed without understanding how money itself is a distant cousin to buttons, bangles, and pearl necklaces. Our ability to understand what the exchange of shell beads meant to our human ancestors is likewise dependent on our appreciation of the bead's place in this larger genealogy, an awareness that enables us to move backward and forward across large, connected territories of analytical space and time. Writing history on this scale requires that we pay attention to the deep past and find links to it. It also requires that we abandon the “pre” and the peculiar notions of modernity that produce it and are produced by it.

⁶⁷ David Akin, personal communication.



FIGURE 13: Wuzhu coin, copper alloy, Han Dynasty, 220–206 B.C.E. © Trustees of the British Museum.

THE PHYLOGENY OF THE BEAD OFFERS a model for writing history that can work in many other domains. Food, kinship, ecosystems, language, migration, goods, religion, sex, energy use, and the body can all be treated using similar ideas and frames. When these topics are studied in the context of deep history, fascinating patterns become visible, in much the same way that modernity itself has been enriched through the realization that it came as a global package, not as the brainchild of the West. Exchange, connection, the maintenance of human relationships across distance, the use of the body and its phases of growth and demise to organize social life: these trends emerge as technologies that humans use to resolve problems of scale, problems that arise when population densities increase and networks expand, when information travels more rapidly, when the amount of things in use grows exponentially, and when these trends move in the opposite direction.

In the case of beads and their descendant forms, each solution to a problem of scale generated a cascade of new problems and possibilities. There was nothing inevitable in this, nothing inevitable to the world of paper, or the world of plastic, or the world of digital information that now envelops the work of inscription. The development of each was rife with accidents and unintended consequences. It is possible, however, to find historical linkages between these media, to show how they emerged from each other, as phylogenies that transcend simple ontogenies. For the historian who is drawn to the idea of contingency, the fact that choice, agency, and unpredictability were already part of life in the Upper Paleolithic should come as welcome news. And the centrality of durable materials to these historically contingent processes, whether they unfold in Neolithic villages or in the elite quarters of colonial cities, should help dissolve the assumption that meaningful accounts of the past can be based only on written records. In short, there is no real need for the idea of prehistory, and as it dissolves, other forms of the "pre" will necessarily crumble with it.

A focus on the bead, moreover, reminds us of what we can learn by paying at-

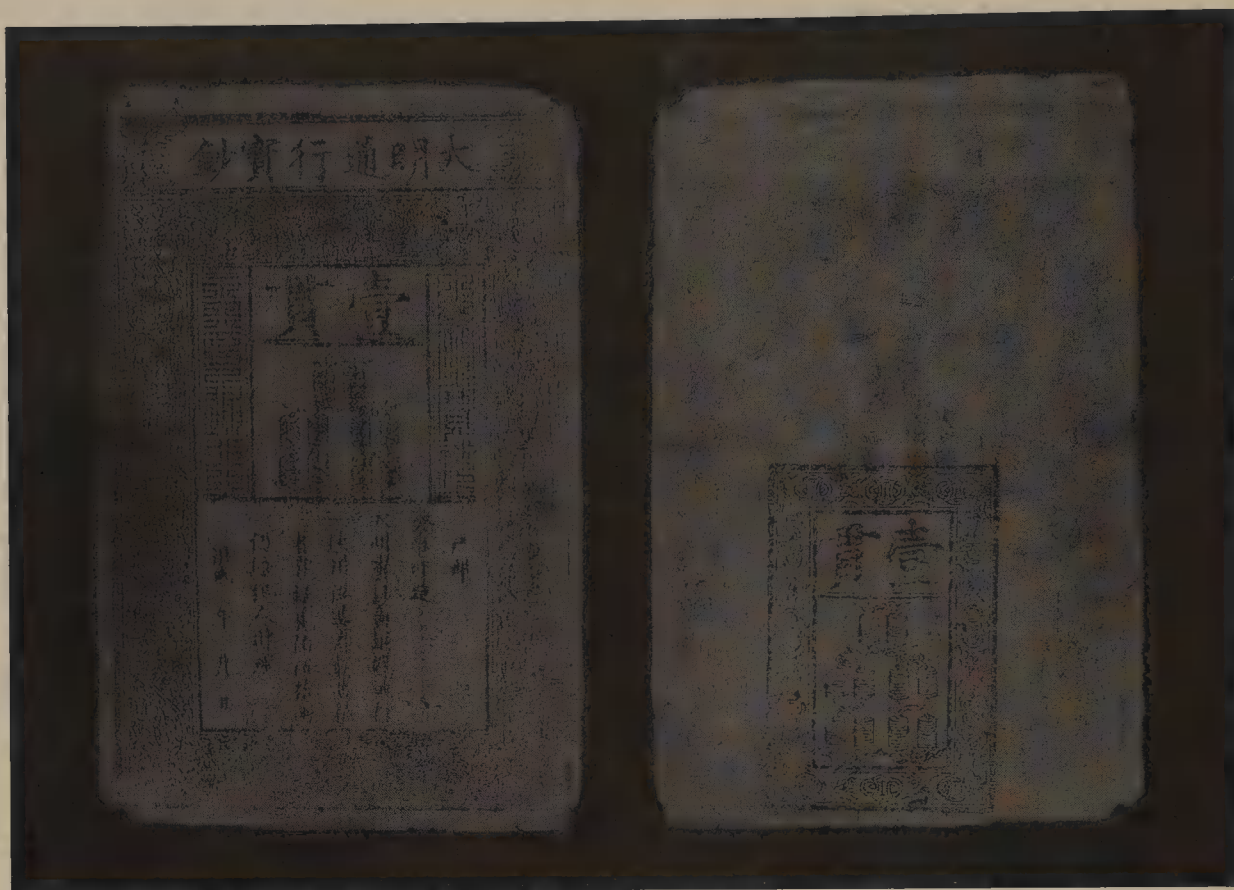


FIGURE 14: Paper money, Ming Dynasty, 1375 C.E. The denomination is one guan, which equals one string of a thousand coins. The denomination is illustrated at the center of the obverse side of the note, on the right, which displays a picture of one thousand coins strung as ten groups of one hundred coins. © Trustees of the British Museum.

tention to broad contexts of comparison, to things and ideas widely shared among humans. Concepts such as costly signaling, prestige, and exchange are nothing like the cognitive universals posited by some fields of evolutionary psychology or by the dwindling number of people who believe in strict genetic determinism. Instead, they are persistent features of the ecological niches that humans occupy, the social systems we partake in, and the performance characteristics of the goods we use. As such, these concepts can be universal in form without being uniform in substance, a condition that allows both for the fractal quality of change and for its unpredictability at the level of content. Where recuperation of agency is concerned, the most significant point to emerge from this discussion is that the peoples of the Upper Paleolithic were deeply involved in the construction of their own niches.⁶⁸ Far from being passive with respect to their environment, far from being creatures of the eternal standstill, they were present at and had a hand in their own making.

As we remove key elements of the grammar of modernity from our analysis, it becomes easier to see how those grammatical rules are supposed to work and, more importantly, how almost none of the work they do is essential or even helpful for the writing of history. The grammar of modernity functions as a temporally provincializing logic just as powerful, and as misguided, as the provincializing logic as-

⁶⁸ See F. John Odling-Smee, Kevin N. Laland, and Marcus W. Feldman, *Niche Construction: The Neglected Process in Evolution* (Princeton, N.J., 2003).

sociated with Eurocentrism. The latter is now being avidly and rightly demolished by global historians and postcolonial and postsocialist scholars of diverse sorts. That this act of renovation has also produced new histories that are temporally shallow and confined to the cultural time/space created by European expansion is unfortunate—but at the same time, it is clearly a contingent feature of historiographical practice in the late twentieth century and therefore one that we can repair. By adding deep historical perspectives to the critical impulses of postcolonial historiography, perhaps we can decisively break free of the self-justifying myopia that is the hallmark of modern historical consciousness. As the "pre" and the modern fall away, the potential for speaking new languages of past and present will flourish in their place.

Daniel Lord Smail is Professor of History at Harvard University, where he works on the history and anthropology of Mediterranean societies in the later Middle Ages and deep human histories. His recent books include *On Deep History and the Brain* (University of California Press, 2008) and, with Andrew Shryock et al., *Deep History: The Architecture of Past and Present* (University of California Press, 2011). He is currently working on a study of material culture and debt recovery, aspects of which appear in his recent article "Violence and Predation in Late Medieval Mediterranean Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 1 (2012): 7–34.

Andrew Shryock is Arthur F. Thurnau Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan. He studies political culture in the Middle East, Arab and Muslim immigrants in North America, and new approaches to history-writing. His recent books include *Deep History: The Architecture of Past and Present* (University of California Press, 2011), with Daniel Lord Smail et al.; and *Islamophobia/Islamophilia: Beyond the Politics of Enemy and Friend* (Indiana University Press, 2010).

Women, Men, and Cycles of Evangelism in the
Southwest Borderlands, A.D. 750 to 1750

JAMES F. BROOKS

FOUR “BIG IDEAS” SWEEP ACROSS the Southwest borderlands of North America in the thousand years that span the emergence of social complexity in the ancestral Puebloan world and the consolidation of the Spanish colony of New Mexico in the early eighteenth century. The Chaco Phenomenon, the Katsina religion, Franciscan Catholicism, and Po’pay’s (Pueblo) Revolt each sought, through evangelical methods, to effect a dynamic reorganization of popular religious, cultural, and political beliefs. And each, while successful (some more enduringly than others), provoked popular resistance or rebellions in which power relations between women and men proved meaningful. The legacy of their successes and failures resonates in the regional peoples’ memories and lifeways today.¹

Scholarly interest in these four evangelical movements has long cleaved between those who study “prehistory” (archaeologists) and those who study “history” (historians), with the two centuries of Chacoan hegemony and the arrival of the Katsina religion accorded to the realm of the former, and Franciscan proselytization and the nativistic revolt against Christianity organized by the Pueblo religious leader Po’pay to the latter. Yet carefully stewarded memories exist among Puebloan peoples of the

In many respects this article reflects the “peculiar alchemy” that prevails at the School for Advanced Research, and for more than a decade of residence within that energy and eclecticism, I am grateful. Of special note are colleagues Rebecca A. Allahyari, the late David M. Brugge, Catherine Cameron, Cynthia Chavez Lamar, Catherine Cocks, the late Linda S. Cordell, Sarah Croucher, Armand Fritz, George Gumerman, the late Michael Kabotie (Lomawiyewa), John Kantner, Doug Kiel, Stephen H. Lekson, Nancy Owen Lewis, Ramson Lomawaima, the late Hartman Lomawaima, Tsianina Lomawaima, Tiya Miles, Melissa Nelson, Timothy R. Pauketat, Douglas W. Schwartz, Thomas E. Sheridan, David H. Snow, Phillip Tuwaletsiwa, and the late David J. Weber. Leigh Kuwanwisiwma has authored several contributions on Hopi history in SAR publications, and led a visit to Awat’ovi Pueblo in 2006. The six anonymous reviewers for the *AHR* likewise contributed important critical perspectives to the essay. Jane Lyle proved remarkably patient and cheerful in copy-editing material generally outside the compass of this journal. All have helped me to understand the deep history of the Southwest; none bear responsibility for errors in my interpretations thereof.

¹ Stephen H. Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2009), is the original advocate of “big ideas” in Southwestern prehistory and history, an effort prefigured by his *The Chaco Meridian: Centers of Political Power in the Ancient Southwest* (Lanham, Md., 1999). By “evangelical methods” I mean practices of relaying information about a particular set of beliefs in the numinous to others who do not hold those beliefs, with the goal of persuading others of the validity of those beliefs and thereby gaining new adherents. For a recent comprehensive and measured synthesis of Southwestern archaeology, see Linda S. Cordell and Maxine E. McBrinn, *Archaeology of the Southwest*, 3rd ed. (Walnut Creek, Calif., 2012).

region today that arc across the millennium, as do sophisticated archaeologies that inform our understanding of the trans-Columbian period. Indigenous histories and material culture, often treated with suspicion by archaeologists and historians, respectively, therefore provide the sinews with which we can attempt a narrative that spans the divide.²

So, too, do theoretical vantage points exist that allow us longitudinal insights into local responses to these evangelical stimuli. While intergenerational struggles for political leadership, unequal distribution of agricultural resources, and limited access to status-conveying goods and symbols all figure prominently in scholars' treatment of ancestral Puebloan peoples across these four moments, archaeologists and historians alike have attended less to relations between women and men as a history-shaping issue in the Southwest, both before and after Spanish colonization.³

Yet cycles of social complexity and disintegration, often attributed to ecological fluctuations, also show evidence of tensions among women and men over their respective places in Pueblo socioreligious expression. Intensification of social complexity among pre-contact Pueblos, as in the rise of the Chaco Phenomenon and the spread of the Katsina religion, often entailed some variety of women's disenfranchisement from social and ceremonial life. The advent of Franciscan Catholicism provided (perhaps inadvertently) descendants of these women new avenues for exploring and expressing social and spiritual power, seldom in complete adherence to orthodox Catholicism, but in forms of experimental piety that resonated with women's experience. This becomes increasingly apparent when we look at the gender dynamics associated with the era of Po'pay's Revolt (1680–1700). This millennium-long story, therefore, may help to explain one conundrum in Southwestern history—the ambivalence with which Pueblo peoples first encountered Catholicism, and the relative ease and devotion with which they, especially women, reaffirmed their commitment to Catholicism in the eighteenth century following the Spanish reconquest—a form of pious expression still powerful today.⁴

² American archaeologists generally prefer “pre-contact” or “pre-Columbian” to my use of “pre-history.” I use the latter term here in the interest of the *AHR* theme. I suspect that all of these forms of “pre” were indeed inventions of the “modern,” as Daniel Smail and Andrew Shryock discuss in their article in this forum. Several generations of ethnologists, of course, have positioned themselves tentatively athwart the past and present, many of whom will be cited henceforth.

³ Patricia L. Crown, *Women and Men in the Prehispanic Southwest: Labor, Power, and Prestige* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2001), is a landmark exception, although this work has no reference to the emergence of the Katsina religion, and its coverage concludes before European contact. Judith Habicht-Mauche's “Pottery, Food, Hides, and Women: Labor, Production, and Exchange across the Protohistoric Plains-Pueblo Frontier,” in Michelle Hegmon, ed., *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction: Religion, Warfare, and Exchange across the American Southwest and Beyond* (Boulder, Colo., 2000), 209–234, is a seminal essay on the topic, as is Kelley A. Hays-Gilpin and Jane H. Hill's “The Flower World in Prehistoric Southwest Material Culture,” *ibid.*, 411–428, a key comment on Mesoamerican influences in women's material culture contributions to the “Southwestern Regional Cult.” See also Patricia L. Crown, *Ceramics and Ideology: Salado Polychrome Pottery* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1994); Todd L. VanPool, “13th Century Women's Movement,” *Archaeology* 63, no. 2 (March/April 2010): 42–45. Most recently, see Barbara J. Roth, ed., *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest* (Tucson, Ariz., 2010), a major statement with special emphasis on Hohokam and Mimbres archaeology, but which also declines to discuss the gendered elements of the Katsina religion.

⁴ The classic and enduring explanation for this among the Rio Grande Pueblos is Edward P. Dozier's elegant notion of “compartmentalization,” by which he explained the dualism between traditional Pueblo spiritual practice and parallel devotion to Catholicism as a survival strategy that “lessened the

The narrative unfolds in a nonlinear fashion, beginning with the aftermath of Spanish reconquest in the eighteenth century, before reaching back some one thousand years to the days of ancestral Puebloan life in Chaco Canyon, an enigmatic and dramatic intensification of social complexity entirely new to regional life. Thereafter, it moves forward in chronological order through the dissolution of the “Chaco Phenomenon” toward an atomized social landscape that found new structure only with the arrival of the Katsina religion in the fourteenth century. This, in turn, provided the context in which ancestral Puebloan peoples attempted to make sense of immigrant Franciscan Catholicism. Traversing the “pre” of history, these thousand years provide a revealing look at the gender dynamics that influenced each big idea, and prefigured the nativism embodied in Po’pay’s revival that shadowed the revolt’s successes and fragility.

By approaching the story in this way, we can reproduce a process of discovery that began with an effort to unravel the demise of the Hopi pueblo of Awat’ovi in 1700, a brutal internecine conflagration that remains intensely alive in regional memory today. In addition, the nonlinear order of events allows us to read “against the archival grain” to unveil powerful dissonances hidden within commonplace interpretations of Puebloan culture and history, a stratigraphic inversion of the hoary “direct-historical” or “upstreaming” method by which “echoes” of the past were run back across the centuries to show the durability and continuity connecting the ancient and modern Pueblo worlds. This approach also signals analytical links to the other contributions to this forum devoted to writing across the “prehistory/history” divide. Like Smail and Shryock’s essay, it cautions against treating events prior to European expansion into the Americas as somehow less complex and messy than the centuries to follow; like O’Hanlon’s essay, it illustrates continuities in history that trouble the “politics of periodization.” The Puebloan world has long been celebrated as a region wherein women held substantial social power. As we see in these cases, that power seems often to have been the focus of conflict as well.⁵

TUHU’OSTI BROUGHT A SWIRLING COLD WIND to Antelope Mesa that night. The mesa’s sandstone escarpment loomed for several miles above the sandy bottoms of Jeddito Wash in what would become Arizona, and its few scrubs of sagebrush and stunted junipers did little to break the course of the cold front. A new moon cast dim light, catching whips of smoke as they were torn from the rooftops of Awat’ovi Pueblo. Looming three masonry stories at its height, it was home to several hundred people. Its Hopi name meant “High Place of the Bow People.”⁶

threat of Christianity to Pueblo spirituality.” See Dozier, “Rio Grande Pueblos,” in Edward H. Spicer, ed., *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change* (Chicago, 1961), 94–186; quotation from Marilyn Norcini, *Edward P. Dozier: The Paradox of the American Indian Anthropologist* (Tucson, Ariz., 2007), 84. This essay seeks a deeper history, and one born of conflict as well as strategic accommodation, for Dozier’s insights.

⁵ For a recent perspective on gender relations and identity among Puebloan Tewa in the past and present, see Tessie Naranjo, “Life as Movement: A Tewa View of Community and Identity,” in Mark D. Varien and James M. Potter, eds., *The Social Construction of Communities: Agency, Structure, and Identity in the Ancient Southwest* (Lanham, Md., 2008), 251–262.

⁶ The following narrative invention is based on a seriation of nine published accounts of the Awat’ovi

At one time, six other villages had crowned this mesa's eastern rim, frontier outposts in an ancient Pueblo Indian world in which people spoke many languages while sharing some ceremonial and cultural customs and contesting others. Five centuries had passed since the grand experiment at Chaco Canyon—Yupköyvi (The Place beyond the Horizon) in the Hopi tongue—had drawn to a close and the clans had wandered in search of Tuuwanasavi, “the earth-center.” These migrations had themselves taken centuries, leaving their traces in many places, until gradually the clans came together again on the four mesas of the Hopi world. Each clan brought new ideas, new ceremonies, and new artistic expressions, and new villages had again been built of stone and adobe on mesa tops and sheltering slopes.⁷ In the 1620s, Franciscan missionaries would bring more ideas, more ceremonies, and new material culture to the mesas. By 1680 the padres would be gone, slain or expelled by Hopis who joined the Pueblo revolt.

Now only Awat'ovi Pueblo remained on Antelope Mesa. From the valley below, the village seemed to sleep. But an owl perched on the parapets of the ruined Franciscan mission church nearby would have seen signs of life.

From subterranean ceremonial chambers known as “kivas” extended tall pine ladders, vaguely lit by the flicker of hearth fires within. Late autumn was the season of the *wuwutcim wimi* ceremonies, wherein the Tao (Singers), Ahl (Horns), Kwan (Agaves), and Wuwutcim societies initiated adolescent boys into ritual knowledge and manhood. Even more than the matrilineal clans, these four kiva societies were a man's primary allegiance. Lasting more than two weeks and including collective

massacre, spanning dates from the 1880s to the 1970s, as well as more recent ethnographic discussions in the context of analyzing the Oraibi Split of 1906, and conversations with Hopis descended from clans that survived annihilation that night. Plot elements and details in this narrative are present in at least five of the nine accounts. See John Gregory Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona: Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona* (1884; repr., Tucson, Ariz., 1984); Victor Mindeleff, *A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola* (Washington, D.C., 1891); J. Walter Fewkes, “A-wa'-to-bi: An Archeological Verification of a Tusayan Legend,” *American Anthropologist* 6 (October 1893): 363–375, based on a narrative of Sálíko given to A. M. Stephen in 1892. Sálíko was descended from a survivor of the massacre, and in 1892 she served as *mamzraumongwi*, or chief of the Mamzrau society (a women's initiation ceremony, based on knowledge inherited from her Awat'ovi ancestor). Note that by 1920 Sálíko had “become a Christian” and moved off the mesa, and the Mamzrau ceremony was extinct at Walpi. Elsie Clews Parsons, “The Hopi *Wöwöchim* Ceremony in 1920,” *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 25, no. 2 (1923): 156–187, here 171–172; H. R. Voth, *The Traditions of the Hopi* (Chicago, 1905). See also Harold Courlander, *The Fourth World of the Hopis: The Epic Story of the Hopi Indians as Preserved in Their Legends and Traditions* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987), chap. 17, “The Destruction of Awat'ovi”; and Michael Lomatuway'ma, Lorena Lomatuway'ma, and Sidney Namingha, Jr., *Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiqötutuwutsi*, collected, trans., and ed. Ekkehart Malotki (Lincoln, Neb., 1993), chap. 7, “The Annihilation of Awat'ovi,” 298–409, which was narrated to Malotki by Lomatuway'ma. I employ this strategy in the simple belief that if Hopis and other Pueblo communities remember and interpret their past through narrative, then non-Indian scholars of similar questions might as well do the same, for better or for worse. See Margaret R. Somers, “The Narrative Construction of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach,” *Theory and Society* 23 (1994): 605–649.

⁷ The seven villages on Antelope Mesa were Awat'ovi, Kawaika'a, Chakpahu, Pink Arrow, Nesuftonga, Kokopnyama, and Lululongturque; John O. Brew, “Hopi Prehistory and History to 1850,” in Alfonso Ortiz, vol. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9: *Southwest* (Washington, D.C., 1979), 514–523, here 514. For the Hopi view on Chaco-to-Tuuwanasavi, see Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, “Yupköyvi: The Hopi Story of Chaco Canyon,” in David Grant Noble, ed., *In Search of Chaco: New Approaches to an Archaeological Enigma* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2004), 41–47. For post-Chaco migrations and “gathering of the clans” motifs, see Patrick D. Lyons, *Ancestral Hopi Migrations* (Tucson, Ariz., 2003); Wesley Bernardini, *Hopi Oral Tradition and the Archaeology of Identity* (Tucson, Ariz., 2005).

rabbit hunts, shrine visits, dances, feasts, and nightlong singing in the kivas, the *wu-wutcim wimi* had for centuries ensured the transfer of sacred knowledge across generations of men.⁸

This may have been the night known as *totokya*, the climax of the ritual. Seven arduous dance performances by the scores of initiates had filled the day, from dawn to dusk—young men painted in yellow pigments, kilted, with fox skin pendants and feathers of parrots and eagles. Hundreds of villagers had turned out to view the dances, at times grave and at times bawdy, with women of the Mamzrau (Rain) society occasionally taunting the boys and tossing water or urine on them. The rhythm of drums filled Awat'ovi's plazas, pounded now to fine dust by the naked feet of the dancers. As dusk fell, the initiates returned once again to their kivas to resume their training. At the top of each kiva ladder, one senior man remained to receive bowls and baskets of food—mutton stew, dried peaches, sliced squash, rolls of paper-thin blue corn *piki* bread—prepared by the women of the pueblo in honor of their young men. Feasting would be followed by exhausted sleep.⁹

Even the smoke and firelight could not be seen by the secretly encamped warriors below the mesa's cliffs, tucked as they were beyond the eyesight of any of the *alosaka* patrols who maintained order and security during such rituals. Young men and seasoned fighters composed the raiding throng, and Hopis recall that "their number was incredibly large." They had come from Oraibi, from Walpi, from Mishongnovi—Hopi villages to the west. They had gathered beneath the mesa at sundown, while the people of Awat'ovi focused their attention on the culminating dance. All night they had awaited a signal. To pass the hours, "some sharpened the points on their arrows, others the blades of their stone axes." Preparing for the fight ahead, "they painted their faces, putting red ocher along their eyes above their nose." They slashed vertical lines down their cheeks with black hematite. White eagle plumes adorned their hair, to enable them "to run with great speed in pursuit of the enemy." Each had with him a bundle of finely shredded juniper bark and greasewood kindling. Silent, they waited through the long and cold night.¹⁰

The signal came at the very "moment of the yellow dawn." From atop one kiva, out of sight from below, the warriors heard the snap of a blanket in the chill air. Rising up, they filed swiftly up stair-step stones to the unguarded western gate in Awat'ovi's defensive wall. Fanning out through the village, they followed orders. Running from kiva to kiva, one group of the strongest men yanked the ladders out and hurled them aside. Those inside had no chance of escape. Dipping their juniper bark into the still-hot embers of the women's cooking fires, the attackers hurled the burning torches and kindling into the kivas. Grabbing firewood and strings of dried red chiles from nearby house walls, they thrust this new fuel through the small kiva entrances. Arrows followed. "There was crying, screaming, coughing." As the heavy roof beams of the kivas caught fire, they began to sag and collapse, one after the next.

Another group of warriors raced through the village with their own orders, storm-

⁸ Parsons, "The Hopi *Wöwöchim* Ceremony in 1920."

⁹ Ibid., 166–173.

¹⁰ The quotations in this and the subsequent five paragraphs are from Lomatuway'ma, Lomatuway'ma, and Namingha, *Hopi Ruin Legends*, 399–401, 403, 405. There remains much contention around just which villages participated in this attack; those listed here are the three most commonly cited.

ing into the sleeping houses. "Wherever they came across a man, young or old, they killed him." Some they seized and cast into the kivas; some suffered crushed skulls from stone axes; some were thrown off the cliffs. Old women died, too. Younger women and girls were seized and herded together along the western wall, under guard, while the attackers set fire to the village itself. Firewood stacks prepared for winter now became bonfires. Stores of corn flared as well. "Awat'ovi presented a terrible sight. It had been turned into a ruin."

Forcing scores of captives before them, the attackers descended Antelope Mesa and trekked toward their home villages. Crossing a small wash that locally dwelling Navajos called Tallahogan (Singing House)—a reference to the Catholic hymns they had heard emanating from the mission church in earlier years—the warriors began to debate among themselves the division of their spoils. The men from Oraibi claimed that they were to have first choice among the captives, after which the Mishongnovi men were to have their selection. The Walpis would have rights to the planting fields of Awat'ovi, but no women. If any women were left after the Oraibis chose theirs, the others could have them. The Mishongnovis and Walpis protested. They had already chosen the women they wanted. "These are ours. We won't give them back to you!"

While they argued, a small contingent of surviving Awat'ovi men and boys overtook them and attempted a rescue. They were quickly subdued, their heads severed and piled in a cairn by the victors. Turning again to the dispute, since the Mishongnovis and Walpis would not give up their captives, the Oraibis shouted, "In that case no one will have them. Let's get rid of them. If we kill them all, nobody can have them."

A slaughter ensued. Several dozen women and girls died in the carnage, stabbed, beaten, or shot through with arrows. Pleas for mercy only enraged the men further. Some women suffered mutilation before they died, their arms or legs amputated, their breasts slashed. Finally, one woman cried, "Some of us are initiates of a society. We know how to make rain. We'll teach you the art of rainmaking if you spare us and take us along." Several Mamzrau and Lakon (Basket) society members found safety in this way, divided equally among the three villages. These few, made anew as Oraibis, Mishongnovis, or Walpis, were warned "never to show any longing" for Awat'ovi, "never to think of returning to it."

Eric Polingyouma, of the Bluebird Clan of Shungopavi village, explains that since its destruction, Awat'ovi "has been considered an evil place. No one at Hopi claims it." It now stands as a cautionary story to future generations. The cautions themselves, however, remain contested.¹¹

HOWEVER MANY (AND AMBIGUOUS) ITS MEANINGS among Hopi citizenry, the massacre at Awat'ovi Pueblo has long served as a symbolic and disciplinary boundary marker between the scholarly domains of the "prehistoric" and the "historic" in the study of the Southwest borderlands. The village's enigmatic ruins have attracted attention

¹¹ Ibid., 407; Eric Polingyouma, "Awatovi: A Hopi History," in Hester A. Davis, ed., *Remembering Awatovi: The Story of an Archaeological Expedition in Northern Arizona, 1935–1939* (Cambridge, 2008), xv–xviii, quotation from xvii.

from a number of scholars, ranging from late-nineteenth-century explorers to twentieth-century social scientists. Beginning in the 1870s, American adventurers collected "Tusayan" (Hopi) legends that excited amateur archaeologists to wonder whether systematic excavation of the ruins might confirm or deny the veracity of Hopi mythic history. A great evil had been purged at Awat'ovi, and yet its precise nature remained unclear. What secret rites had inspired other Hopis to murder their own kinspeople, and who among the victims, women and men, may have been responsible? Jesse Walter Fewkes's Smithsonian Institution expeditions of the 1890s were undertaken in response to the latter enticement, and produced intriguing results.

Fewkes's purpose, he would write, was to "demonstrate by archeological evidence the truth of a Tusayan legend" about how the site came to be "tragically destroyed."¹² Fewkes sketched the site in anticipation of adding excavation detail as he progressed. Covering more than four acres, the ruins were divided roughly between the west, where the massive mound of the main pueblo rose several stories high; and the east, where the walls of the Franciscan church were still standing, with a complex of rooms suggesting an Indian residential block in association with the Spanish mission. The western mound seemed "to be the older" of the two habitation areas.

Employing Hopi men as his field crew, Fewkes sank a series of eight test pits in locations within and around the ruins. Soon he could report that "in almost every room . . . evidences of fire or a great conflagration were brought to light." Charred beams had collapsed, and rarely did they find "a room without finding the beams and burnt fragments of wood upon the floor." Storage rooms featured great piles of stacked corn, so many that "bushels of charred fragments were taken out." In many rooms, items of daily life were still as if "ordinarily in place": "mealing troughs . . . and cooking pots and vessels of both coiled and smooth ware" were found in both the western and eastern precincts of the ruin. No looting had attended the end of Awat'ovi.

Fewkes focused on one location, however, drawn by the presence of a shallow depression in a plaza area midway between the mission church complex and the Indian residential room block to its northwest, which "the Indians employed in the excavation called . . . a kib-va." "The fact that the men were in the kib-va at the time of the destruction and that many were killed there" made him "anxious to identify this room." His workmen sank a trench "several feet in width, from corner to corner," and then another in the center of the room "dug down to the floor," which "was covered with flat stones." Measuring fourteen feet by twenty-eight feet, the large room lay some five feet below the plaza's surface.

Charred wood and ashes abounded in the fill his workmen removed. But most important was the discovery of "a human skull and other bones . . . four feet six inches below the surface in the middle of the chamber, directly under the place where the old sky-hole formerly opened, through which the relentless Hopi may have thrown down the burning fagots and chile upon their helpless victims." The Hopi workmen refused to touch the bones with their hands, and that night one of them, related by marriage to the Katsina chief at Walpi, returned to that pueblo ten miles distant. The

¹² The quotations in this and the following seven paragraphs are from Fewkes, "A-wa'-to-bi," 363, 370, 371, 372, 373, 364, 365, 366.

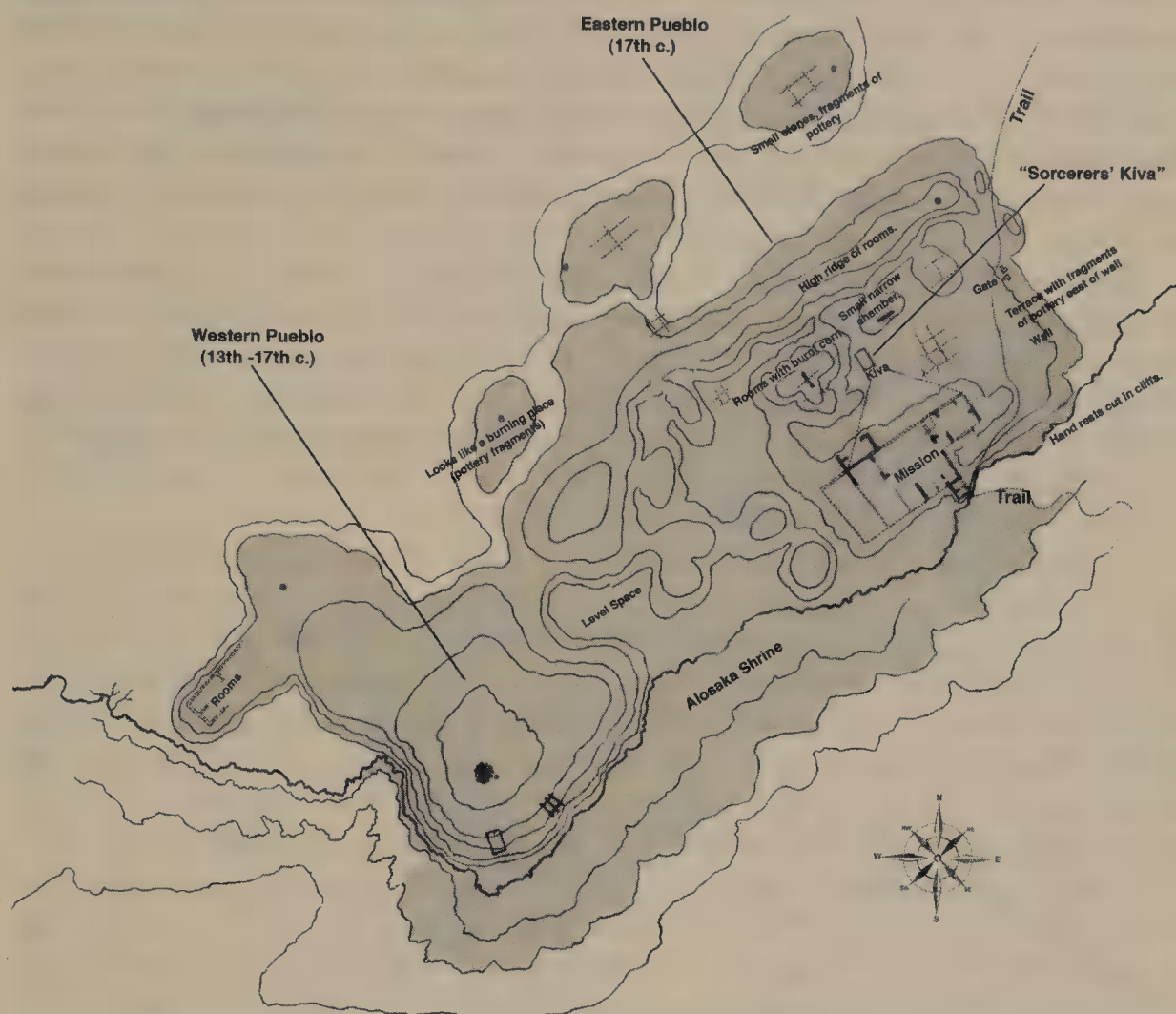


FIGURE 1: Illustration by Jessica Calzada, from J. W. Fewkes's field drawing of excavations at Awat'ovi. Fewkes, "A-wa'-to-bi: An Archeological Verification of a Tusayan Legend," *American Anthropologist* 6 (October 1893): 370.

next day, having received advice from Walpi, the workman laid several *na-kwa'-ko-ci*, "strings with feathers attached," in the trenches "as propitiatory offerings to Ma'-sau-wuh, the Death God." Even in his excitement at the discovery of the skull beneath the entryway to the kiva, Fewkes observed "the anxiety of the Hopi workmen" and decided to abandon the excavation, for he did not "wish the report to be circulated among their people that I desired to find the skeletons of the wizards, as it might prejudice them against me."

Attendant to his archaeological investigations, Fewkes obtained from Alexander Stephen one of the earliest Hopi narratives of the Awat'ovi story from Sálíko, a woman of Walpi village and, by virtue of her descent from a captive survivor of the Awat'ovi destruction, the hereditary chief of the women's Mamzrau society ceremonials at Walpi. Certain key details enter the narrative with Sálíko; she was the only woman to provide an account recorded by outsiders in almost two centuries of Hopi versions of the event.

A large village with many inhabitants, said Sálíko, Awat'ovi was led by a man

named Ta'polo, who was "not at peace with his people and there were quarreling and trouble." Because of that internal strife, little rain had fallen, although the gardens below Awat'ovi remained fertile. Despite this, the men of Awat'ovi were thug-gish with their neighbors; "they went in small bands among the fields of the other villagers and cudgeled any solitary workers they found. If they overtook any woman they ravished her, and they waylaid hunting parties, taking the game, after beating and sometimes killing the hunters."

Ta'polo believed the source of this behavior to lie in sorcery: "his people had become *po-wa'-ko* (sorcerers), and hence should all be destroyed." It was Ta'polo who approached Oraibi and Walpi for aid, recruiting warriors to lay waste his own village. It was Ta'polo who left the gate in the massive wall unbarred, and even swung it wide as the attackers made their entrance. It was he who pointed out the large kiva called Püvyüñobi, "the sorcerers' kiva," wherein the massacre commenced. On Ta'polo's fate, Sálíko was silent.

Regarding the captives, she offered more detail. Sálíko's ancestor was recognized during the carnage at "Mas'ki" (Death House) in Tallahogan Wash as the *maumzrau'mongwi* (chief of the Mamzrau society) by one of the men from Walpi, who asked "whether she would be willing to initiate the women of Walpi in the rites of the Mam'-zrau." Thus she survived, and the ritual, too, stayed alive in a new home. Other women who "knew how to bring rain" and were willing to teach the songs were spared as well. The Oraibi men, she said, even "saved a man who knew how to cause the peach to grow, and that is why Oraibi has such an abundance of peaches now." The Mishongnovis saved a woman who knew "how to make the sweet so-wi'-wa (small-eared) corn grow." "All the women who had song-prayers and were willing to teach them" also survived, and "no children were designedly killed, but were divided among the villages"—although most went to Mishongnovi. "The remainder of the prisoners were tortured and dismembered and left to die on the sand-hills, and there their bones are, and the place is called Mas'-tco-mo [Mas'ki]."

Thus inter-village conflict, rape, political struggle, sorcery, revenge, and annihilation have suffused this story for more than a century, as have rescue, redemption, the persistence of sacred ceremonies, song-prayers, sweet corn, and peaches. In both aspects of the story of Awat'ovi, gender seems critical in determining whose power demanded death and whose permitted life. Even as new historical forces swept across the Hopi mesas, the narrative retained, discarded, and left unknown many elements. Yet beneath this century of stories lie older tales, of women, men, and the consequences attendant to challenging authority in the Puebloan world.

ANCESTRAL PUEBLO PEOPLES' HISTORY BEGINS long before A.D. 750, but from that moment forward, we see cycles of evangelism and pious expression come to prominence in the lives of the region's indigenous residents. This is strikingly evident in the enigmatic devotional and expressive culture that was centered in remote Chaco Canyon and radiated its affect nearly two hundred miles distant, profoundly influencing life in the Southwest for more than a century. And yet the priests and deities of the Chaco Phenomenon seem ephemeral in the memories and lives of descendant com-

munities: the experiment undertaken there seems to have failed. Attending to the role of women—largely neglected in significant analyses of Chaco’s story—may help to explain why.

A landscape now harrowing in its austerity, Chaco Canyon bloomed in its heyday with a cultural vitality never seen in the region before or since. In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the canyon was home to sixteen massive masonry “Great Houses” containing thousands of rooms, hundreds of kivas and at least a score of Great Kivas, expansive ceremonial spaces and platforms, ancillary residential villages, and sophisticated astronomical constructions used to forecast planting and harvesting cycles. Beyond the canyon itself, the Chaco “radio signal” reached as far as Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Arizona in the form of distant colonies or communities that emulated Chaco architecture and ceremonials. Seasonal pilgrimages from these “outliers” would fill the canyon itself, reminiscent of Mecca, with thousands of people of differing languages and local identities who shared a devotion to the power that expressed itself in the ceremonial theater that was Chaco Canyon.¹³

Women, and questions of gender more broadly, have largely been hidden beneath louder debates about the nature of Chaco’s organization and leadership. Was its explosive growth from a group of small farming hamlets to a Great House “megaplex” during the tenth and eleventh centuries a matter of extraordinary communitarian devotion and dedication to a new evangelical ideal? Or did an elite noble priesthood dominate the numinous resources of the center such that its members could recruit, or levy, the tens of thousands of person-hours necessary for its construction and maintenance? The interpretive trend is turning toward the latter stance. If that is correct, our limited data on gender and power offers interesting inflections thereto. We should ask, however, if the conflicts over gender and power that seem to have infused, in ways still opaque, the destruction of Awat’ovi may have many centuries earlier played a role in the rise and demise of the Chaco Phenomenon.¹⁴

It seems likely that “a male-dominated hierarchy” resided in and controlled the political reach and ceremonial life of Chacoan Great Houses between 900 and 1150, while a larger cohort of commoners—one more gender-egalitarian, in which women perhaps enjoyed even higher status than men—provided the artisanal skills and labor power to produce the wonders of Chaco. The burial goods associated with the male elites are of markedly higher value than those associated with the few women interred in Great Houses. The pattern is almost perfectly inverted when we look at the “commoners” buried in the dozens of “small-house” support communities scattered throughout the canyon—those women were given significantly higher-value goods than their male counterparts.¹⁵ That the nutritional status of the Great House elites,

¹³ The “empty ceremonial center,” occupied by a small but powerful priesthood and filled seasonally by pilgrims from within the 200-mile Chaco Sphere, is the most widespread current interpretation for the Chaco Phenomenon; see John Kantner, *Ancient Puebloan Southwest* (Cambridge, 2004), who uses the “radio signal” metaphor. For debates and an alternative view that posits an elite center of religiously deified “kings,” heavily influenced by Mesoamerican models, see Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest*, 139, 302 n. 199.

¹⁴ Stephen H. Lekson, “Chaco Matters: An Introduction,” in Lekson, ed., *The Archaeology of Chaco Canyon: An Eleventh-Century Pueblo Regional Center* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2006), 3–44.

¹⁵ Louise Lamphere, “Gender Models in the Southwest: A Sociocultural Perspective,” in Crown,



FIGURE 2: Aerial view of Pueblo Bonito, showing public performance plazas and kivas. Photo courtesy of John Kantner.

men and women, exceeded that of the small-house commoners suggests that despite their possible higher status within their own communities, women suffered along with their kinsmen from unequally distributed resources. Across both classes, more women than men were found buried in the canyon, leading some to propose that women had been recruited (or abducted) there to perform *corvée* labor for the mass feeding of feasting pilgrims and to provide sexual and reproductive services.¹⁶

A gendered perspective on Chacoan architecture suggests similar hierarchical divisions between the small-house communities and the Great Houses. Kivas probably had their origins in the subterranean “pithouse” domestic dwellings of the Basketmaker III (500–700) and Pueblo I (700–900) periods. In these early centuries, therefore, they often feature women’s assemblages of grinding stones and ceramics that mark proto-kivas as a women’s space, which gradually became associated with Pueblo ceremonialism, and only then at the household level. With the advent of Chaco evangelism, might they have become the focus for appropriation as the

Women and Men in the Prehispanic Southwest, 379–401, quotation from 394; Jill E. Neitzel, “Gender Hierarchies: A Comparative Analysis of Mortuary Data,” *ibid.*, 137–168.

¹⁶ Timothy A. Kohler and Kathryn Kramer Turner, “Raiding for Women in the Prehispanic Northern Pueblo Southwest? A Pilot Examination,” *Current Anthropology* 47, no. 6 (2006): 1035–1045; Catherine Cameron, “Captives and Culture Change: Implications for Archaeology,” *Current Anthropology* 52, no. 2 (2011): 169–209.

priestly architects in the canyon levied their gendered power and transformed them into Great Kivas to support the public performances then unfolding at Pueblo Bonito, Chetro Ketl, and Casa Rinconada? As crucial stage elements for “Chaco Theater,” binding the powers of the earth to those of the skies, sun, and stars, we see this once-female space under the control of the male elite priesthood. Although the debate is far from resolved, some archaeologists now see significant Mesoamerican traits in the monumental architecture of Chaco’s Great Houses and their spatial relationships to one another across the region. If they are correct, the architectural signature may be that of emulation by local men seeking to enhance their authority, or migration of a Mesoamerican priestly nobility. In either case, these leaders gendered their architecture as masculine, using heavily massed and vertically accented monumental construction with Mesoamerican influences to emphasize their power and overawe ceremonial participants.¹⁷

By the zenith of Chaco’s influence (1050–1150), the complex seems to have been entirely under the control of the male priesthood, with women (except, perhaps, for a few noble women) relegated to preparing and providing the ceremonial feasts for the thousands who streamed into the canyon on seasonal pilgrimages. When the center’s power rapidly waned in the later twelfth century, it may have been women who “voted with their feet” and declined to invest their energy in traveling to the canyon, bearing baskets and ceramic vessels for food preparation, and providing for the masses, when the power of the Chacoan priesthood to produce rain and agricultural surpluses was clearly failing. Without women to support and sustain the workforce, Chaco’s demise would have been simply a matter of time. With our focus too often on male-dominated ceremonial cycles, we can easily forget that women’s spiritual, agricultural, and behind-the-scenes labor underwrote the success of evangelical programs.¹⁸

FOLLOWING THE UNRAVELING OF THE Chaco world, the period from 1250 to the Spanish entradas after 1540 featured massive regional dislocations, migrations, small-settlement abandonment, and an aggregation of remaining peoples in densely packed, often defensively sited villages, sometimes exceeding two thousand rooms in size. With ever-larger villages farming and hunting over limited areas, poor nu-

¹⁷ For the gradual evolution of pithouses into ritually oriented kivas in the eighth and ninth centuries, see Kantner, *Ancient Puebloan Southwest*, 69–70; for the transformation as a function of matrilineal descent groups and the formation of lineages and sodalities, see John A. Ware, “What Is a Kiva? The Social Organization of Early Pueblo Communities,” in David A. Phillips, Jr., and John A. Ware, eds., *Culture and Environment in the American Southwest: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Euler* (Phoenix, Ariz., 2002), 79–88. Ruth M. Van Dyke treats the vertical phenomenology of Chacoan architecture, and suggests a gendered dualism in the Great House/Great Kiva pairing, with Great Houses’ verticality representing phallic symbolism and Great Kivas uterine symbolism; Van Dyke, *The Chaco Experience: Landscape and Ideology at the Center Place* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2008), esp. 122–131. For Mesoamerican debates and influences, see Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest*, 139–140, 302 n. 198.

¹⁸ For the end of the complex societies such as Chaco and Hohokam in the 1150–1300 period, see Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest*, 239–242. It seems odd now to look at feminist arguments from the 1980s that, while admitting that Western Pueblo women were excluded from religious and political life, claim that they played important “unofficial” roles through their reproductive and cooking capacity. See M. Jane Young, “Women, Reproduction, and Religion in Western Puebloan Society,” *Journal of American Folklore* 100, no. 398 (1987): 436–445.

trition and infant mortality increased. The trauma cascaded outward from one core population center in today's Four Corners region, where thousands of residents of the Mesa Verde world commenced a migration in the latter half of the thirteenth century that would leave the area uninhabited by 1300, an abandonment that finally encompassed the entire region.¹⁹

Environmental changes attendant to regional droughts underlay much of the decimation, resulting in migrations, aggregations, and widespread social and military conflict. While the long history of Southwestern peoples had always featured some evidence of inter- (and intra-) community violence, the period after 1250 displayed something entirely new. As one student of the question has said, "the massive acts of destruction and killing . . . go beyond what would occur in ordinary 'raids.'" Rather, "these cases seem to represent a deliberate goal of killing off as much of the population as possible and then often burning the community as completely as possible."²⁰

In this "intense, annihilation-oriented warfare," women were sometimes singled out as victims. Even before the emptying of the Four Corners region, a fortified community of some 75 to 150 residents, known today as Castle Rock Pueblo, suffered total destruction around 1274. There were only three men of fighting age among the forty-one bodies found during excavations that addressed only 5 percent of the site. Many of these skeletons show signs of secondary, postmortem violence, suggesting a level of passion in the attack not unlike what would have taken place at Awat'ovi. In other cases of even larger villages thus destroyed in the area, "the remains of few men in their prime were found . . . the deaths of primarily women, children, the ill and incapacitated suggests that the able-bodied men were absent from the villages during the attacks."²¹

Far distant on the eastern edges of the Zuñi Pueblo clusters in central New Mexico, a similar fate awaited the large plaza pueblos of Site 616 and Techado Springs, which attackers breached and burned around 1300. Site 616 held some five hundred to six hundred rooms and experienced a sudden, violent end, with perimortem trauma evident on several unburied bodies and extensive burning of the village. Techado Springs numbered some seven hundred rooms, and attackers left at least

¹⁹ On nutritional crises in the ancient Southwest, see Ann M. Palkovich, *Pueblo Population and Society: The Arroyo Hondo Skeletal and Mortuary Remains* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1980). For Tewa migrations out of the Four Corners region, which seem to have been triggered at least in part by loss of faith in the prevailing socioreligious system, see Scott G. Ortman, *Winds from the North: Tewa Origins and Historical Anthropology* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 2012).

²⁰ Steven A. LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest* (Salt Lake City, 1999), quotations from 264. For the later periods, see Jonathan Haas and Winifred Creamer, "Warfare among the Pueblos: Myth, History, and Ethnography," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 2 (1997): 235–261. For religious expression in the aftermath of the Chaco Phenomenon, see John Kantner, "Religious Behavior in the Post-Chaco Years," in Christine S. VanPool, Todd L. VanPool, and David A. Phillips, Jr., eds., *Religion in the Prehispanic Southwest* (Lanham, Md., 2007), 31–51. For a recent collection of essays that emphasize the complexity and diversity of post-Chaco religious expression, see Donna M. Glowacki and Scott Van Keuren, eds., *Religious Transformation in the Late Pre-Hispanic Pueblo World* (Tucson, Ariz., 2011).

²¹ LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest*, 264; Kristin A. Kuckelman, *The Archaeology of Castle Rock Pueblo: A Thirteenth-Century Village in Southwestern Colorado* (2000), <http://www.crowcanyon.org/castlerock>; Kuckelman, "Bioarchaeological Signatures of Strife in Terminal Pueblo III Settlements in the Northern San Juan" (AAPA paper, 2010); Kuckelman, "Bioarchaeological Signatures of Violence in the Northern San Juan," in Debra L. Martin, Ryan P. Harrod, and Ventura R. Pérez, *The Bioarchaeology of Violence* (Gainesville, Fla., 2012), 121–138.

seventy-four dead in their wake, more than two-thirds of whom were women and children.²² At other sites of destruction, however, men predominated, as was the case in the Chama River village of Te'ewi, where twenty-four men and six infants died in the plaza kiva. It may be that at Te'ewi the attackers took the women captive, like those at Awat'ovi.²³ Overall, at least 103 of the 177 currently researched major villages in the Southwest during the 1250–1500 period exhibit evidence of massive burning events, and 51 of those were found to have unburied bodies associated with those moments of annihilation.²⁴

As much as environmental crisis may have driven these centuries of human misery in the Southwest, powerful motivating ideas—by which humans make sense of even the most basic actions—served to recruit and energize warriors to the field to wreak the havoc.²⁵ And in the later decades of the thirteenth century, new ideas and their supernatural beings began to stride across the peaks, plateaus, and canyons of the Southwest. Uncertain in origin and much debated in their genealogy, the Katsinam (rainmaking spirits from the gods) arrived at a moment of crisis among Puebloan peoples and provided new beliefs, ceremonies, iconography, and ways of social belonging to peoples frayed, frightened, and fighting in the cataclysmic world of the centuries before the arrival of the Christian god and saints. Numbering some 250 individual spirits, if current patterns can be read into those of the past, the panoply of Katsina spirits appeared in Puebloan communities each year after the winter solstice and before the spring rains, when “men ask the sun to return so that the crops will grow.”²⁶

Today the arrival of these new evangelicals is often recalled as benign. The predominant interpretation of the social significance of the Katsina religion, or “cult,” focuses on its extraordinary ability to bridge divisions of ethnolinguistic identity and create new forms of trans-community identification. Katsina societies existed in more than one community, building “semiotic and symbiotic communities” that func-

²² Charles R. McGimsey III, *Mariana Mesa: Seven Prehistoric Settlements in West-Central New Mexico* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 37–170, skeletal remains 169–170. McGimsey sees the abandonment of Site 616 and Techado Springs as “the coup de grace to a gradually worsening agricultural situation” that spurred inter-village warfare (42). See also Jimmy E. Smith II and Louis “Pinky” Robertson, *Techado Springs Pueblo: West-Central New Mexico* (n.p., 2009), 183–190. The predominance of women victims in these Late Period contexts may be evidence that (1) village men were away on their own raids or farming distant fields when the attacks occurred; (2) these villages, as “war-refugee communities,” had always held a strong majority of women, children, and the infirm; or (3) the victims had actually been killed by their own men in intra-community violence like that spoken of in Hopi narratives of destruction and at Awat'ovi. For the “war refugee” case convincingly argued at Grasshopper Pueblo, see Julia C. Lowell, “Survival Strategies of Gender-Imbalanced Migrant Households in the Grasshopper Region of Arizona,” in Roth, *Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest*, 185–207; for a counterargument that Grasshopper may have housed many captive or slave women, see Cameron, “Captives and Culture Change.”

²³ Fred Wendorf, *Salvage Archaeology in the Chama Valley, New Mexico* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1953), chap. 4.

²⁴ LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest*, Tables 6.1 and 6.3.

²⁵ For “socialization for fear” as one explanation for mobilizing peoples to war, see Stephen H. Lekson, “War in the Southwest, War in the World,” *American Antiquity* 67, no. 4 (2002): 607–624. Sorcery, moral corruption, and xenophobia could all figure in the production of fear in the Southwest.

²⁶ “Katsinam,” *Southwest Crossroads*, <http://southwestcrossroads.org/record.php?num=86>. For debates and archaeological case studies, see E. Charles Adams, *The Origin and Development of the Pueblo Katsina Cult* (Tucson, Ariz., 1991); Polly Schaafsma, *Kachinas in the Pueblo World* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1994); Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Rainmakers from the Gods: Hopi Katsinam*, <http://peabody2.ad.fas.harvard.edu/katsina/origins.html>.

tioned in the interests of social solidarity. But that success seems to have been hard-won. It is clear now that real struggles unfolded between older Pueblo medicine societies, Sacred Clown, Hunting, and War sodalities, and the agents of the Katsina religion, often expressed in narratives of gods in conflict with the mortals. Among the eastern Rio Grande Pueblos, the Katsinam gradually experienced “domestication” and were subsumed within the earlier sodalities, but in the west, at Zuñi and Hopi, the Katsinam prevailed.²⁷

Few narratives of the Katsinam survive among the Eastern Pueblos of the Rio Grande region, but the spirits’ arrival in the area is manifest in the rich rock art iconography that suddenly appears on the valley’s black basalt outcroppings. Where abstracts, zoomorphs, and stick-figure humans once prevailed, in the fourteenth century clearly identifiable “masks” of classic Katsinam figures appear by the hundreds, usually in close association with images directly related to conflict and warfare—shield-bearers, bows, axe-bearers, and Venus “stars”—all masculine symbols. Similar concentrations of Katsina and war imagery can be seen along the mesa escarpments to the west at the proto-Hopi settlements of the Homol’ovi cluster.²⁸

These images and iconography resonate vividly in Hopi oral history, where, in several accounts of “tales of destruction” visited upon early Hopi villages, Katsinam figure as allies of village chiefs who immolate their own communities when they discern wickedness or sorcery, usually glossed as *koyaanisqatsi* (corrupt life), spreading among their people—just like Ta’polo at Awat’ovi. Efforts to return the people to a condition of *suyanishqatsi* (a life of harmony and balance) are effected not through gentle reform but through overwhelming supernatural force, as when the *kikmongwi* (crier chief) of the Third Mesa village of Pivanhokyapi summons the Yaayapontsa (Wind and Fire Katsinam) from the San Francisco Peaks to march as a firestorm and immolate his own followers. In this case, the corruption that inspired the violent cleansing lay in “women who began to leave their homes and abandon their husbands and children” in a desire to “go into the kivas” and join men there for the gambling game of *totolospí*, as well as to engage in sex with the men and boys.²⁹

Women figure centrally in all extant Hopi narratives of destruction, either as objects of desire who lead men to corruption, as *powaka* (sorceresses) who use love medicine to attract powerful men, or as the focus of violence between men from opposing villages. The fact that Katsinam appear prominently as allies of senior men in their efforts to maintain political control of their own people suggests deep underlying tensions within Hopi villages, a theme consistent with much more recent Hopi history. That women among the Eastern Pueblos were quite explicitly cordoned

²⁷ John A. Ware and Eric Blinman, “Cultural Collapse and Reorganization: The Origin and Spread of Pueblo Ritual Sodalities,” in Hegmon, *The Archaeology of Regional Interaction*, 381–409; Alison Ruth Freese, “Send In the Clowns: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Sacred Clowns’ Role in Cultural Boundary Maintenance among the Pueblo Indians” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1991).

²⁸ The earliest datable Katsina image in the Rio Grande region comes, ironically, from the northern Tiwa Pot Creek Pueblo, ancestral to both today’s Taos and Picurís Pueblos, long assumed to have *not* adopted the Katsina religion. See Kelley Ann Hays, “Kachina Depictions on Prehistoric Pueblo Pottery,” in Schaafsma, *Kachinas in the Pueblo World*, 47–62, image 57, figure 6.8; Polly Schaafsma, *Warrior, Shield, and Star: Imagery and Ideology of Pueblo Warfare* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2000). See also Severin M. Fowles, *An Archaeology of Doings: Secularism and the Study of Pueblo Religion* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2013), 202–216. Curiously, among the abundant rock art near Awat’ovi on Antelope Mesa, no Katsina figures are seen.

²⁹ Lomatuway’ma, Lomatuway’ma, and Namingha, *Hopi Ruin Legends*, chap. 3.

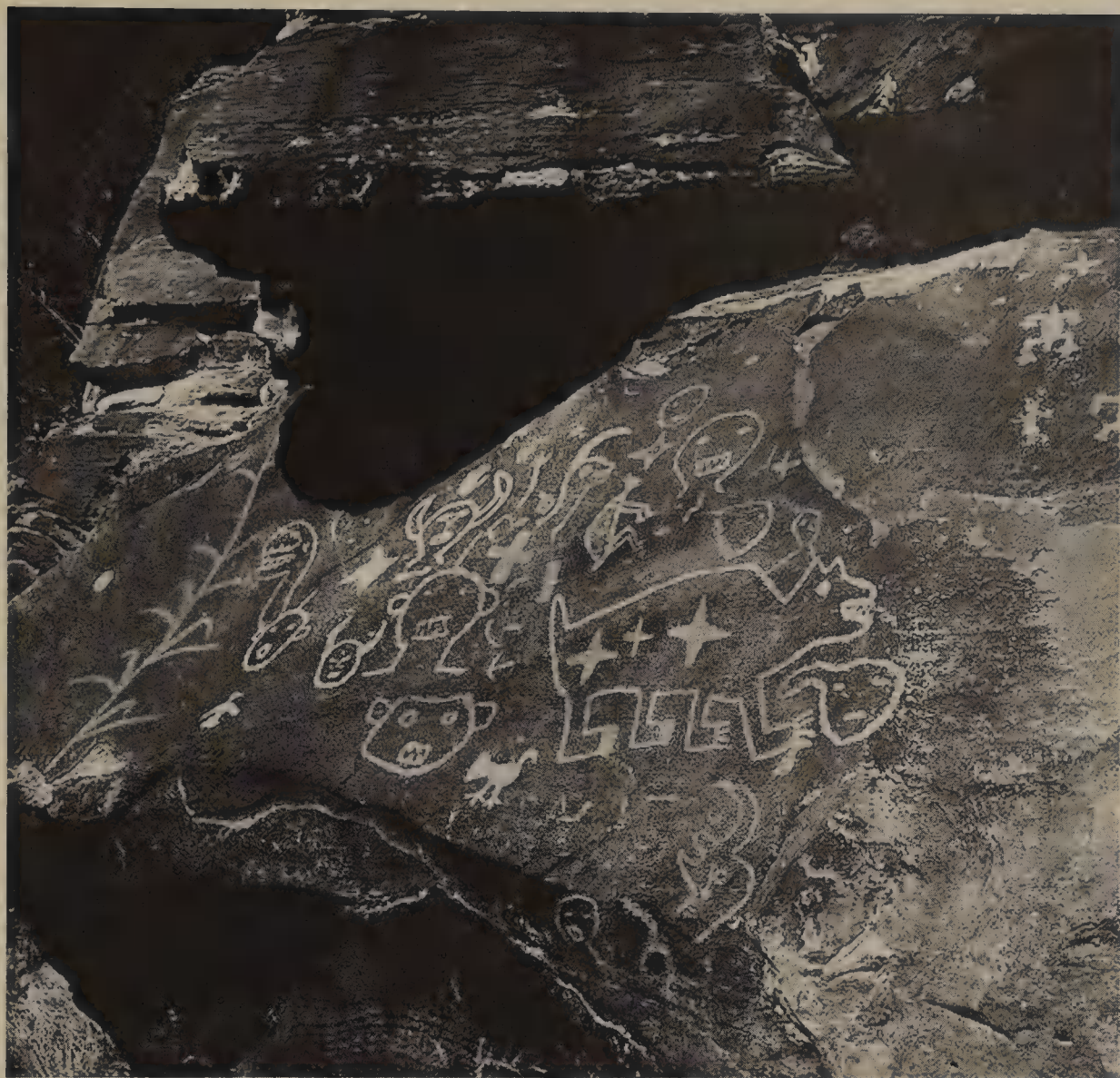


FIGURE 3: Petroglyph panel, Galisteo Basin, New Mexico, featuring a mix of Katsina, War (Venus stars), and fertility imagery (maize plant), ca. fourteenth–sixteenth centuries. Photo courtesy of Jason S. Ordaz.

off from most aspects of the Katsina religion is also significant; young males, even non-initiates, were informal members of the ritual organization, with formalization coming at puberty, whereas women, associated with moieties, served as “pathmakers” (among the Tewa, at least) when Katsinam visited the villages. This period seems also to show archaeological evidence for women’s disfranchisement from the most powerful aspects of ceremonial life. Small kin-or-clan kivas in scattered hamlets had long served as both domestic dwellings and ritual chambers, thereby displaying women’s material culture (especially grinding stones) along with that of men. Yet from 1300 forward, women among the Eastern Pueblos seem to have been increasingly excluded from kivas as they grew larger and oriented toward community-level ritual—similar to the process by which women were excluded from the Great Kivas

at Chaco. With the arrival of the Katsinam, kivas again became the domain of men, thereby signaling “a decline in the power and prestige of women.”³⁰

Even as male-dominant Katsina evangelism spread throughout the Southwest, women may have pushed back. Amid the explosion of Katsina iconography in rock art and kiva murals, petroglyphic images associated with women’s reproduction (childbirth scenes) and their role in ancient societies such as the Mamzrau and Lakon appear as counter-symbols.³¹ Women of many different ethnolinguistic identities across the region—perhaps gathered together in multiethnic war-refugee communities—may have attempted to re-create at least some elements of their former influence in a ceramic expression known today as the Salado tradition. These pots were superbly crafted and painted with complex black, red, and white geometric designs that combined several locally distinct design traditions with stylized feather motifs and creatures such as horned serpents, suggesting a Mesoamerican influence. Iconic of the “Southwestern Regional Cult” in its range (from central Arizona to western New Mexico and into northern Chihuahua), the vessels harked back to women’s centrality in rituals of community feasting, marriage exchanges, water, and fertility—a “poor man’s [or woman’s] religion” as countervalue to Katsina evangelism.³²

The Katsina religion, domesticated among the Rio Grande Pueblos and incorporated into the more ancient societies and sodalities, remains the most enduring form of pious expression in the Southwest, still vital after more than seven centuries. It unifies people across kin and clan divisions, as well as across village and ethnic identities. Yet it remains a predominantly masculine ritual power. Women are generally prohibited from obtaining Katsina knowledge among the Eastern Pueblos, at Zuñi, and somewhat less so among the Hopis. With this in mind, we can see why the veneration of the female Catholic saints might have proved intriguing to Pueblo women when they encountered this new evangelical movement with the arrival of the Franciscans. And we can also see that after several centuries of trauma and socioreligious “tinkering[,] . . . Christianity, when it came, was just another entry into that crowded field,” not the world-historical shift that the distinction between the “pre-contact” and “contact” (or prehistoric and historic) periods implies.³³

FRANCISCAN FRIARS ENGAGED IN NEARLY a century of evangelical labor in the colony established by the Spanish on lands historically occupied by the Pueblo peoples before Po’pay’s Revolt of 1680—unquestionably the most successful of all Indian uprisings across the American hemispheres and iconic in indigenous history—delivered

³⁰ Michelle Hegmon, Scott G. Ortman, and Jeannette L. Mobley-Tanaka, “Women, Men, and the Organization of Space,” in Crown, *Women and Men in the Prehispanic Southwest*, 43–90, quotation from 77, and see esp. Table 2.3, “Dimensions of Women’s Status in the Pueblo Sequence,” 86–87; Dozier, “Rio Grande Pueblos,” 116–117.

³¹ Kelley Hays-Gilpin, “Gender Ideology and Ritual Activities,” in Crown, *Women and Men in the Prehispanic Southwest*, 91–135, esp. 131–133.

³² Hays-Gilpin and Hill, “The Flower World in Prehistoric Southwest Material Culture.” See also Crown, *Ceramics and Ideology*; VanPool, “13th Century Women’s Movement”; *A Complicated Pattern: Pursuing the Meaning of Salado in Southwestern New Mexico*, ed. Deborah L. Huntley, *Archaeology Southwest Magazine* 26, no. 3 and 4 (2012).

³³ Lekson, *A History of the Ancient Southwest*, 198.

a thirteen-year era of Pueblo independence. On August 10, 1680, many of the Rio Grande Pueblos erupted in rebellion, followed a few days later by the western Zuñis and Hopis. Widespread warfare, raiding, and sacking of outlying settlements delivered 422 Spanish subjects to death or captivity. The surviving 1,946 colonists, missionaries, servants, and allied “Christian Indians” were expelled from the northern colony for more than a decade. The stunning success of the revolt, “America’s First War for Independence,” tends to overwhelm evidence of struggles within Pueblo communities that long predated the colonial era.³⁴

By the seventeenth century, Franciscans had proven themselves able agents for the spread of the Christian word, and tactics worked out in Mexico often proved effective in New Mexico. In each Pueblo community, pro-Franciscan and anti-Franciscan factions existed, although their precise composition and motivations remain difficult to detail. Young unmarried men, junior in rank and status to the headmen of the medicine societies, sodalities, and Katsina societies, seem to have eagerly embraced Catholicism in several communities, and formed the core of the neophyte students and workforce. Women, although only ephemerally represented in records, seem to have been fascinated by the catechism as it found expression in the lives and suffering of female saints.³⁵

Po’pay and his co-revolutionaries were well aware that the Pueblo world had been utterly transformed, spiritually and materially, during the eighty-some years of Spanish colonization. Pushing a program of nativist purification and return to the “state of their antiquity,” the rebels urged the complete destruction of the mission churches and their liturgical paraphernalia, as well as the rejection of the Spanish-influenced lifeways of livestock herding, wheat farming, tools, and architecture.³⁶ Freed from the harness of the missionaries, many Pueblo Indians set out to desecrate, dismantle, and reuse the adobe bricks, heavy timbers, and extensive construction of the mission complexes. Yet, quietly ignoring Po’pay’s purifying agenda, they often converted the

³⁴ Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1997); David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 133–137; David Roberts, *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion That Drove the Spaniards out of the Southwest* (New York, 2004); Michael V. Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest: An Indigenous Archaeology of Contact* (Berkeley, Calif., 2009). For the most sensitive and complicated treatment to date, see Matthew Liebmann, *Revolt: An Archaeological History of Pueblo Resistance and Revitalization in 17th Century New Mexico* (Tucson, Ariz., 2012).

³⁵ For Franciscan approaches to conversion, see *A Harvest of Reluctant Souls: Fray Alonso de Benavides’s History of New Mexico, 1630*, trans. Baker H. Morrow (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2012); see also William L. Merrill, “Indigenous Societies, Missions, and the Colonial System in Northern New Spain,” in Clara Bargellini and Michael K. Komanecky, eds., *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain, 1600–1821* (Mexico City, 2009), 123–153. For strategies to recruit unmarried men and women, see Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1991), chap. 1. For the particular force of the spirit of María de Jesús de Agreda in such conversions, see John L. Kessel, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540–1840* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1987), 140–142. For Marianism in New Spain, see Linda B. Hall, *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (Austin, Tex., 2004). For the archaeology of Pueblo factionalism, see James E. Ivey, *The Spanish Colonial Architecture of Pecos Pueblo, New Mexico: Archaeological Excavations and Architectural History of the Spanish Colonial Churches and Related Buildings at Pecos National Historical Park, 1617–1995* (n.p., 2005), chap. 4.

³⁶ “Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation, December 19, 1681,” in Charles Wilson Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín’s Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682*, translations of original documents by Charmion Clair Shelby, 3 vols. (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1942), 2: 245–249, quotation from 248.

churches and *conventos* into corrals for the sheep, cattle, and horses that they wished to preserve, rather than expunge, from Pueblo life.

This ambiguous response to Po'pay's nativistic agenda occurred in the spiritual realm as well. The deep divisions between traditionalists and those who had been drawn to Catholicism emerged quickly, since they drew upon not only religious sympathies but also the inequities in power that had crosscut Pueblo society for generations. Pecos Pueblo experienced an internal civil war, with pro-Franciscan factions opposed to the return of the traditional priests to governing power, and the southernmost Pueblo peoples—the Piros and Tompiros—refusing to follow Po'pay's leadership, distant as he was among the northern Pueblos (and how proximate they were to Spaniards in El Paso del Norte).

Po'pay seems to have distributed women as rewards among his adherents from the very first days of the rebellion. Even before the fall of Santa Fe to the rebels, one Pueblo captain reported to Governor Antonia de Otermín that Po'pay had provided incentives for the slaughter of Spanish colonists: "The Indian who shall kill a Spaniard will get an Indian woman for a wife, and he who kills four will get four women, and he who kills ten or more will have a like number of women."³⁷ The informant, Pedro Garcia, had just lost his own wife and daughter to rebels sallying out from Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo. As the rebellion spread, Po'pay extended his edict to erase the Catholic marriage practices and unions that had obtained for more than two generations, ordering Pueblo men to "separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired." It is possible, of course, that women greeted these revolutionary decrees as liberating, yet the tone in these surviving sources, at least, suggests that women were more often objects of plunder and exchange in the uprising than they were its agents and subjects.³⁸

One wonders about the identities of the leaders of the subtle resistance to Po'pay's regimen of erasure and revitalization. Even at rebellious Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo, the church, *convento*, sacristy, liturgical garments, and ornaments were initially unharmed, until Po'pay specifically ordered their destruction. Neigh-

³⁷ "Declaration of Pedro Garcia, an Indian of the Tagno Nation, a Native of Las Salinas, August 25, 1680," *ibid.*, 1: 24–25, quotation from 24.

³⁸ Although extant sources draw from interrogations conducted in 1681, and are doubtless colored by that fact, it seems that Po'Pay's revolutionary ideas integrated nativism, revivalism, and a heretofore neglected focus on the redistribution—voluntary or involuntary—of women among the men who adhered to his vision. "Asked for what reason they so blindly burned the images, temples, crosses, and other things of divine worship, he stated that the said Indian, Popé, . . . ordered in all the pueblos through which he passed that they instantly break up and burn the images of the holy Christ, the Virgin Mary and the other saints, the crosses, and everything pertaining to Christianity, and that they burn the temples, break up the bells, and separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired. In order to take away their baptismal names, the water, and the holy oils, they were to plunge into the rivers and wash themselves with amole, which is a root native to the country, washing even their clothing, with the understanding that there would thus be taken from them the character of the holy sacraments . . . They thereby returned to the state of their antiquity . . . that this was the better life and the one they desired, because the God of the Spaniards was worth nothing and theirs was very strong, the Spaniard's God being rotten wood . . . [Popé] saw to it that they at once erected and rebuilt their houses of idolatry which they call estufas, and made very ugly masks in imitation of the devil . . . and he said likewise that the devil had given them to understand that living thus in accordance with the law of their ancestors, they would harvest a great deal of maize, many beans, a great abundance of cotton, calabashes, and very large watermelons and cantaloupes; and that they could erect their houses and enjoy abundant health and leisure." "Declaration of Pedro Naranjo," 247–248.

boring San Felipe Pueblo, although they lent warriors to the siege of Santa Fe, also proved reluctant to dismantle their church; they did, however, remove their people from the river-bottom location of Katishtya to a fortified mesa-top site nearby known as Old San Felipe (LA 2047). Zia Pueblo preserved both their church and the life of their friar, Nicolàs Hurtado, allowing him to join the Spanish column retreating after the surrender of the villa, yet they defended their village stoutly against a reconquest expedition in 1689, then relocated to a distant, more defensible mesa by 1692.³⁹

Far to the west, residents of the pueblo of Halona at Zuñi allowed one of their padres, Kwan Tatchui Lok'yana (Juan Grey-Robed Father-of-Us), to live, as long as he would adopt their manners and customs, grow out his hair, and marry a Zuñi woman. As ethnologist Frank Cushing would put it two hundred years later, Juan Greyrobe “had a Zuni heart and cared for the sick and women and children, *nor contended with the fathers of the people*.” In order that he would be able to fulfill his new, indigenized, mission, all “the ornaments of divine worship” in Halona’s church of Nuestra Señora de La Candelaria were saved, and moved to a new fortified village (LA 101402) atop Dowa Yalanne (Thunder Mountain) Mesa, where don Diego de Vargas, leading the forces of reconquest, would note their, but not the friar’s, presence in 1692. Among those ornaments was the eighteen-inch-tall Santo Niño de Cíbu (Zuñi), a statue of the infant Jesus, which today remains under the stewardship of the matrilineally descended Yatsattie family, whose progenitors preserved it in 1680. The Santo Niño embodies two attributes—both the male Christ Child and a female spirit representing the Zuñi “Daughter of the Sun”—dual, symmetrical qualities once celebrated by an annual fiesta that drew many Hispano Catholics and Zuñis together into the central plaza at Halona, yet now seldom observed.⁴⁰

The withdrawal of many pueblos to fortified refuges high on the mesas and mountains, sometimes miles distant from their well-watered riverside towns, indicates that however successful the revolt may have been in expelling Spanish colonists and missionaries from the Puebloan homeland, Otermín’s foray of 1681 and later reconquest attempts in 1683—as well as eruptions of inter-village raiding—undermined efforts to restore a pre-contact social order in the region. The archaeology of these refugee sites speaks also to issues of consent and coercion among their Pueblo designers, builders, and residents. Several of the refugee villages built in the years after 1680 reflect Po’pay’s instructions to rebuild the Pueblo world in the memory of the pre-

³⁹ For the variety of Pueblo tactics and the space syntax employed in integrating (or not) sometimes diverse linguistic communities during the era of independence, see T. J. Ferguson and Robert Preucel, “Signs of the Ancestors: An Archaeology of Mesa Villages of the Pueblo Revolt,” in Tony Atkin and Joseph Rykwert, eds., *Structure and Meaning in Human Settlements* (Philadelphia, 2005), 185–207; for the Zia experience, see Matthew Liebmann, “The Best of Times, the Worst of Times: Pueblo Resistance and Accommodation during the Spanish *Reconquista* of New Mexico,” in Matthew Liebmann and Melissa S. Murphy, eds., *Enduring Conquests: Rethinking the Archaeology of Spanish Colonialism in the Americas* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2011), 199–221. LA numbers (as in LA 2041) refer to the statewide site-numbering systems as maintained by the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe. LA # indicates the sequence in which the particular site was registered with the lab.

⁴⁰ Andrew Wiget, “Father Juan Greyrobe: Reconstructing Tradition Histories, and the Reliability and Validity of Uncorroborated Oral Tradition,” *Ethnohistory* 43, no. 3 (1996): 459–482, quotation from 477, emphasis added; Liebmann, *Revolt*, 60; George Wharton James, “Old Missions of New Mexico and Arizona,” *The Franciscan Missions of the Southwest*, no. 1 (1913): 5–16; author’s visit with the Yatsattie family, Halona village, New Mexico, October 16, 2010.

contact “Classic” mode. As residents of the Keres-speaking Cochití, Jemez, San Felipe, and Zia pueblos and the Tewa-speaking pueblos of the concentrated settlements around Black Mesa relocated to higher, defensible villages distant from their pre-revolt locations along the Rio Grande, they systematically created simulacra of what Po’pay regarded as their heyday—large, rectangular plaza-oriented pueblos composed of room blocks numbering several hundred individual rooms. (Ironically, such settlements harked back not to a period of cultural stability but to the turmoil following the fall of Chaco.) Defensible gateways generally aligned with cardinal directions, and single, large community-oriented kivas dominated the plazas themselves. Since much of the Franciscan missionary program involved surveillance and suppression of Katsina society ceremonies in kivas and communal dancing in the plazas, Po’pay’s vision was clearly aimed at reestablishing the pre-contact centrality of the Katsina religion. This symbolic architecture was also intended to foster the integration of Pueblo peoples from a variety of language groups who had fled Rio Grande villages or the vulnerable settlements in the Galisteo Basin, in the hopes of uniting disparate social units in a single worldview.⁴¹

Yet Po’pay’s vision remained unfulfilled. Enraged by resistance to it, he “began to act like the Spanish tyrants he had expelled,” insisting on an annual tribute of wool and cotton, wearing “the vestments of the priests as conspicuous display” of status, executing dissidents, and accumulating women for his pleasure.⁴² Aside from the ways in which his own comportment sabotaged his legitimacy, longstanding suspicions and resentments among linguistically different pueblos proved a barrier to unification, as did vengeful internal violence between nativists and Spanish-oriented residents (especially those of mixed Indian-Spanish descent) of the communities. The stunning success of the rebellion’s early days would disintegrate over the course of the years, although it took more than a decade for the Spaniards to re-exert their authority. Contradicting the mythology of a “bloodless reconquest,” Spanish soldiers led by de Vargas were forced to mix fierce fighting with complex recruitment of Pueblo allies, while the Franciscans who followed in de Vargas’s wake had to negotiate a reestablishment of the Catholic faith that included greater tolerance of traditional Pueblo religious practices, a compromise that would allow the two peoples to live together, yet apart.⁴³

But even in those communities that attempted to follow Po’pay’s vision, there seem to have been dissenters or outcasts. The people of Cochití Pueblo removed from their main village and relocated on the heights of Potrero Viejo Mesa seven miles upland, where they created a new fortified community, Han Kotyiti or “Cochití

⁴¹ Patricia W. Capone and Robert W. Preucel, “Ceramic Semiotics: Women, Pottery, and Social Meanings at Kotyiti Pueblo,” in Robert W. Preucel, ed., *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2002), 99–113, wherein the authors use ceramic evidence to support the presence of Keres-speaking people from San Felipe Pueblo, and Tewas from the villages around Black Mesa in the Española valley; Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest*, esp. chap. 7.

⁴² Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. (Santa Fe, N.Mex, 1914), 2: 272; Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 238–243. Many of the Southern Tiwas of Isleta Pueblo would also align with the Spanish during their retreat from Santa Fe, and establish a new village, Ysleta del Sur, in today’s El Paso, Texas. Depending upon political currents, they are either embraced as distant kinsmen or vilified as traitors by the Pueblos of New Mexico.

⁴³ On these accommodations, see Liebmann, *Revolt*, 209.

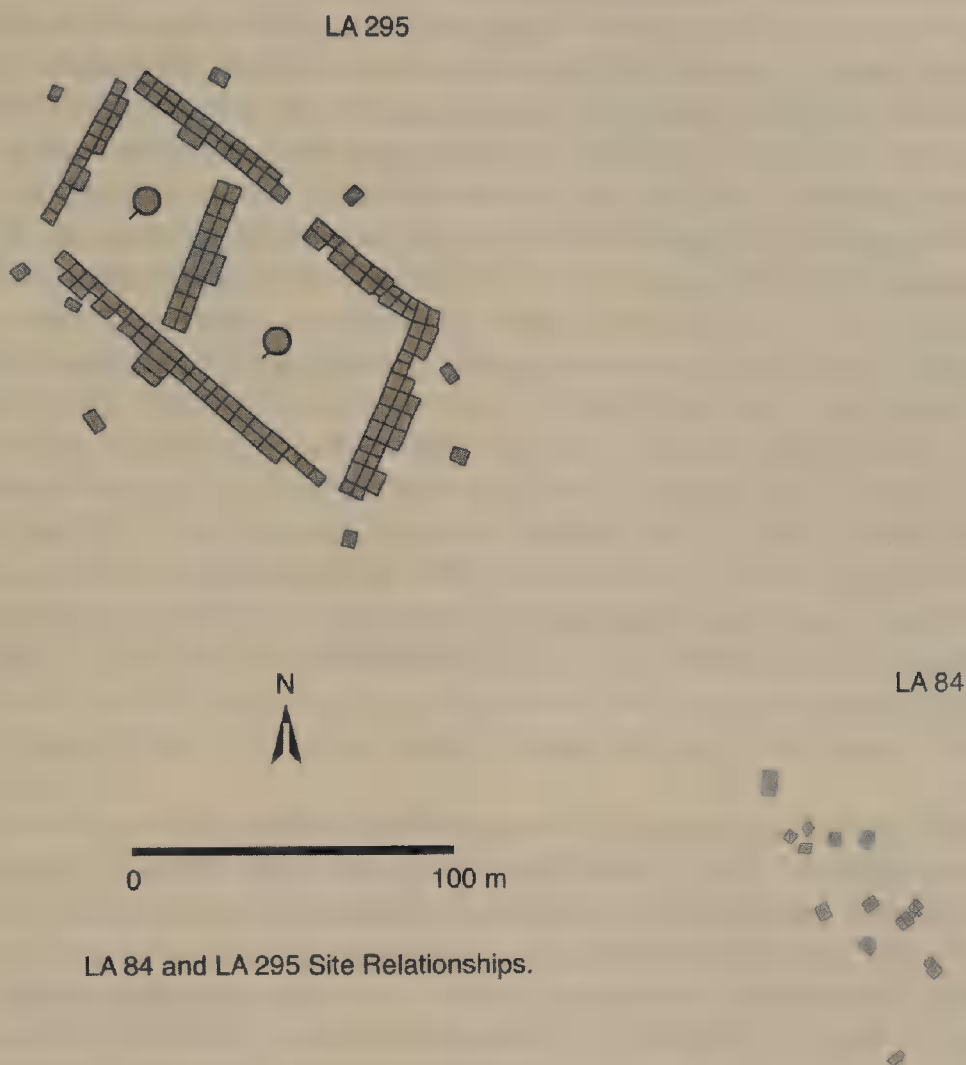


FIGURE 4: Illustration by Jessica Calzada of Han Kotyiti and ancillary *ranchería* site of LA 84. From Patricia W. Capone and Robert W. Preucel, "Ceramic Semiotics: Women, Pottery, and Social Meanings at Kotyiti Pueblo," in Robert W. Preucel, ed., *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2002), 101.

in the Clouds." Some 150 meters distant from and contemporaneous with the "classically" shapely and symmetrical pueblo at Han Kotyiti (LA 295) lay a smaller community (LA 84), markedly different in style. Rather than systematic in its design, this ancillary village was irregular at best, with 23 stand-alone structures (as compared to the 146 contiguous ground-floor rooms of LA 295) more reminiscent of Navajo or Apache *rancherías* than Pueblo villages. Yet LA 84 shared the same material culture assemblage as Han Kotyiti, which suggests some intermixing of Keres (Cochiti) and Tewa (San Ildefonso?) peoples on the mesa top. The residents of LA 84 seem to have separated themselves from (or been subordinate to) the main village, "under its eaves" while outside the embrace of its ritual and social complex. A Franciscan silver censer found at the site faintly echoes the preservation of the Santo Niño at Halona.⁴⁴

A similar pattern obtains at the Black Mesa village of Tun'yo, to which the Tewa

⁴⁴ Wilcox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest*, esp. 230–232.

residents of Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and related nearby pueblos retreated in 1681, building a plaza village in accordance with Po'pay's dictates. And again, nearby lay a smaller, irregular settlement that seems at least symbolically removed from the main community. Santa Clara Pueblo was especially riven by conflict between nationalists and Franciscan sympathizers: two brothers from the same mixed-descent Naranjo family served as leaders of both the revolt and the Spanish militia. It seems likely that differences in spiritual affinity might be marked symbolically in the settlement pattern, while the residents preserved bonds of consanguinity by sharing the defensive strength of the mesa top. Since these sites lie on Pueblo land and their ceremonial life is sacred, no archaeological investigations have been conducted thereon, and so we know nothing of their material culture.⁴⁵ Tun'yo and its ancillary settlement on Black Mesa suffered a siege of several months by de Vargas's militia between February and September 1694. War captives later claimed that peoples from the San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Santa Clara, Jacona, Cuyamungue, and Pojoaque pueblos, all Tewa villages but each with its own distinct history, conducted the defense. After repulsing several assaults by Spanish troops, the besieged finally surrendered to a combined Spanish-Pueblo force (150 fighters from Santa Ana, San Felipe, Pecos, and Jemez) in the autumn of 1694, because the attackers had plundered their stores of corn and grain hidden in the valley below, and winter would soon be upon them.⁴⁶

Gathered together on mesa tops for mutual defense against colonial reconquest, the post-revolt pueblos offer evidence that no perfect unity of society, ceremony, or worship prevailed during the era of Pueblo independence. While some of Po'pay's followers sought to implement his new world, others remained uncertain, and perhaps disenchanted with his vision. Refugee sites at Patokwa and Boletsakwa (Jemez) conformed in some respects to the idealized pre-contact era, while the last refuge of the Jemez atop Guadalupe Mesa (Astialakwa) did not. San Felipe Pueblo created a perfect plaza pueblo (Old San Felipe) atop their defensive mesa, while Santa Ana Pueblo settled at Canjilon Pueblo in a small, irregular village (LA 2047).

At least some of that lack of unity reflected gender divisions. Evidence exists that women did not rank high in Po'pay's vision for a restored Pueblo world, and certainly the case of Zuñi suggests that women held a few of the Franciscan friars in esteem. In the Rio Grande Pueblo region, we see recurring deployment of Catholic symbols during the era of independence, in the form of representations of the Virgin or the Sacred Heart in petroglyphs associated with refugee pueblos.⁴⁷ The people who stood apart from Po'pay's evangelism probably did not hew entirely to the pre-revolt Catholic evangelical message either, but worked to straddle dramatic change in what-

⁴⁵ Frances Leon Swadesh (Quintana), "The Structure of Spanish-Indian Relations in New Mexico," in Paul Kutsche, ed., *The Survival of Spanish American Villages* (Colorado Springs, Colo., 1979), 53–61, esp. 57–58; John Peabody Harrington, *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1907–1908), 294–297; discussions with Jason Garcia of Santa Clara Pueblo.

⁴⁶ Rick Hendricks, "Pueblo-Spanish Warfare in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico: The Battles of Black Mesa, Kotyiti, and Astialakwa," in Preucel, *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt*, 180–197.

⁴⁷ Matthew J. Liebmann, "Signs of Power and Resistance: The (Re)Creation of Christian Imagery and Identities in the Pueblo Revolt Era," *ibid.*, 132–144; Liebmann, "Parsing Hybridity: Archaeologies of Amalgamation in Seventeenth Century New Mexico," in Jeb J. Card, ed., *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture* (Carbondale, Ill., 2013), 25–49.

ever fashion would satisfy their spiritual needs while ensuring their likelihood of survival.

However shadowy, the presence of women in efforts to protect and preserve vestiges of Catholic faith and practice during the post-revolt era of Pueblo independence alerts us to a little-understood aspect of life in the Southwest borderlands. Given that women were excluded from most aspects of the Katsina religion and that the Franciscans targeted them for conversion precisely because of their marginality, were women less avid in their response to liberation from Spanish colonialism? Or might something about women's eighty years of experience with Christianity have provided alternative forms of gender-based spiritual practice and expression that spoke to earlier eras before the arrival of the Katsinam? The veneration of certain female saints, St. Anne in particular, is central to indigenous nations in former French Canada (Micmac, Ojibwe), and the beatification of Saint Kateri Tekakwitha (Mohawk), who died the same year as the revolt, delighted many of her indigenous devotees. Even at ultra-traditional Taos Pueblo, the Church of San Geronimo de Taos features only female saints among its statuary, and Cochití elders have claimed that Catholicism is the "women's religion."⁴⁸

SOME FORTY YEARS AFTER FEWKES'S EXCAVATIONS, Awat'ovi Pueblo was the site of a second, more extensive archaeological expedition by the Peabody Museum at Harvard University between 1935 and 1938. That expedition, led by John O. Brew, also became the first major scientific endeavor to feel the growing power of Indian people in the 1930s—its permit was revoked by the Department of Interior in 1939, in direct response to Hopi anger. One Hopi claimed that the archaeological project was akin to Hopis "excavating at Sodom and Gomorrah."

Before their eviction, the members of the Peabody Expedition worked in two areas of the Franciscan mission and "Christian" pueblo complex, producing startling discoveries—most startling in that they have remain unremarked in Southwestern archaeology. Excavating the ruined church's nave, Brew's Hopi workmen removed 118 burials; although interring the dead in that location is forbidden under canon law, it was common throughout the Spanish colonial world. Since Hopi rebels during Po'pay's Revolt had burned and destroyed San Bernardo de Awat'ovi, excavators had a layer of melted adobe and burned timbers that clearly delineated between pre-revolt and post-revolt burials. Sixty-nine of the 118 bodies had been interred *after* the destruction of the church. All had been laid out in extended, Christian, fashion, rather than the flexed-and-bundled fashion of traditional Hopis. Fifty-nine of these "Christian" interments featured burial offerings—an eclectic mix of Catholic saints' medallions, rosary beads, Hopi ceramics, and wooden *pahos* (prayer sticks). Somehow, after the execution of their Franciscan priests and the expulsion of the Spanish

⁴⁸ See Elsie Clews Parsons, "Micmac Notes: St. Ann's Mission on Chapel Island, Bras d'Or Lakes, Cape Breton Island," *Journal of American Folklore* 39, no. 154 (1926): 460–485; Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (St. Paul, Minn., 1955), chaps. 38, 39. St. Ann's Mission has served the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa and Métis since 1885; Melissa Nelson, public statement at author's SAR colloquium, February 17, 2010; T. Lujan, public statement at author's SAR colloquium, February 17, 2010; David M. Brugge, personal communication, February 17, 2010.



FIGURE 5: Burials excavated by J. O. Brew in Awat'ovi Church, 1936. From Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Franciscan Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 96.

presence from the Hopi mesas, some residents of post-revolt Awat'ovi had continued to bury their loved ones in the ruined mission church, accompanied by cherished symbols of both Hopi and Spanish spiritual life.

Brew also reopened Fewkes's "sorcerer's kiva." Again, more bodies were encountered, and more evidence of intense burning was uncovered. Among that charred fill the workmen found several candlesticks, formed of local clay but crafted to mirror the candlesticks once found in the Franciscan mission. When the kiva was completely excavated, its unusual shape struck Brew as worthy of comment—its elongated, rectangular form contrasted with the normally square Hopi kivas, and it featured a stepped "altar" floor above one-third of the kiva floor, perhaps mimicking the altar of the nearby mission church. The beautifully rendered painted murals that covered the four walls, however, featured classic Hopi images of Katsinam, Corn Maidens, and feasting bowls. In other words, in at least one of the kivas in which the attackers trapped their victims, people had been experimenting with combining Hopi and Franciscan imagery, paraphernalia, and spiritual practices during a painful period of uncertainty about their own future, and that of the world.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ John Otis Brew, "The First Two Seasons at Awatovi," *American Antiquity* 3, no. 2 (1937): 122–137; Brew, "1939 Camp Journal," Peabody Museum Archives, Harvard University, Awatovi Expedition Records, 1930–1981, Series: II. Ledgers, Journals & Diaries, 1937–39, box 7; J. O. Brew, "Preliminary Report of the Peabody Museum Awatovi Expedition of 1937," *American Antiquity* 5, no. 2 (1939): 103–114; Brew, "Preliminary Report of the Peabody Museum Awatovi Expedition of 1939," *Plateau* 13, no. 3 (1941): 37–48; Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 95–99. For a 1656 case in which Juan Suñi, a young man at Awat'ovi, was punished for "imitating the priests" and "leading the Indians to understand things he shouldn't have," see Anton Daughters, "'Grave Offenses Worthy of Great Punishment': The Enslavement of Juan Suñi," *Journal of the Southwest* 54, no. 3 (Autumn 2012): 437–452, quotations from 438; Peter Whiteley also sees spiritual experimentation at the root of the Awat'ovi

In light of the events of the preceding millennium, gendered violence and painful transactions in women seem intensely central to the catastrophe at Awat'ovi Pueblo in the autumn of 1700, and to the survival of its remnant peoples. While Spanish accounts of the internecine massacre attributed it to Awat'ovi's friendly reception of returning Franciscan missionaries, many Hopi oral histories blame sexual transgressions within and across village boundaries for the crisis, and these stories abound with promises of women to those pueblo warriors from Shungopovi, Shipaulovi, Oraibi, Walpi, and Hano who would assist in the sack. In the case of Awat'ovi, experimental piety—born of women's liminal religious experience in this borderlands community—seemingly constituted the “transgression” that caused senior leadership at the pueblo to summon its destruction. More ancient Hopi narratives of obliteration, rescue, and redemption obscure similar acts of experimentation and violent discipline—a purification through massive obliteration, death, and the punishment of captivity and assimilation. Consumed by violence or consumed as involuntary adoptees, women are central to our story.⁵⁰

Women's productive and reproductive capacities spared some in this case (and doubtless in many others, when we extend the question to the wider Pueblo experience). Surviving Awat'ovi women brought the Mamzrau ritual to the village of Walpi and the Sand, Rabbit, Coyote, and Butterfly clans to Oraibi. Others may have found “voluntary captivity” among Navajo bands in nearby Jeddito Wash, for Navajo traditions indicate that their Tobacco, Deer, Rabbit, and Tansy Mustard clans descended from clan mothers who escaped death at Awat'ovi. Here the women's “power to endure” was underwritten by the victims' cultural repertoires and reproductive abilities.⁵¹

FOUR POWERFUL EVANGELICAL MOVEMENTS APPEARED during the thousand years from A.D. 750 to 1750. The Chaco Phenomenon likely elevated male power to heights never before seen in the generally egalitarian pre-Chacoan world, and Chaco's decline may have been hastened in part, at least, by women's gradual disenchantment with the asymmetries therein. The end of the “Pax Chaco” brought widespread terror to the region, a power vacuum that would be filled by the new Katsina evangelical warriors, who again confirmed men as the arbiters of the numinous. Franciscan Catholicism, which shattered both traditional priesthoods and Pueblo populations in general through conversion and disease, also seems to have attracted adherents from among disfranchised outsiders and women. Po'pay's Revolt may have been as much a last-gasp eruption of the old priesthood as it was a war for independence.

massacre, in his case the use of peyote; Whiteley, “Re-imagining Awat'ovi,” in Preucel, *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt*, 147–166.

⁵⁰ For women's gender-role transgressions and adulteries that led to the destruction of Palatkwapi, see Courlander, *The Fourth World of the Hopis*, chap. 4; for women's sorcery that caused the abandonment of Huck'ovi, see *ibid.*, chap. 11, and Ekkehart Malotki, ed. and trans., *Hopi Tales of Destruction* (Lincoln, Neb., 2002), chap. 5; for the decision of the village leader at Sikyatki to invite its annihilation by warriors from ancestral Walpi because of sexual jealousies fomented by sorcerers, see *ibid.*, chap. 4.

⁵¹ David M. Brugge, *The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute: An American Tragedy* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1999), 8.

By the middle years of the eighteenth century, Catholic missions had been re-established among the Rio Grande Pueblos, much reduced in their architectural footprints and considerably more tolerant of traditional Pueblo ceremonialism, which remained in the domain of men. With the seventeenth-century *encomienda* and *repartimiento* systems abolished, tributary demands on Pueblo agriculture were alleviated, and Pueblo warriors now formed a key military auxiliary to Spanish efforts to defend the colony from equestrian raiders such as the Comanches, Apaches, Kiowas, and Navajos. Pueblo women remained in low profile, but provided the devotional core of a new “compartmentalized” Christian practice.

Catholicism would not return to the Hopi mesas until 1928, in the Saint Joseph Mission in Keams Canyon, and even then the church came to minister to local Navajos, not the Hopis. In June 2000, Hopi tribal chairman Wayne Taylor invited Bishop Donald Pelotte to meet with a small group of thirty Hopi Catholics. “In meaningful dialogue,” Pelotte “expressed to them his sincere sorrow for any contribution the Catholic Church or any of its members may have had to the painful history shared by the Catholic Church and the Hopi.”⁵²

⁵² *St. Joseph Mission since 1928: History of the Church*, <http://www.stjosephmission.com/HISTORY.html>.

James F. Brooks is President of the School for Advanced Research (SAR), a center for advanced study in the social sciences, humanities, and indigenous arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. An interdisciplinary scholar of intercultural borderlands, he has held faculty appointments at the University of Maryland, the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the University of California, Berkeley, as well as fellowships at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and at the SAR. His book *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (University of North Carolina Press, 2002) focused on the traffic in women and children across the region as an expression of intercultural violence and accommodation. He is at work on *Mesa of Sorrows: Archaeology, Prophecy, and the Ghosts of Awat'ovi Pueblo*, which is under contract with W. W. Norton.

AHR Forum
Contested Conjunctures:
Brahman Communities and “Early Modernity” in India

ROSALIND O'HANLON

AN ASPECT OF THE SENSIBILITY that historians have come to call “modern” is the sense of living on the other side of a profound rupture. As David Lowenthal observed back in 1985, many societies and cultures have in fact understood their history in terms of dramatic discontinuities, watersheds, and fault lines separating eras.¹ These “great divides” have been associated with politics and the state, as, for example, in the “new eras” that have been inaugurated by universal monarchs in many different historical and cultural settings. They may be associated with the trauma of warfare, conquest, or natural disaster, which seem to have obliterated old worlds and brought new and unrecognizable ones into being. Ideas of fall, loss, or exile appear in many of the world’s great religious traditions. The idea of a great “pre” appears in many societies and historical periods.

Yet it is in the context of debates about modernity that the idea of a great “pre” becomes particularly charged. The sense of rupture is expressed nowhere more strongly than in the internal and affective states associated with “modernity.” Scholars have pressed history, philosophy, literary criticism, and other disciplines into service in the quest to delineate the quandaries of the “modern” self, and put forward a whole raft of qualities and sensibilities as defining the epochal shift understood to characterize its mode of experiencing the world. Reflexive self-consciousness, the sense of inhabiting a disenchanted and disposable world, new ways of understanding past eras with the declining influence of religious eschatology, and the dislocating sense of a world now accelerating toward an open future have all been taken as conditions of the modern self.² “Modernity” here seems to be defined above all as a state of mind: as Christopher Bayly has remarked, the most obvious thing that makes people “modern” is that they think they are.³

For conversations that helped develop arguments in this article, I thank Chris Bayly, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Konstantin Dierks, Sumit Guha, Chris Minkowski, David Washbrook, and the anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*.

¹ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985), 5–8.

² See in particular the arguments of Reinhart Koselleck, “The Eighteenth Century as the Beginning of Modernity,” in Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford, Calif., 2002), 154–169. Some of these questions are also discussed in the *AHR* Roundtable “Historians and the Question of ‘Modernity,’” *American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (June 2011): 631–751.

³ C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford, 2004), 10.

As is well known, this sense of a unique kind of rupture poses problems of many different kinds for history-writing. Most obvious is the continuing ideological freight of the "modern." Despite the critiques of "modernization theory" since the 1970s, and the severe crisis of our own times in the "modern" economies of the West, the idea of the "modern" retains much of its older powerful and positive charge, its sense of location at the forefront of the advancing current of time. This makes it difficult to escape at least implied teleologies in writing histories of the *longue durée*, while those of the remoter past seem harder to grasp in the face of the pressing demands of the modern for attention and "relevance." As Thomas Trautmann has observed, the dominating effect of modernity has contributed to a shrinking of fields and interests within the historical profession itself toward histories of the eighteenth century and after.⁴

Most of all, it has been difficult to write about modernity from within the "modern" itself, to offer a perspective on this sense of epochal change rather than simply affirming its sense of its own historical novelty and importance. This is not just an extreme example of the perspectival quandary of all historians, who must work with the intellectual tools and assumptions given them by their own times. Rather, the problem is that the discipline of history as we have come to know it is itself the product of modernity: not just in its institutional structure, or the focus of so much of it on aspects of the history of the state, but in its ways of perceiving time itself. As Reinhart Koselleck and many others have observed, "modern" modes of historical understanding become possible only when we cease to see in history a pre-ordained divine design or a repository of great moral exemplars for the future, and begin to apprehend it rather as a movement toward an uncertain and open future.⁵ This is what continues to give the "modern" its particular ideological charge, even in the face of fierce and skeptical critique.

These questions present a rather different challenge for histories of the colonial and postcolonial worlds. Scholars in the field of postcolonial studies ask what it means for our conceptions of "modernity" when peasants also turn out to be engaged citizen subjects, when "bourgeois" classes exercise personal and feudal forms of authority over their dependent workers, and when the gods turn out to be as effective at political recruitment as the machinery of political parties. As Dipesh Chakrabarty and many others have suggested, it becomes ever more implausible to view these societies as still-developing imperfect versions of an ideal modern.⁶

From the mid-1980s, the Subaltern Studies group of historians of India took a leading part in these reflections, seeking a clear break from the still-significant influences of imperial, Marxist, and nationalist histories. For these historians, India's political development did not entail an enlightened nationalist bourgeoisie leading a peasant-based society into a new age of liberal and capitalist modernity. Rather, India's bourgeois nationalists found themselves in the end deeply dependent on the

⁴ Thomas R. Trautmann, *The Clash of Chronologies: Ancient India in the Modern World* (New Delhi, 2009), xv–xvi.

⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 10–25. For a general discussion, see also Penelope J. Corfield, *Time and the Shape of History* (New Haven, Conn., 2007).

⁶ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies* (Chicago, 2002).

repressive machinery of colonial government. India's popular classes in fact developed their own political agendas, often drawing on older communitarian social institutions profoundly at odds with the logic of colonial capitalism. They resisted the colonial state's focus on private property rights, its statist ideas of the political, and its emphasis on a particular model of science and reason. In developing these perspectives, many of the Subaltern historians drew particularly on the work of Michel Foucault and Edward Said, which, as is well known, illuminated the close relationship between power and knowledge in the modern state and, in the case of Said, the need for colonial archives to be read in new ways if the voices of the colonized were to be heard within them.⁷

These perspectives have had different, indeed contradictory, implications for the notion of modernity as a great divide. On the one hand, they disrupt the idea of any staged progression toward "modernity." The worlds of the peasant and the modern state turn out not to be counterposed after all, but rather to commingle in ways that make nonsense of received ideas about a transition from "tradition" to "modernity." Yet the principle of a rupture does remain. Many Subaltern historians posited the existence of a precolonial communitarian culture of the peasant with its own independent norms and values, deeply hostile to the rationalities of the colonial state, and the basis of peasant "insurgencies" against its culture and values. Here, then, the world of the "pre" is pushed backward, over the horizon of real investigation for the project itself, whose chosen focus is very much the world of colonial society and the colonial state. However, this precolonial world of the peasant has been assumed rather than demonstrated, through systematic research of the kind that has been directed at the colonial period.⁸ In fact, the very success of postcolonial studies reinforces this leaning away from the precolonial, in the suggestion that our conceptions of older historical periods are likely to be the tainted back-projections of colonial knowledge.

In the context of India's history, it may be possible to resolve some of the questions about modernity and the "pre" through a focus on the "early modern" centuries. As the work of a growing number of historians now attests, many of the features of what in other settings we think of as "modernity" began to develop in India's economies, social institutions, and forms of the state. This was very much in the context of India's position at the center of the world's first truly global economy, emerging from the early sixteenth century. It was scribal elites, particularly Brahmins, whose skills and mobility facilitated many of the key developments of "early modernity" in India, yet their regional histories were often divergent and contradictory. Histories of modernity in India may best be understood in terms of uneven and sometimes paradoxical continuities rather than profound rupture and a great "pre," whether this is the "pre" of old-fashioned modernization theory or the "pre" of a communitarian past that in some ways seems to stand outside history.

⁷ For an overview of the debates associated with the work of these historians, see David Ludden, ed., *Reading Subaltern Studies: Critical History, Contested Meaning and the Globalisation of South Asia* (New Delhi, 2001).

⁸ Many critics have made this point, but see in particular Thomas Blom Hansen, "Inside the Romanticist Episteme," *Social Scientist* 24, no. 1–3 (1996): 59–79; and Christian Lee Novetzke, "The Subaltern Numen: Making History in the Name of God," *Journal of the History of Religions* 46, no. 2 (2006): 99–126.

MEASURING AND VALUING TIME WAS CENTRAL to political practice in India's imperial traditions. India's own traditions of reflection on its past contain many ways of measuring and representing time, including the cyclical time of *yugas* and *kalpas* employed for priestly and ritual purposes within Hindu religious cultures, and the linear time present in genealogical and dynastic histories of royal power.⁹ Aspirants to imperial power commonly founded their own new eras, since part of being an emperor, a *chakravartin*, or indeed one of India's Mughal sultans was to command time.¹⁰ State documents therefore sometimes had to carry the dates of more than one calendar of regnal time. As Sumit Guha has noted, this meant that contemporaries at many different levels of society became accustomed to thinking simultaneously within the calendars of different eras.¹¹ Attributing meaning to particular "eras" of time was also common in other areas of cultural and intellectual life. Bureaucrats and petty gentry serving India's regional states in the eighteenth century commonly referred to *inqilab*, the era of change and disorder in imperial affairs associated with the later Mughal emperors.¹² Sanskrit intellectuals in this period began to revise their relationship to their own traditions, and to categorize the views of scholars and schools as "ancient," "modern," "very modern," and "contemporary."¹³

For local officials, landlords, peasant proprietors large and small, and even the humblest of service people, the reigns of regional kings and local lords were vital markers in a rather different way. Property rights in colonial India, and the long struggle of colonial officials to reshape them in order to foster productive efficiencies, have long compelled scholarly attention.¹⁴ So much so, in fact, that it has been easy in recent years to underestimate the critical importance of property rights, particularly rural property rights, in the centuries before the coming of colonialism. Some of those rights derived originally from royal or lordly grants, and others from local entitlements established when peasant pioneers cleared land and founded new village settlements.¹⁵ The owners of such long-established rights often described them as handed down *dar karkirdi dar karkirdi*, "from one ruler's administration to the next."¹⁶

⁹ Romila Thapar, "Cyclic and Linear Time in Early India," in Katinka Ridderbos, ed., *Time* (Cambridge, 2002), 27–45.

¹⁰ Ronald B. Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford, 1990), 253–257; Harbans Mukhia, "Time in Abu'l Fazl's Historiography," *Studies in History* 25, no. 1 (January–June 2009): 1–12; Lisa Balabanlilar, "Lords of the Auspicious Conjunction: Turco-Mongol Imperial Identity on the Subcontinent," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (March 2007): 1–39.

¹¹ Sumit Guha, "Speaking Historically: The Changing Voices of Historical Narration in Western India, 1400–1900," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 4 (October 2004): 1084–1103.

¹² Kumkum Chatterjee, "History as Self-Representation: The Recasting of a Political Tradition in Late Eighteenth-Century Eastern India," *Modern Asian Studies* 32, no. 4 (1998): 913–948.

¹³ Sheldon Pollock, "New Intellectuals in Seventeenth Century India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 38, no. 1 (2001): 3–31, here 8; Lawrence McCrea, "Playing with the System: Fragmentation and Individualization in Late Pre-colonial Mīmāṃsā," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 36, no. 5–6 (2008): 575–585; Jonardon Ganeri, *The Lost Age of Reason: Philosophy in Early Modern India, 1450–1700* (Oxford, 2011).

¹⁴ Burton Stein, ed., *The Making of Agrarian Policy in British India, 1700–1900* (Delhi, 1992).

¹⁵ For the character of these rights in western India, see in particular the groundbreaking work of Frank Perlin, "Of White Whale and Countrymen in the Eighteenth-Century Maratha Deccan: Extended Class Relations, Rights, and the Problem of Rural Autonomy under the Old Regime," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 5, no. 2 (1978): 172–237.

¹⁶ See, for example, "Mazhar [Judgment]" (January 15, 1667), *Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly* 90, no. 2 (October 1942): 75.

The eras of India's past preoccupied the first generations of British orientalist scholars in India in rather different ways. For some, the "real" India was to be found in the classical culture of Sanskrit, with its unmatched achievements in literature, philosophy, and religion. These achievements were of absorbing interest, too, because they seemed to contain elements of the wisdom of the wider ancient world, which might be used to confirm parts of Old Testament history.¹⁷ British observers of the nineteenth century characteristically adopted a narrower and more overtly moralizing frame of reference. India's history was to be understood in terms of a classical "Hindu" and a medieval "Muslim" India that brought forms of administrative rationality of an authoritarian kind, beneath which Hindu cultures decayed. These contrasted with Britain's own civilizing "modernity."¹⁸ This ordering also had a wider, and implicit, European frame of reference, in Renaissance and Enlightenment contrasts between the achievements of civilization during Europe's classical past and the subsequent decay of thought and culture associated with the feudal centuries.

For many Indian intellectuals of the colonial period, on the other hand, the eras of India's history had equally intense moral significance, but of a different kind: as a mode of political reflection on India's colonial subjection in a world of independent national states. For the historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the political unity and administrative rationality ushered in during the Mughal centuries might have carried India forward toward its own national modernity had it not been for the ineptitude of its later Mughal rulers.¹⁹ For the liberal M. G. Ranade, historian of the Maratha state of western India and its rebellion against the Mughals, here were all the elements of a national revival, but it was cut off by the combination of corrupt rulers and the coming of the British.²⁰

In many ways, history-writing in India's immediate postcolonial decades saw a hardening around the categories of "classical," "medieval," and "modern" associated with colonial intellectual culture. Marxist history-writing during those decades broke only slowly from the notion that India's history remained "medieval" until the eighteenth century, while nationalist history-writing was naturally preoccupied with India's struggle for "modernity" in the shape of political freedom within a new national state. As Romila Thapar and others have pointed out, the assertive Hindu nationalism of the 1980s gave the schema of "classical," "medieval," and "modern" new impetus.²¹ Hindu nationalists compared the glories of India's ancient Hindu civilization with the "medieval regression" of its Muslim centuries, valuations that received concrete embodiment in the violent destruction in 1992 of the Mughal-era Babri mosque, supposedly built on the site of an ancient Hindu temple in the north-

¹⁷ Michael S. Dodson, *Orientalism, Empire and National Culture: India, 1770–1880* (Basingstoke, 2007), 18–40.

¹⁸ A well-known contrast is in James Mill, *The History of British India*, 3 vols. (London, 1817), 2: bk. III, chap. 5.

¹⁹ A. R. Kulkarni, "Jadunath Sarkar as a Historian of the Marathas," in Kulkarni, *Studies in Maratha History* (Pune, 2008), 193–231; Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Muddle of Modernity," *American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (June 2011): 663–675.

²⁰ M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power* (Bombay, 1900).

²¹ Romila Thapar, "Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity," *Modern Asian Studies* 23, no. 2 (1989): 209–231.

ern Indian city of Ayodhya.²² Along with many others, historians of the Subaltern Studies group came forward to contest these ideas. They focused on the essentially modern and colonial origins of communal antagonisms in India, as the product of colonialism's fostering of "Hindu" and "Muslim" as monolithic and counterposed religious identities.²³

Other scholars continue to reflect on the nature of India's past in the centuries before the coming of colonialism. There have been major new approaches to the idea of "medieval" India, taken to span the great imperial formations of the late first millennium, the era of their fragmentation during the Ghaznavid and Ghurid invasions, and the profound changes that accompanied the spread of an Islamicate culture to many parts of India after the establishment of the Deccan Sultanate states in the north from the early thirteenth century. Important studies have suggested that the idea of a "medieval" India is insufficiently flexible to capture the great regional and temporary diversity of states and societies in the subcontinent during these early centuries of what Sheldon Pollock has called India's "vernacular millennium."²⁴ Other scholars found valuable new perspectives in the idea of an "early modern" period, already well established as a concept in histories of Europe. For these scholars, "early modernity" suggested a rupture with India's medieval past that occurred before the coming of colonialism. It did so by placing the Indian subcontinent very much in the context of its important global history between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.

This was a fundamental reorientation. As the world's premier exporter of craft manufactures during these centuries, India had come to stand at the center of the world's first truly global system of trade, with profound repercussions for the nature of its states, economies, and social institutions. "Early modernity" drew attention not only to these new structures and alignments, but also to the major economic, political, and cultural reorientation effected by the colonial state. This reorientation severed the ties linking northern India to Central and West Asia, and southern India to the Indian Ocean world. It replaced those ties with a subordinate place for a unitary "India" in Britain's global empire. Thus disrupting teleological histories of the national state in India, the concept of "early modernity" was also valuable because it displaced colonialism's own paradigm of modernization. It did so not least by suggesting, and for some key regions of China and Japan as well as for India, forms of "modernity" that emerged before the coming of colonialism, and emerged outside Europe.

²² There is a very large literature here, but see in particular Radhika Desai, *Slouching towards Ayodhya: From Congress to Hindutva in Indian Politics* (New Delhi, 2004).

²³ A leading position was taken here in the work of the Subaltern historian Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Delhi, 1990).

²⁴ Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (New Delhi, 2007). See also the important reflections in Whitney M. Cox, "Scribe and Script in the Calukya West Deccan," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 47, no. 1 (2010): 1–28. See also Inden, *Imagining India*; Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India* (Delhi, 1994); Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters, and Daud Ali, *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia* (Oxford, 2000); Cynthia Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra* (Delhi, 2001); Daud Ali, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (Cambridge, 2004); and Sunil Kumar, *The Emergence of the Delhi Sultanate, 1192–1286* (Delhi, 2007).

FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SOUTH ASIA, John Richards and Sanjay Subrahmanyam have provided us with the most succinct statements of what “early modernity” might mean as a global historical perspective.²⁵ Between roughly 1500 and 1800, a truly global world economy emerged, in which long-distance commerce connected societies on every continent. Carried by the European trading companies, New World silver gave a powerful boost to the monetization of economies across Eurasia’s great agrarian empires. The same period saw the growth of large-scale, stable territorial states, which both benefited from and in turn stimulated the commercialization of agrarian economies and the development of new forms of property rights. An estimated doubling of the world’s population accompanied these changes, made possible in part by the arrival of new food crops. The opening of new lands to large-scale plantation crops, and the demand for human labor that accompanied them, brought new dimensions to agrarian production, and created new flows of commodities and people across the world’s trading networks. Many of these shifts in global patterns of trade and exchange were coercive in character, and underpinned by the new gunpowder-related military technologies. As Subrahmanyam in particular has emphasized, these discrete developments were not simply simultaneous. They were, in fact, “conjunctural” in character, mutually facilitating and reinforcing in their effects to create a powerful moment of transformation in the world’s history.

The effects of this conjuncture were also visible in the intellectual life of courts, cities, and state bureaucracies, and in the mentalities of those who inhabited them. New imperial states, from Habsburg Spain and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Europe to Safavid Iran, Mughal India, and China under the Qing Dynasty, promoted the mobility of ever greater numbers of specialized personnel: bureaucrats and revenue managers, specialist military men, artists and artisans, scholars of law and religion. These movements promoted the exchange of ideas in the fields of theology, political ethics, philosophy, and history, and a more self-consciously critical engagement with inherited traditions.²⁶ Alongside the “cosmopolitan” languages of Latin, Persian, and Sanskrit, vernacular languages began to develop as vehicles for literature, shaping an emerging sense of ethnic identity at the level of the regional states consolidating themselves beneath the umbrellas of the great agrarian empires of the period.²⁷ Literary genres developed to give expression to what was sometimes more self-consciously individual experience, from travel accounts to early forms of autobiography.²⁸ Boosted by new technologies, particularly expanding paper use and wooden and movable metal type, this world of discussion and circulation of news and

²⁵ John F. Richards, “Early Modern India and World History,” *Journal of World History* 8, no. 2 (1997): 197–209; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–762; Subrahmanyam, “Hearing Voices: Vignettes of Early Modernity in South Asia, 1400–1750,” *Daedalus* 127, no. 3 (1998): 75–104; Subrahmanyam, *Penumbral Visions: Making Politics in Early Modern South India* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2001), 260–265.

²⁶ Many historians have explored these themes. For recent work on India in particular, see the essays in Sheldon Pollock, ed., *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500–1800* (Durham, N.C., 2011); Ganeri, *The Lost Age of Reason*; Rosalind O’Hanlon and David Washbrook, eds., *Religious Cultures in Early Modern India: New Perspectives* (Abingdon, 2011); Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam: India, 1200–1800* (London, 2004).

²⁷ For India, see Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, chaps. 8–12.

²⁸ Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 2007).

ideas drew in literati from urban and courtly centers, and came to constitute an early form of the "public sphere."²⁹

Naturally, these large-scale characterizations have drawn scholarly attack. For Jack Goldstone, we would do better to think of a world dominated by relatively stable "advanced organic societies," which had elaborated state forms and relatively commercialized economies, but had yet to overcome the organic limits to their growth by learning how to exploit fossil fuels. These societies, Goldstone suggests, emerged first in the great agrarian empires of Asia early in the second millennium, and spread to Europe by the sixteenth century. It was only from the late seventeenth century that one of them, Britain, suddenly broke free of those limits and transformed itself rapidly and dramatically into the world's first "modern" society, acquiring in the process the largest empire the world had ever known. For most of the world, therefore, even for most of Europe, there were no "modern" societies before the nineteenth century.³⁰

A second type of critique focuses on the realms of intellectual, literary, and cultural history, of ideas and sensibilities. These dimensions of culture have very often acted as the most striking indicators of "modernity" for us, yet they raise particularly difficult questions for the world outside Europe, given the relative paucity of our knowledge of intellectual histories and traditions in many of those regions. For India, for example, Sheldon Pollock has questioned the extent to which we can know that intellectuals of the early modern era really shared any of these preoccupations, since great tracts of precolonial India's intellectual history have yet to receive serious scholarly investigation.³¹ It is notable, indeed, that one of the most developed analyses of the emergence of the "modern self," that of Reinhart Koselleck, is quite explicit in limiting itself to the experience of the Western world.³²

Nonetheless, Pollock has expressed deep skepticism about the degree to which India's intellectual history shared in these aspects of "early modernity" in any sustained way. Indian intellectual history may not have developed the same level of reflective preoccupation with "modern" questions about individual political rights simply because the history of the state and of institutionalized religion in India has been different. While their rhetoric may have been centralizing, the reality was that Delhi's emperors shared their royal power with rulers of regional states and lesser local lords. Multiple institutions laid claim to authority in matters of religion, and there was a remarkable degree of individual freedom in matters of personal belief

²⁹ Some recent engagements with this theme are Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, eds., *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge* (New York, 2009); Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Babak Rahimi, *Theater State and the Formation of [the] Early Modern Public Sphere in Iran: Studies on Safavid Muharram Rituals, 1590–1641 CE* (Leiden, 2011); C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, 1996); Subrahmanyam, *Penumbra Visions*, chap. 7; Bin Wong, "Great Expectations: The 'Public Sphere' and the Search for Modern Times in Chinese History," *Chugokushi gaku* (*Studies in Chinese History*) 3 (October 1993): 7–50; Gail Lee Bernstein, Andrew Gordon, and Kate Wildman Nakai, eds., *Public Sphere, Private Lives in Modern Japan, 1600–1950: Essays in Honor of Albert Craig* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

³⁰ Jack A. Goldstone, "The Problem of the 'Early Modern' World," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 3 (1998): 249–284. For another skeptical view, see Randolph Starn, "The Early Modern Muddle," *Journal of Early Modern History* 6, no. 3 (2002): 296–307.

³¹ Sheldon Pollock, "Introduction," in Pollock, *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia*, 1–6.

³² Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History*, 157.

(if not of practice). There was, Pollock has argued, an “early modern” moment in the seventeenth century, when Sanskrit intellectuals tried to recast their relationship with their predecessors, but that moment passed quickly under the weight of tradition marked more by continuities of thought than by rupture.³³

A third type of critique comes out of a concern with the implications of the type of global history implied in the idea of “early modernity” for the still highly charged debate about “modernity” itself. The point of criticism here is that to talk of “modernity” at all is still in some sense to talk about the history of the world from the point of view of the West. Dipesh Chakrabarty is skeptical that precolonial India developed state forms or social institutions that paralleled those of Europe, or that Indian thinkers engaged in anything like the same self-reflexive debates about the making of a world that they saw becoming “modern.” Rather, he suggests that the idea of an “early modernity” in the world beyond Europe may simply be an “equal opportunity” version of old-fashioned modernization theory, the result of our own present wish to concede “modernity” to all parts of the world.³⁴

These three points of critique raise different questions and issues. With regard to the first, it seems difficult to agree that we can see the great agrarian empires of Asia in particular persisting, as “advanced organic societies,” in the same basic equilibrium from early in the second millennium to their modernizing revolutions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a large body of scholarly literature now attests, the “early modern” centuries were marked by dynamic social and economic changes within these empires, which anticipated some elements in the historically distinctive “modernity” of the modern West. Of course, these changes occurred unevenly across the world over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it is not possible to point to tidy breaks. In the case of India, the Delhi Sultanate states that ruled northern India between 1206 and 1526 prepared the ground for many of the state forms, economies, and cultures of the Mughal Empire. However, the arrival of the Portuguese and silver bullion from the New World, which laid the basis for the shift to a money economy that occurred under the Mughals, imparted an altogether new dynamism to the pace of social change.

What “modernity” and “early modernity” might mean outside Europe remain much more difficult questions. Sudipto Kaviraj usefully reminds us that there are unproductive ways to answer them. It does not help us to take an “indigenist” approach to modernity by suggesting that the developmental trajectory of each society is unique and its “modernity” is to be understood only in terms of its own internal concepts. Nor can we evade these questions by seeking to deny the historical particularity of the modern itself, with all of its still-present cultural freight.³⁵ What, then, might the coming of “modernity” mean outside the European setting with which it has so long and so exclusively been identified?

Two approaches are possible here. One is that taken by Kaviraj. It identifies a historically distinctive “modernity” that did indeed emerge first and exclusively in Europe. But its diffusion through many parts of the world did not produce homo-

³³ Sheldon Pollock, “Pretextures of Time,” *History and Theory* 46, no. 3 (October 2007): 336–383; Pollock, *The Ends of Man at the End of Premodernity* (Amsterdam, 2005), 85–88.

³⁴ Chakrabarty, “The Muddle of Modernity,” 672.

³⁵ Sudipto Kaviraj, “An Outline of a Revisionist Theory of Modernity,” *European Journal of Sociology* 46, no. 3 (2005): 497–526.

geneity or convergence; rather, it created new diversities as it indigenized itself in non-Western societies, their preexisting histories shaping the “modernity” of the West to new local and multiform purposes that cannot simply be traced back to a European original. India’s caste system would be an example here. Very much a part of India’s earlier social and religious history, caste has in recent decades assumed a major new significance in modern India’s democracy, as a kind of vehicle for the incorporation of what used to be politically marginal communities into the mainstream of politics.³⁶

Alternatively, we can take the view that some of these preexisting social histories had already—and as a local consequence of “early modernity” as a global condition—come to develop some features that we associate with the historically distinctive phenomenon of “modernity” in Europe. For India, Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam have best developed this argument in their study of what might be described as the “paradigmatic” class of the early modern centuries: the scribal specialists who emerged to meet the needs of contemporary states, with their expanding paper-based bureaucracies and their growing dependence on cash revenues.³⁷ In the wealthy and commercialized states of southern India, this class took the form of a stratum of *karanam* clerks, multilingual literati who were familiar with the bureaucratic and fiscal protocols of these states, documented their histories, elaborated their principles of statecraft, drew moral conclusions from the luxury of their courts, and narrated the events of their decline. This culture marked the arrival of “a certain kind of ‘modernity’ in the far south,” in the *karanams*’ consciousness of themselves as individual authors, their affirmation of human agency and complex causalities in the histories they documented, and their sense of moral vision in principles of *niti* or ethical statecraft.³⁸ In this view, “modernity” as a historically distinctive assemblage of cultural qualities had multiple points of origin around the globe.³⁹

EARLY MODERN INDIA’S REGIONALLY DISPERSED Brahman communities shared certain ritual entitlements and obligations in common, but also differed widely in their modes of life and livelihood, class, culture, and regional identities. In northern India, a flourishing class of Kayastha scribal specialists, themselves not Brahman but rather successfully acculturated to the Persianate milieu of northern India’s Muslim courts, supplied many of the mundane administrative needs of local states. In the royal

³⁶ On this point, see the discussion in Rajeev Bhargava, “Are There Alternative Modernities?,” in N. N. Vorah, ed., *Culture, Democracy, and Development in South Asia* (Delhi, 2001), 9–26.

³⁷ Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India, 1600–1800* (New Delhi, 2001).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 264. Other studies of scribal communities in early modern India are Guha, “Speaking Historically”; Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts: Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700–1960* (New York, 2007), chap. 1; and the essays in Rosalind O’Hanlon and David Washbrook eds., *Munshis, Pandits and Record-Keepers: Scribal Communities and Historical Change in India*, Special Issue, *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 47, no. 4 (2010).

³⁹ Interestingly, the historian Partha Chatterjee, whose work has contributed very substantially to the Subaltern Studies project, has employed the perspective of the “early modern” in his recent study of the notorious “Black Hole of Calcutta” and the cultural significance it came to assume during the colonial period. See Chatterjee, *The Black Hole of Empire: History of a Global Practice of Power* (Princeton, N.J., 2012), chaps. 3–5.

courts and cities of the north, therefore, Brahmans found themselves in great demand for their skills in ritual, religious law, literature, and the exact sciences, and merchants as well as kingly patrons were prepared to pay richly for them. At the Mughal courts of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, Brahmans also found a flourishing intellectual culture of exchange and inquiry that spanned the worlds of Sanskrit, Persian, and even Arabic learning.⁴⁰

In southern India, on the other hand, Brahmans were in demand as much for their worldly administrative and scribal skills as for their ritual prestige and expertise. In the well-watered environs of southern India's great rivers, a dynamic cash-based economy had emerged by the early sixteenth century, underpinning the wealth and power of the Vijayanagar Empire and its Nayaka successor states. It was in this setting that the distinctive "temple Hinduism" of southern India developed. Here, legitimate kingship derived not primarily from the ritual endorsement of Brahman priests, but from the flow of wealth from courts to temples, in an economy of conspicuous consumption that saw the gods themselves as the greatest consumers of all, and kings the most munificent of their devotees.⁴¹

The Brahman communities of western India's Marathi-speaking regions offer a further comparison.⁴² The coastal littoral of the Konkan was also an early target of Portuguese, British, French, and Dutch commercial ambition, drawn by the rich trade in Arab horses, textiles, precious stones, and spices that moved through its ports. But much of the Konkan itself, and of Maharashtra's dry and famine-prone Deccan uplands, offered a relatively harsher environment for its Brahman communities than did southern India. Maharashtra was not able to support great temple complexes, or traditions of major royal gifting to communities of pious Brahmans. Some found patronage at the courts of petty local rulers, but most made their living as village revenue officers, *vaidya* medical practitioners, astrologers, and priests. Outside the region's important traditions of devotional religion, these Brahmans maintained a settled and conservative Sanskrit culture, in which the values of religious hierarchy helped them defend their precariously maintained local prestige.

This local Brahman scribal class provided the administrative foundations for the Muslim states of western India. The Bahmani Empire reached the pinnacle of its power during the late fifteenth century. Its ambitious Iranian merchant vizier Mahmud Gawan (r. 1466–1481) established an important Bahmani presence in the trades of the Persian Gulf, and introduced a new effectiveness in revenue collection and military administration, the better to challenge the power of the Vijayanagar

⁴⁰ For aspects of this intellectual and courtly culture, see Rajeev Kinra, "Master and Munshi: A Brahman Secretary's Guide to Mughal Governance," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 47, no. 4 (2010): 527–562; Allison Busch, *Poetry of Kings: The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India* (Oxford, 2011); Audrey Truschke, "Cosmopolitan Encounters: Sanskrit and Persian at the Mughal Court" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2012).

⁴¹ Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu* (Delhi, 1992).

⁴² These regions now constitute the modern Indian state of Maharashtra. General histories of western India in this period are in Hiroshi Fukazawa, *The Medieval Deccan: Peasants, Social Systems, and States, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Delhi, 1991); Hiroyuki Kotani, *Western India in Historical Transition* (Delhi, 2002); Stewart Gordon, *The Marathas, 1600–1818* (Cambridge, 1993); Richard M. Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300–1761: Eight Indian Lives* (Cambridge, 2005); André Wink, *Land and Sovereignty in India: Agrarian Society and Politics under the Eighteenth-Century Maratha Svarājya* (Cambridge, 1986).

Empire in southern India.⁴³ Out of the Bahmani disintegration in the early sixteenth century emerged the five states of the Deccan Sultanate, just as the Portuguese began to entrench themselves on the Konkan coast, taking Goa in 1510. Playing Vijayanagar and the Deccan Sultanate states off against one another, particularly in the supply of warhorses, quickly became a key part of Portuguese strategy.

This conjuncture—the late-fifteenth-century high point of the Bahmani Kingdom, with its novel administrative, military, and commercial ambitions, and the arrival shortly thereafter of the Portuguese—might be said to mark the beginning of the “early modern” in western India. It gained its fullest expression with the consolidation of Mughal power from the late sixteenth century, and of the regional state system and regional vernacular identities that came to flourish under the Mughal imperial umbrella. In this setting, many members of Maharashtra's Brahman communities found remarkable new opportunities. The development of a cash economy and the increasing use of paper records created demands for both their accounting skills and their record-keeping expertise. By the later seventeenth century, Brahman families had emerged as a powerful economic and political force in the Maratha countryside, as major landowners, bankers, moneylenders, and influential state officials.

The rise of regional kingdoms, as well as the Mughal court itself, created patronage opportunities for ambitious families willing to travel—for pious scholars, poets, medical men, astrologers, and priests. Many Brahmans were drawn to the great pilgrimage city of Banaras, where Mughal patronage, local traditions of learning, and generous merchant support sustained large communities of scholars, who preserved their links with family back home and developed intellectual connections with courtly and urban centers throughout the subcontinent. At many levels, the Mughal Empire provided both the framework and the stimulus for a major revival of Sanskrit learning, in which Maratha Brahmans took a leading role. An important focus of this revival, and perhaps a response to the pressures of the times, was, as Christopher Minkowski has suggested, the search to re-present elements of the monist philosophy of Advaita Vedanta as the singular “meta-discourse” of Indian philosophy, and its normative Vedic mainstream.⁴⁴

Here, then, the forces of “early modernity” did not imply any single or homogenizing outcome for the history of India's regionally dispersed Brahman communities, any more than they created homogeneities for other communities or other parts of the world. Rather, western India's Brahmans were positioned very differently from those in the north and the south, and their response to these challenges was consequently more conservative and defensive. In many of these responses, we can see prefigured ideas and institutions that are more usually associated with the coming of colonialism.

THIS DEFENSIVE RESPONSE WAS IN PART apparent in conflicts over Brahman regional and caste identities. The colonial shaping of India's caste society, particularly

⁴³ Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan*, chap. 3.

⁴⁴ Christopher Minkowski, “Advaita Vedānta in Early Modern History,” in O'Hanlon and Washbrook, *Religious Cultures in Early Modern India*, 105–142.

through the colonial state's drive to classify its Indian subjects, has attracted intensive scholarly attention.⁴⁵ Yet "caste" had a history no less dynamic in the early modern centuries, not least among Brahman communities and their scribal rivals. Key to this history for western India was the way in which the elaboration of state bureaucracies drew powerful scribal rivals down from northern and central India to the Maratha regions, where Brahmans had previously enjoyed more or less a monopoly on scribal skills.

These scribal rivals—Kayasthas from the north and Pathare Prabhus from central India—were not a priestly class. Rather, they were older communities of writers and record-keepers who had successfully adapted to the administrative needs and court cultures of India's Islamicate states. Their arrival in western India sparked a fierce battle over ritual entitlements, as local Brahmans strove to deny them the ritual status appropriate to dignified state servants and to identify them in ritual terms as *sudras*, on a par with laborers and menials. This conflict reinforced the dependence of Maratha Brahmans on conservative forms of Hindu religious hierarchy in order to preserve their local power and prestige.⁴⁶ Their more fortunate clerkly counterparts in southern India escaped this challenge, since Kayastha scribal rivals never penetrated that far south in any numbers. This may have made possible the development of southern India's more worldly and "secular" Brahman scribal culture.⁴⁷

There was a further problem for western India's Brahman communities. These communities saw growing social differentiation. Some found themselves able to profit from their unique combination of scribal skill, ritual prestige, and access to cash to build extensive property rights in land extending far beyond the horizon of the village, while others remained poor priests and farmers.⁴⁸ Family and community migrations, undertaken both in pursuit of opportunity and to escape the hardening attentions of Portuguese proselytizing, added to these strains, rivalries, and social uncertainties. Western India's Brahmans, and their scholarly relatives up in Banaras, began to question in a new and intense way exactly who could be called a Brahman: what livelihood, mode of life, and ritual entitlements really signified a Brahman, and what disqualified a man from being one. It was in this context, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that Banaras's intellectuals took the lead in developing a new discourse of all-India Brahman identity.

At the center of this process lay a novel system of classification. Until the early centuries of the second millennium, Brahman families across the subcontinent identified themselves by their *sakha*, or branch of Vedic learning, and their *gotra*, or exogamous patriliney. The new classification drew on the strengthening of regional identities, which in some cases was clearly associated with particular vernacular languages. It placed all of India's Brahmans within one of ten great groupings, the five or *panca gauda* in northern India and the five or *panca dravida* in the south. Brahman

⁴⁵ See in particular Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J., 2001). For an important overview, see in particular Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge, 1998).

⁴⁶ See Rosalind O'Hanlon, "The Social Worth of Scribes: Brahmins, Kāyasthas and the Social Order in Early Modern India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 47, no. 4 (2010): 563–595.

⁴⁷ Velcheru Narayana Rao and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Notes on Political Thought in Medieval and Early Modern South India," *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 175–210.

⁴⁸ Perlin, "Of White Whale and Countrymen in the Eighteenth-Century Maratha Deccan."

assemblies in Banaras and other centers of learning increasingly invoked the classification as a means of offering authoritative judgments in disputes about identity and ritual entitlement brought to them from Brahmans in the regions. In turn, local Brahman communities, particularly the upwardly mobile, migrants, and those who found their local status under attack, appealed to these assemblies and sought to identify themselves in their approved classificatory terms. The classification was additionally useful in offering a "portable" Brahman identity in an age when Brahmans increasingly traveled in search of patronage and employment. It became the basis for the "modern" Brahman caste identities of colonial culture, maintaining their vitality well after colonialism's demise.⁴⁹

The judicial assemblies that arbitrated these Brahman "identity wars" circulated their judgments very widely, again in ways that foreshadow key elements of a later and colonial "modernity." In earlier centuries, their judgments were recorded on stone, copperplate, bark, cloth, or palm leaf. The spreading use of paper associated first with the states of the Delhi Sultanate in the early centuries of the second millennium made it possible for judgments to be issued as *sammatipatras*, "letters of agreement," which could be widely circulated to regional audiences interested in the outcomes.⁵⁰ It was not only that such letters were more portable and easily produced. They could also carry the signatures of the scholars present at the assembly, creating a sense of immediacy and connectedness across communities of Brahmans and their peers in many parts of the subcontinent. These networks of communication came to constitute an early and partial form of the "public sphere," prefiguring the public arenas of the colonial period described in the work of Sandria Freitag, Douglas Haynes, and Christopher Bayly, among others.⁵¹

WESTERN INDIA'S BRAHMAN COMMUNITIES also responded to the challenges of "early modernity" with new forms of religious appeal and identification. The history of "Hinduism" in India has long attracted scholarly interest, divided between those who discerned a recognizable "Hindu" religious culture already present early in the second millennium and those who emphasized its essentially colonial making.⁵² The

⁴⁹ These arguments are made at greater length in Rosalind O'Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski, "What Makes People Who They Are? Pandit Networks and the Problem of Livelihoods in Early Modern Western India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 45, no. 3 (2008): 381–416; Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Letters Home: Banaras Pandits and the Maratha Regions in Early Modern India," *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2010): 201–240.

⁵⁰ For the spread of paper use in early modern India, see Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Performance in a World of Paper: Puranic Histories and Social Communication in Early Modern India," forthcoming in *Past and Present*.

⁵¹ Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Speaking from Siva's Temple: Banaras Scholar Households and the Brahman 'Ecumene' of Mughal India," in O'Hanlon and Washbrook, *Religious Cultures in Early Modern India*, 174–211; Sandria B. Freitag, *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Douglas E. Haynes, *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India: The Shaping of a Public Culture in Surat City, 1852–1928* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); Bayly, *Empire and Information*.

⁵² There is a very large literature here, but see in particular C. A. Bayly, "The Pre-history of 'Communalism'? Religious Conflict in India, 1700–1860," *Modern Asian Studies* 19, no. 2 (1985): 177–203; Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*; Peter van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); David N. Lorenzen, "Who Invented Hinduism?," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 4 (1999): 630–659; and David Gilmartin

omnibus “Hinduism” of the colonial period was clearly a novel formation, as intellectuals and religious leaders grafted their reformist agendas onto the forms of monist Vedanta that had flourished during the early modern centuries, linking these with popular devotionalist traditions to broaden their social appeal. Thus realigned, the Hinduism of the later colonial period offered a potent combination of social idealism, spirituality, and “traditional” authenticity. This “Hinduism” now entered the colonial political arena as a vehicle for a wide range of agendas, intellectual, nationalist, reformist, and revivalist, including those of militant Hinduism.⁵³

Yet elements of this new formation may have been apparent from the later seventeenth century. As Sumit Guha has described, these decades of struggle between the Mughals and the Marathas were marked on either side by a heightened rhetoric of religious warfare. Many political and religious leaders celebrated the Maratha warrior leader Sivaji and his lineage as the saviors of *dharma* from the depredations of the *mleccha* or “barbarian” forces of the Mughals.⁵⁴ Prachi Deshpande and others have explored the idea of a special “Maharashtra dharma,” a distinctive moral or spiritual mission for the region. It first emerged as a fluid concept during the fifteenth century, when some contemporary writers asserted links between the Marathi-speaking regions and the protection of *dharma* as articulated by the ninth-century Brahmanic reformer Shankaracharya. From the later seventeenth century, however, many contemporaries, and Brahmans in particular, promoted the idea that this mission was nothing other than the militant defense of *dharma*, of gods and Brahmans, against alien invaders—although these invaders were sometimes the *mleccha* forces of the Mughals, but sometimes also the “Firangi” Portuguese.⁵⁵

These assertions of identity are hardly surprising. It is likely that the emerging all-India influence of Banaras’s Brahman intellectuals, with their close links to the Maratha regions, played a significant part in drawing reprisals from the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, who was facing political rebellion at the same time from the Maratha warrior leader Sivaji. On Aurangzeb’s orders, the great Vishvanath temple in Banaras, where the city’s Brahman scholarly elites assembled, was destroyed in 1669. As many scholars have observed, Sivaji’s own drive to found a new state did not emerge out of any religious mission. He sought, rather, to restore the old equilibrium between the local states of central India, which had come under pressure from Aurangzeb’s attempts to assert Mughal authority there.⁵⁶

But for Maharashtra’s Brahmans, with their already established traditions of dependence on a Sanskritic religious culture, and the prestigious meeting place of their

and Bruce B. Lawrence, eds., *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia* (Gainesville, Fla., 2000).

⁵³ See William Gould, *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India* (Cambridge, 2004).

⁵⁴ Sumit Guha, “Transitions and Translations: Regional Power and Vernacular Identity in the Dakhan, 1500–1800,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (2004): 23–31, here 29.

⁵⁵ Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*, 69; Irina Glushkova, “A Philological Approach to Regional Ideologies,” in Rajendra Vora and Anne Feldhaus, eds., *Region, Culture and Politics in India* (Delhi, 2006), 51–82. The term “Firangi,” from the Persian *farang*, “Frank,” referred to a foreigner, particularly a European or Christian, with a particular implication of hostility and disparagement. In western India in this period, it usually referred to the Portuguese.

⁵⁶ See the discussion in Gordon, *The Marathas*, 80–90.

Banaras peers now reduced to ruins, Sivaji's rebellion against Mughal power offered something very different: the chance to assert the values of Brahman religious orthodoxy as fundamental to the new Maratha state. The great Banaras priest Gagabhatta, who administered Sivaji's consecration in 1674, described him as "destroyer of the yavana, protector of the people, ocean of compassion." Sivaji was a great warrior lord, a reincarnation of Lord Rama himself, who had taken birth to save Brahmans from the tyranny of Aurangzeb, whose rescue of the holy *sastras* would create a new world.⁵⁷ Humbler Brahmans in the countryside used similar language, sometimes for more worldly purposes. A Brahman from Sivapur, a village in Karad that had earlier been gifted to Brahmans by Sivaji, wrote in 1697 to the governor of the province: "Everywhere there is warfare and tumult, and the countryside is despoiled. The Brahmans no longer receive their livings, and are much distressed. But this kingdom of Maharashtra is a kingdom of gods and Brahmans, and here Brahmans ought to be supported, so that they will remain in the kingdom praying and making offerings for its welfare."⁵⁸

This is not to suggest that we can trace any simple intellectual lineage between these ideas and the militant Hinduism of the later colonial period. Rather, what we see emerging here are two different forms of religious and cultural affiliation, whose tensions were to work themselves out much more explicitly during the colonial period. One focused on the religious dimensions of what were essentially emerging regional identities. In the case of western India, this was the notion of "Maharashtra dharma" itself. Although seventeenth-century Brahman intellectuals ascribed to it the values of Brahman religious orthodoxy, it remained during the eighteenth century a category capable of absorbing and reflecting a number of different meanings, including forms of local religious patriotism articulated against the Portuguese. For colonial liberals of the nineteenth century, "Maharashtra dharma" meant the inclusive cultural identity, infused with popular devotionism, that had underpinned Sivaji's war of independence against the Mughals. For the generation of Hindu nationalists that emerged in the early twentieth century, it meant the protection of Hinduism against Muslim oppression.⁵⁹ The other form of religious affiliation evident in these later-seventeenth-century discourses did not focus primarily on the region at all. Instead, it assimilated Sivaji and his war for independence to the level of an all-India struggle between *dharma* and the *mleccha* armies of the Mughals.⁶⁰ This pan-Indian concept was detached from local or regional identities, and invoked instead the principle of a singular and universal *dharma*.

Religious cultures in colonial India would come to define themselves in terms of one or the other of these two poles of affiliation. In the one, the idea of a "Hindu" community continued to be inflected and malleable through the connection with local meanings, whether these were of the temple-based traditions of southern India, Bengal's rich history of goddess worship, or bhakti devotionism, with its many regional variants. The other quickly claimed the ground of all-India identity for itself,

⁵⁷ Gagabhatta, "Kayasthacaradipika," British Library MSS. 3009, fols. 1r-1v. The term *yavana* as used in this context usually referred to Muslims.

⁵⁸ Letter to Bhanji Gopal, governor of Karad, July 30, 1697, in V. S. Bendrey, *Maharastretihāsaci Sadhanam*, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1966), 2: 246.

⁵⁹ Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*, 129-138.

⁶⁰ Guha, "Transitions and Translations," 29.

in which all regional histories and identities were subsumed into one meaning and mission, that of the protection of a singular “Hinduism” against an alien other.⁶¹ This second pole of religious affiliation, anticipated in the earlier rhetoric of a pan-Indian struggle between *dharma* and its alien oppressors, came best to be exemplified in the thought of V. D. Savarkar, the first ideologue of modern Hindu nationalism.⁶²

YET IT IS IN LOCAL AND PARTICULAR HISTORIES that we can appreciate the significance of the “early modern” most forcibly. The remarkable long career of the Kavale family, state servants and priests in the Mahim Province of western India’s Konkan littoral, provides a microhistorical case in point. The acquisition and defense of rights—to land, to the revenues from priestly office, and to the rituals and social prestige associated with this office—lay at the heart of the family’s history. They traced their rights back to their thirteenth-century ancestor Purushottam Kavale, royal priest to Bhimaraj, son of Ramadeva Raja of Devgiri in central India.⁶³ Within the older classifications of Brahman identity, the Kavales belonged to the White Yajurvedi branch of Vedic learning. In the emerging new discourse of Brahman regional identity, they would have been “Maharashtras” from the *panca dravida* grouping. After the fall of Devagiri to Alauddin Khalji in 1294 C.E., Bhimaraj took Purushottam with him westward to the Konkan, made him responsible for justice, defense, and revenue collection, and assigned to him rights to specified village revenues and other entitlements. While the family received a Persian paper document of property rights, the real recording of the gift clearly belonged to a world in which paper documents were still rare. The raja ordered that every village so assigned should have a stone placed at each corner of its boundaries, “and this deed of charity should be engraved on them.”⁶⁴ When one Nayakrao Kavale was challenged over his claim to revenues from these villages in 1416 C.E., the stones were read out to the local judicial assembly to prove his rights.⁶⁵

It was toward the end of the fifteenth century that the challenges of the “early modern” began to affect these communities of White Yajurvedis, among them descendants of the Kavale family, now earning their livings as priests, astrologers, and dispensers of physic. Ambitious communities of scribal rivals were beginning to appear, familiar with the Persianate administrative culture of the local Bahmani Kingdom, and assertive in their demands for new forms of ritual prestige. In 1495, the White Yajurvedi Kan Joshi was challenged for his rights, held, he claimed, “from my father and grandfathers since ancient times.”⁶⁶ Some newly arrived Pathare Prabhu

⁶¹ For an overview, see William Gould, *Religion and Conflict in Modern South Asia* (Cambridge 2011); and Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India* (New York, 1998).

⁶² See in particular the account of the Maratha wars in V. D. Savarkar, *The Maratha Struggle (Hindu pad-padshahi)*; or, *A Review of the Hindu Empire of Maharashtra* (Bombay, 1925).

⁶³ These documents are collected in Narayan Vitthal Vaidya Purandare Puntambekar, *Uttar Konkarnatil Pacin Gangatirastha Suklayajurvediya Brahman*, vol. 2: *Appendices* (Bombay, 1884). I thank Madhav Deshpande for generously making this material available to me, and Muzaffar Alam for assistance with the Persian documents in this collection.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Appendices 2–14.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Appendices 21–30.

⁶⁶ We know from other evidence that investiture with the sacred thread was the particular point of contention between these scribal communities and local Brahmans in the Konkan during the late fifteenth century.

scribal families had invited one Trimbak Pandit, also a newcomer, to perform the ceremony of investing their sons with the sacred thread, notwithstanding that this right belonged to Kan Joshi. "From that time to the present day of twelve years, he takes by force all the money of performing such ceremonies from the Prabhus. Because the Prabhus are powerful and we are powerless, we cannot exercise our religious authority over them."⁶⁷ Kan Joshi's rights were confirmed after a hearing at the local royal court, although this irruption of powerful scribal rivals making new ritual demands was very much a sign of the times.

An even clearer sign lay, of course in the arrival of the Portuguese, whose power in the Konkan expanded rapidly through the first half of the sixteenth century. The White Yajurvedi community now had to accommodate itself to the new regime of the "Firangi," and one with a strong proselytizing zeal. Some White Yajurvedis were able to maintain their rights as priests. A Portuguese document of May 6, 1578, recorded the passing of such rights from one Harba Joshi Giral to Narayan Acharya.⁶⁸ The Kavale family themselves were called before the Inquisition, and some of their lands were confiscated.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, there were still Yajurvedis claiming their rights in Mahim after Bombay had passed into the hands of the East India Company in 1668, as part of Catherine of Portugal's dowry to Charles II. They seem to have moved systematically to have their rights as priests and physicians recognized by successive governors of Bombay, and there is a suggestion of further pressures from Brahman rivals. The Naik family of Mahim had their rights as priests and dispensers of physic successively confirmed by Deputy Governor John Vaux in 1685, John Wyborne in 1686, and John Child in 1687, "prohibiting hereby all persons whatsoever from molesting or disturbing you in the execution of the said office upon any pretence whatsoever."⁷⁰

With their homelands based within Portuguese and English jurisdictions, the White Yajurvedis were partially insulated from the pressures that were affecting Maratha Brahmans elsewhere. Nonetheless, there clearly were still challenges from other Brahman communities, which required firm arbitration as the legal machinery of the East India Company developed. The preamble to a judgment of August 21, 1723, from the Court of Bombay described how

various and Sundry Disputes have arisen concerning ye right of administering the rites and ceremonies of the Gentoos on this Island and have continued for a long time undetermined not only to the great Prejudice of the Person in whom the said Right is vested, but also to the great Detriment of this Island, by the unlimited License of ye Brahmins resorting hither

teenth century; see O'Hanlon, "The Social Worth of Scribes," 578–584. The Yajurvedis administered a limited form of investiture called *upadesa* rather than the full vedic *upayanana* to the Prabhus, just as is described in other histories of scribal people in this period; Puntambekar, *Uttar Konkanatil Pracin Gangatirastha Suklayajurvediya Brahman*, Appendix 47.

⁶⁷ Puntambekar, *Uttar Konkanatil Pracin Gangatirastha Suklayajurvediya Brahman*, Appendices 35–48. The occupational name "Joshi" suggests that he belonged to a family of priests, while the occupational name "Pandit" indicates a religious scholar.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Appendices 387–388.

⁶⁹ P. S. Pissurlenkar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, trans. from the Portuguese by P. R. Kakodkar (Bombay, 1975), 186.

⁷⁰ Puntambekar, *Uttar Konkanatil Pracin Gangatirastha Suklayajurvediya Brahman*, Appendices 189–190, 202–203.

as well Drawing the money of the Inhabitants as several other ill Practices tending to disturb the peace and good government thereof.

The court affirmed the entitlements of the Yajurvedi Shamacharya “in his said right of Presiding over the Gentoos of this Island so far as it relates to the administering the rites and ceremonies of their religion.”⁷¹

However, the strengthening of the Maratha state from the 1720s was to break open this insulation. As the Bhatta family of Chitpavan Brahmins began to assume leadership of the state, they naturally looked westward, toward the wealthy Portuguese-controlled lands of the coastal littoral, particularly since Chitpavans as a community hailed from the same region. As one Brahmin contemporary wrote to the leading Chitpavan minister, Bajirao I, in 1733, “Up on the Deccan plains, there is just one source of wealth. But down in the Konkan, you will find the very riches of Kubera himself.” Bajirao had, he said, only to turn his gaze toward it, and all his desires would be fulfilled.⁷²

The Marathas chose Bassein in the northern Konkan for their attack. There is no evidence of any sense of religious mission in their planning: the Konkan’s proximity to Bombay offered important commercial and strategic advantages.⁷³ Nonetheless, as preparations went forward, the rhetoric of “Maharashtra dharma” and “dharma in danger”—which Maratha Brahmins had already taken the lead in developing during the late seventeenth century—came once more to the fore. In this setting, moreover, there is a clearer shift toward *dharma* as a universal principle, identified now with “Hindus” and the imminent peril to their sacred places and their religious practices. Significantly, however, this distinct shift in register did not reflect Hindu-Muslim tensions. Rather, it came about when the Marathas began to contest with the “Firangi” Portuguese and their ranks of missionary proselytizers. Nor did this rhetoric of “Hindus in danger” reflect an uncomplicated ideological agenda, any more than it was to do in the different settings in which it was employed in colonial India. Rather, we see here at least some contemporaries employing it for clearly personal and instrumental ends.

Thus on February 21, 1735, perhaps seeking to establish his pious credentials in advance of the Maratha attack, one local state official wrote to “the swami,” Bajirao: “Since this province has fallen to the Firangis, the peasants and all those who hold rights here have come under their rule. There is nothing left of Hindu dharma. There is a desperate need that the swami should become the victorious rescuer of Hindu dharma by re-establishing gods and Brahmins.”⁷⁴ Other such appeals came from Bajirao’s own servants, who were eager to promote their military careers in the new lands by proclaiming their religious zeal. One of those servants, Vasudev Joshi, who was to play a leading role in the military campaign, wrote in 1734 to Bajirao: “The Firangis in their lands are taking a register of all the names of every Hindu in Sashti district, from children of five to the very old. No one is allowed to escape. They are

⁷¹ Ibid., Appendices 192–194.

⁷² G. S. Sardesai, *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, 42 vols. (Bombay, 1933) [hereafter *SPD*], 33: no. 142, 118–119. Kubera is the lord of wealth in Hindu mythology.

⁷³ A. R. Kulkarni, “Religion and the Bassein Campaign of 1739,” in Kulkarni, ed., *Medieval Maratha Country* (Pune, 1988), 22–39.

⁷⁴ *SPD*, 16: no. 16, 12–13.

setting guards in every place. They are collecting large and small ships. Everyone knows that Hindu people are going to be taken and polluted through conversion.”⁷⁵

Here we see state officials invoking a generalized “Hindu dharma” in peril. But it was in this context also that one of the descendants of the Kavale family, Antaji Raghunath Kavale, saw his chance to recover lost family lands. He persuaded Bajirao to write to the governor of Bombay, John Horn, to ask him to intercede with the Portuguese to recover the Kavale estates, “which from antiquity his forefathers had enjoyed in the Portuguese territories, granted by the ancient Emperors of Hindustan and afterwards confirmed by the Kings of Portugal and continued by the Viceroys of Goa, in proof of which he had several documents.” Horn replied on March 6, 1734, conveying his regret that he had no authority in the matter.⁷⁶ Kavale also appealed to Bajirao’s court directly, working with Gangaji Naik, another representative of an old family who had lost their rights under the Portuguese. Their language of appeal, however, was rather different, perhaps reflecting their closer links with the contested lands in question. In letters written in 1741–1742 to the Maratha courts at Satara and Pune, they used the language of both Hindu identity and “Maharashtra dharma” to persuade the Maratha leadership to attack the Portuguese and recover the Konkan. “We have held rights in Bassein since ancient times. The Firangis have come there. Temples, holy places, the dharma of Maharashtra, have been destroyed. The Hindus have been baptised and so polluted.”⁷⁷ The peshwa responded to Kavale’s appeals: “Your expenses will be paid and your deeds of right will be returned to you. You are the greatest enemy of the Firangi, who cannot abide you.”⁷⁸

In a further twist, however, it is clear that for Kavale, at least, this rhetoric was largely instrumental. Far from being the hardened enemy of the “Firangi,” he was busy promoting his own interests in the Portuguese camp. One of Bajirao’s servants, Shankraji Keshav, wrote to his brother Chimnaji Appa on March 29, 1737: “Antaji Raghunath passes on news about the dissensions at Thane to the Firangis at Bandra. It will be dangerous if we do not stop him, or at least take him away from there. We should send him to Kalyan. He is friendly with the Firangi at Bandra. The Bombay people laugh because we do not seem to know about this.”⁷⁹ Another of Bajirao’s military servants in the Konkan, Pilaji Jadhav, asserted that Kavale was a cheat who lived in Portuguese lands following the medical profession, and was well known for his offers of military assistance to the Portuguese if they would restore his lands to him.⁸⁰ Bajirao’s servant Vasudev Joshi lent his voice to the chorus: Kavale would be unable to achieve anything against the Portuguese, and accepting his offers of help would lead to disaster.⁸¹ These dissensions notwithstanding, Bajirao’s armies recov-

⁷⁵ Ibid., no. 11, 10–11.

⁷⁶ Puntambekar, *Uttar Konkanatil Pracin Gangatirastha Suklayajurvediya Brahman*, Appendices 48–49.

⁷⁷ G. C. Vad and D. B. Parasnis, *Selections from the Satara Raja’s and the Peshwa’s Diaries*, 9 vols., vol. III: *Balaji Bajirao Peishwa*, vol. 1 (Pune, 1907), no. 5, 5. A long contemporary account of Gangaji Naik’s role in the “religious” campaign to take Bassein from the Portuguese is in K. N. Sane, ed., “Sastici bakhar,” *Kavyetihasa Sangraha*, no. 7 (1882): 1–22. For a discussion of this text, see R. V. Herwadkar, *A Forgotten Literature: Foundations of Marathi Chronicles* (Bombay, 1994), 79–85.

⁷⁸ Puntambekar, *Uttar Konkanatil Pracin Gangatirastha Suklayajurvediya Brahman*, Appendix 58.

⁷⁹ SPD, 16: no. 38, 29–30.

⁸⁰ Pissurlenkar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, 258.

⁸¹ SPD, 16: no. 6, 7.

ered Bassein from the Portuguese in 1739, after a hard-fought military campaign across its creeks and tidal rivers. This brought the Marathas alarmingly close to Bombay itself, introducing new and ominous frictions into their relationship with the East India Company.

Kavale's appeals to "Maharashtra dharma" did not help the family. Like him, many White Yajurvedis had lived for generations under the Portuguese, and had acquired new local connections and village attachments. Some fled at the approach of the Marathas, fearing for their reception as Brahmans who had lived so long under the rule of the "Firangi."⁸² With Maratha rule restored, these cultural attachments made the White Yajurvedis natural targets in these Brahman identity wars. Local Chitpavans led the assault against them, challenging their very identity as Brahmans, and hence their entitlement to their offices and rights. Antaji Raghunath Kavale had a nephew, Tukambhatt Dharmabhatt Agnihotri of Palshe village in the Konkan, who enjoyed important priestly rights and revenues as Agnihotri, or keeper of the sacred fire. In 1746, two Chitpavan Brahmans challenged his rights, on the ground that he was not a Brahman at all, but rather a "Palshe." This was a reference to the fact that many members of the community, like Tukambhatt himself, lived in the village of Palshe and had adopted the term as a family name, as indeed Kavale himself had done.⁸³ "Palshes," they asserted, were a local and inferior caste community with priestly pretensions, not Brahmans of ancient lineage at all. Here, then, classifications of Brahman identity were used in a new way, to promote a localized language of caste that could be used by one Brahman community against its rivals. This was a challenge not just to one individual, but to all White Yajurvedis in western India.

There were other assaults, too. Some asserted that the White Yajurvedis had lived so long in "Firangi" lands that they had discontinued their proper dharmic practices and taken up forbidden customs such as cross-cousin marriage.⁸⁴ Scribal rivalries continued to exacerbate the strains. The Pathare Prabhus, who had earlier tried to appoint their own priests in place of the White Yajurvedis, now sensed their opportunity. They adopted the Chitpavan tactic of classifying the White Yajurvedis as a local and lowly caste community. The "Palshes," they said, claimed to be their priests, but they had no such right, for it was real Brahmans, rather than lowly Palshes, who properly served the Prabhus as priests. The Prabhus had therefore excluded the "Palshes" from their houses.⁸⁵

However, Kavale's nephew Tukambhatt was able to turn to a wider Brahman "public" to mobilize support. He appealed to Brahmans in the important shrine towns of Nasik and Tryambakeshwar on the Godaveri River, the "Ganges of the South." The Brahman judicial assemblies of these towns considered his appeal in 1746. Their characteristic "letter of agreement" affirmed the White Yajurvedis' claims. "It is clear that Tukambhatt, of the Yajur branch, is indeed a Brahman, following on from his father Dharmabhatt and his forebears before that, fit to exchange greetings [with Brahmans], to study the Vedas and other customs and prac-

⁸² Vad and Parasnis, *Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries*, vol. II: *Balaji Bajirao Peishwa*, vol. 2 (Bombay, 1906), no. 184, 110–115.

⁸³ *SPD*, 34: no. 82a, 69.

⁸⁴ Vad and Parasnis, *Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries*, vol. II: *Balaji Bajirao Peishwa*, vol. 2: no. 317, 198.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 8, 4.

tices of good Brahman people." Interestingly, the letter did not attempt, as a letter from Banaras would certainly have done, to identify the White Yajurvedis as *panca dravidas*. Perhaps the members of the assembly were trying to hedge their bets, given that the White Yajurvedis had lived so long as subjects of the Portuguese. Instead, they referred to this history, but affirmed that it should not in any way damage the White Yajurvedis' standing. Those "who obstructed the dharma of Brahmins"—clearly the Portuguese—had been defeated. Therefore, "those who are still entitled to all of the six rites of Brahmins, should once again be allowed to practice them." Fifty-nine Brahmins put their names to the agreement.⁸⁶

This defeat notwithstanding, Chitpavans continued their assaults on the White Yajurvedis through the subsequent decades.⁸⁷ After a further irruption in 1808, the Maratha court at Pune instituted an investigation. "You say your caste is Brahman, but how long ago did you come to the country of the Firangi, and from where did you come?" the Yajurvedis were asked. "Who was ruling in the lands of the Firangi at that time? How did you get your rights to priestly office? In your caste, do you make your daily offerings to the deities and conduct your sixteen rituals using vedic mantras, and if not, what do you use?"⁸⁸ Again, "letters of agreement" were solicited on either side. With the East India Company's defeat of the Marathas in 1818, the case moved into the colonial courts. From the 1820s, the Maratha Brahman intellectuals on either side found a ready new audience for their projects of caste classification in the East India Company's expanding ranks of orientalist scholars and gatherers of caste data.

THE CENTURIES OF THE "EARLY MODERN" thus saw western India opened out in new ways to the wider world, both to networks of trade and migration within India, and to the commerce of the Indian Ocean world, with its new European protagonists. Rooted in an older and conservative Sanskrit culture, the region's Brahman elites devised their own strategies in response to the challenges of this wider world. Among them was an all-India classification for Brahman identity based in the culture of India's regions, intended to help resolve the many disputes about ritual privilege and property rights thrown up by the social changes of these centuries. Their strategies also included a rhetoric of assertive Hindu religiosity as the unique *dharma* of Maharashtra, and new communicative arenas or "publics" within which questions about identity and entitlement could be discussed and adjudicated.

In the face of this evidence, it seems difficult to deny that "early" forms of modernity emerged in the world outside Europe, or to view India's precolonial centuries as a world of the "pre" impelled abruptly into "modernity" only with the coming of the colonial state. This is the case not only for the scribal elites of this period, but for the "peasant" and petty service people period as well. For them, the growing penetration of regional states into their own local societies, the development of cash economies, debates about the moral meanings of their own ethnic identities and

⁸⁶ Puntambekar, *Uttar Konkanatil Pracin Gangatirastha Suklayajurvediya Brahman*, Appendices 70–78.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Appendices 87–89.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Appendix 122.

religious cultures, and new media and arenas for the recording and transmission of information of many different kinds were surely as important as they were for skilled scribal people. As long as this older history remains over the routine intellectual horizon of scholars engaged with colonial social change, whether of elites or “sub-alterns,” it will continue to be difficult to grasp the nature of India’s colonial “modernity.” While this is so, we risk reproducing a history very much in colonialism’s own self-image, in which all forms of modernity emanated from its transforming presence.

Rosalind (Polly) O’Hanlon is Professor of Indian History and Culture in the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, where she has taught since 2007. Her publications include *A Comparison between Women and Men: Tarabai Shinde and the Critique of Gender Relations in Colonial India* (Oxford University Press, 1994) and (co-edited with David Washbrook) *Religious Cultures in Early Modern India: New Perspectives* (Routledge, 2011). She is currently working on the history of western India’s Brahman communities, ca. 1500–1850.

The End of Prehistory? An Africanist Comment

AKINWUMI OGUNDIRAN

THE STORY IS ALREADY WELL TOLD that history as a professional discipline developed out of the rise of the nation-state and nationalism, with an emphasis on methodological rigor that is based on institutional archives.¹ This origin came along, however, with an impoverished diet of methodology that has since conditioned the growth of a stunted historiography, especially with the elision of about 99 percent of human temporal experience from the purview of historical inquiry. Thus the period referred to as prehistory, because of its lack of documentary sources, is considered unfit for historians proper but is deemed the appropriate purview of archaeologists and ethnohistorians. This has been good for building disciplinary boundaries, but not without the consequence of truncating historical consciousness.² These temporal barriers, created by nationalism and colonialism, have been a subject of criticism by scholars who are committed to the study of the deep past. It is not surprising that this endeavor was pioneered by scholars interested in the long-term history of recently colonized societies.³ Hence, in the introduction to *Three Thousand Years in Africa: Man and His Environment in the Lake Chad Region of Nigeria* (1981), Graham Connah defiantly wrote:

The study of Man's past should be indivisible and there can be no such thing as an historical time before history: providing that we define history as the whole natural history of Man and not his written history only. Thus to write about Africa's past it is essential to step over some of the traditional academic boundaries.⁴

The shadowy tail of prehistory indeed tends to be very long in those parts of the world that either experienced European colonialism in the past five hundred years or did not adopt writing as a mode of representation. What is considered historical

I have benefited from the critical reflections of Ray Kea on an earlier draft of this article, and from long conversations with Babatunde Agbaje-Williams, Jonathan Walz, and Lea Koonce Ogundiran. I gratefully acknowledge that much of the research that originally stimulated the ideas expressed here was made possible by a 2004 National Endowment for the Humanities grant (HR-50114-04).

¹ Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey, eds., *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective* (Lanham, Md., 2002); Q. Edward Wang and Georg G. Iggers, eds., *Turning Points in Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Rochester, N.Y., 2002).

² Akinwumi Ogundiran, *Crises of Culture and Consciousness in the Postcolony: What Is the Future for Nigeria?* (Ibadan, 2012).

³ Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (1982; repr., Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

⁴ Graham Connah, *Three Thousand Years in Africa: Man and His Environment in the Lake Chad Region of Nigeria* (Cambridge, 1981).

in those places is often reduced to a few centuries. This is true for North America, Africa, and other parts of the Global South. Scholars who are devoted to a deep-time understanding of African history, especially outside the littorals of the Mediterranean and the valley of the Nile, have drastically shortened this shadow as they cast the light of interdisciplinarity on the historicity of the “pre” and its transformative qualities. The range of sources that these studies tend to amass to reconstruct Africa’s deep past—linguistics, comparative ethnography, archaeology, art, oral traditions, and different forms of writing sources—not only illuminate social actions over long periods, but also allow us to understand how much the past is still lived in the present.⁵ By de-centering documentary sources in historical writing, these studies have shown that the shadow of prehistory is longer in Africa and other post-colonial societies because of the exclusionary practices of historical methodology, not because of the shallow depths of history in those places.⁶

The major question evoked by the three articles in this forum is how to conceptualize and write history across what is assigned to different temporalities and different horizons of experience that are supposedly opposed to history: prehistory and history, premodern and modern, as well as precolonial and colonial/postcolonial. If we were to defy the professional practices that keep these divides sacrosanct, the contributors are asking, what kinds of history would we write? In answering this question, Daniel Lord Smail and Andrew Shryock destabilize the neat stacks of chronology and temporality that separate premodern from modern; James F. Brooks foregrounds the seventeenth-century Catholic conversion and colonialism in the American Southwest (modernity) in the region’s one thousand years of gendered struggles of religious and political authority (premodern); and Rosalind O’Hanlon’s deep-time approach to the history of western India reveals continuities between what is termed premodern and early modern in that region. The essays raise a number of questions that are at the epistemological core of historical inquiry, most of which resonate with the African historiography of the past hundred years.⁷ This commentary therefore serves as an Africanist historian’s conversation with these authors on the problematics of writing history across “deep time” and “vast space,” with an

⁵ The studies that challenge the prehistory/history divide are based on three primary types of sources: oral traditions/historical ethnography, historical linguistics, and archaeology. But even when scholars privilege one of these as the primary evidential basis, they integrate it with the other two. In historical linguistics, for example, see Christopher Ehret, *An African Classical Age: Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 B.C. to A.D. 400* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998); Kairn A. Klieman, “The Pygmies Were Our Compass”: Bantu and Batwa in the History of West Central Africa, Early Times to c. 1900 C.E. (Portsmouth, N.H., 2003); David Lee Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, a Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1998); Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1990). For archaeological approaches that are framed in conversation with the historiography, see Gérard L. Chouin and Christopher R. DeCorse, “Prelude to the Atlantic Trade: New Perspectives on Southern Ghana’s Pre-Atlantic History (800–1500),” *Journal of African History* 51, no. 2 (2010): 123–145; Peter R. Schmidt, *Historical Archaeology: A Structural Approach in an African Culture* (Westport, Conn., 1978); Chapurukha M. Kusimba, *The Rise and Fall of Swahili States* (Lanham, Md., 1999); Akinwumi O. Ogundiran, *Archaeology and History in Ilare District (Central Yorubaland, Nigeria), 1200–1900 A.D.* (London, 2002); Ann B. Stahl, *Making History in Banda: Anthropological Visions of Africa’s Past* (Cambridge, 2001).

⁶ A point well articulated by Peter R. Schmidt in *Historical Archaeology in Africa: Representation, Social Memory, and Oral Traditions* (Lanham, Md., 2006).

⁷ For a fuller account of this development in African historiography, see Joseph C. Miller, “History and Africa/Africa and History,” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (February 1999): 1–32.

emphasis on the implicated issues of periodization, temporality, scale, historical sources, and comparative history.

The forum contributors seem to have taken to heart an observation made by Frederick Jackson Turner more than a century ago: “to history there are only artificial divisions . . . The roots of the present lie deep in the past”—and thus “There is no break . . . no gap between ancient, medieval and modern history.”⁸ Turner did not deny that the deep roots of history can be sectioned into meaningful slices of time, but he insisted that each period could be understood only with reference to the preceding epochs, and even those that succeeded it. In other words, what is prehistoric is as arbitrary as what is historical.⁹ Smail and Shryock (and also Brooks) build on Turner’s meditation on the nature of historical periodization, noting how the dominance of the Rankean approach in the Western historiography has created a “relentless boundary maintenance” between premodern and modern, prehistory and history, philosophy and mythology, and memory and history. The totality of change between these divides is impossible when the goal is to make sense of human experience in all its ramifications.¹⁰

History shares with archaeology a primary interest in understanding human and social actions within specific temporal contexts. Hence, periodization, temporality, and practice are central to the process of historical explanation. However, periodization is not just about building chronological sequences. It is about making sense of how a community or a society at a particular time viewed itself and the outside world, how it made sense of its past and present and its interactions with other peoples.¹¹ This in turn raises two vexing questions about the idea of temporality: (1) How are time and events experienced and remembered, and how are they organized by social actors and by the historian? and (2) How is periodization constructed and time measured, and whose and which periodization scheme is to be used for ordering time and change, especially in the contexts of comparative and global history?¹²

It is important to answer these questions if we are to resolve the conundrum of the artificial boundaries between prehistory and history, but this cannot be done without considering the substance of historical inquiry—the study of practice. Practices—of power, authority, belonging, identity, traditions, institutions, languages, ideas, values, gender, production, exchange, consumption, self-realization, class, aesthetics, materiality, knowledge, and religion, among others—are where the con-

⁸ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of History,” *Teaching American History Online*, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=1429>.

⁹ The interests of the *Journal of World Prehistory*, *Journal of World History*, and *Journal of World-Systems Research* prove this point. Whereas the first of the trio is an archaeology-based publication covering thematic and regional syntheses derived from archaeology- and paleoanthropology-related research all over the world, the last two privilege the eclecticism of historical studies, including archaeology, to inform comparative and cross-cultural scholarship with global points of view. In terms of temporality, there is significant overlap among the three.

¹⁰ And, as Diane Owen Hughes puts it, “change cannot be total . . . if it is to be the spur to narrate.” Hughes, “Introduction,” in Diane Owen Hughes and Thomas R. Trautmann, eds., *Time: Histories and Ethnologies* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 1–18, here 5.

¹¹ For an example, see Akinwumi Ogundiran, “Chronology, Material Culture, and Pathways to the Cultural History of Yoruba-Edo Region, Nigeria, 500 B.C.–A.D. 1800,” in Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings, eds., *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken, Written, Unearthed* (Rochester, N.Y., 2003), 33–79.

¹² David Couzens Hoy, *The Time of Our Lives: A Critical History of Temporality* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009).

sciousness and narratives of continuity, transformation, inevitability, constancy, negotiations, contingent enactment, and intentionality are most obvious. The history of practice unites tradition (structure) and agency (experience, action, and thought), offering a robust framework for contemplating historical processes across different temporalities and geographies.¹³ Owing to the legacies of European colonial historiography, however, historical scholarship has been reluctant to fully engage the questions raised by the study of practice regarding the possibilities of a total history that is inclusive but diverse, and predicated on the synthesis of multiple principles of historical thinking and multiple modes of historical representation.¹⁴

The history of practice calls for a polysemic conception of time that unites the cyclical and linear modes of historical thinking, since, according to Jörn Rüsen, “there is no concept of history that does not make use of both of them.”¹⁵ It also calls for a tripartite view of time: the past, present, and future, so that “the sense of what is historic is visualized not just in terms of a past event but also in terms of an unfolding present . . . that is viewed with future times in mind.”¹⁶ Yet time is not necessarily cyclical or linear. It can be discontinuous, leaving gaps in its trail, or it can be made up of twists and turns, a point well illustrated in O’Hanlon’s and Brooks’s narratives and excavation of memory, respectively. Whichever is the case, time is ultimately, to paraphrase Martin Heidegger, the horizon for the understanding of existence—individual, society, or community.¹⁷ The forum essays all follow this cue of temporality in the way they conceptualize history as “a process of tradition building or cultural construction through practice.”¹⁸ This concern with tradition and practice has been an important part of the Africanist historiography of the “pre,” with its focus on the historical processes that gave birth to societies, an approach that is aptly captured in the title of one of Jan Vansina’s books: *How Societies Are Born*.

¹³ Following the influence of Anthony Giddens, Pierre Bourdieu, and Clifford Geertz in historical anthropology (see Sherry B. Ortner, “Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, no. 1 [1984]: 126–166), there is currently an active interest in the archaeology of practice in Anglo-American scholarship as a way of bringing archaeology more in tune with the framework of historical explanation; see Timothy R. Pauketat, “Practice and History in Archaeology: An Emerging Paradigm,” *Anthropological Theory* 1, no. 1 (2001): 73–98.

¹⁴ The persistent ethnocentric universalism of the historiography has pushed scholars of non-Western societies to frequently explore the possibilities of alternative histories outside the canons of Western historical scholarship. See, for example, Peter R. Schmidt and Thomas C. Patterson, eds., *Making Alternative Histories: The Practice of Archaeology and History in Non-Western Settings* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1995).

¹⁵ Jörn Rüsen, “Comparing Cultures in Intercultural Communication,” in Fuchs and Stuchtey, *Across Cultural Borders*, 335–347, here 344.

¹⁶ Joseph K. Adjaye, “Time, Identity, and Historical Consciousness in Akan,” in Adjaye, ed., *Time in the Black Experience* (Westport, Conn., 1994), 55–77, here 70. The stalemate debates between the presentists and historicists and the intervention of critical theory call for reflexivity about the relationships between the past and the present in ways that guide us away from both vulgar historicism and vulgar presentism. See also Maurice Bloch, “The Past and the Present in the Present,” *Man*, n.s., 12, no. 2 (1977): 278–292.

¹⁷ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (1962; repr., Albany, N.Y., 2008); see also William D. Blattner, *Heidegger’s Temporal Idealism* (Cambridge, 1999).

¹⁸ Timothy R. Pauketat, “A New Tradition in Archaeology,” in Pauketat, ed., *The Archaeology of Traditions: Agency and History before and after Columbus* (Gainesville, Fla., 2001), 1–16, here 8. Within the Western historiographic tradition, see also E. P. Thompson’s historical-culturalist perspective in *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1966) and *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (New York, 1978); and for the mythistorical paths of Giambattista Vico, Jacob Burckhardt, and Walter Benjamin, among others, see Joseph Mali, *Mythistory: The Making of a Modern Historiography* (Chicago, 2003).

In his study of the history of political traditions in Equatorial and West Central Africa, Vansina sees traditions as “fundamental continuities” that connect the past to the present, and that are set to “shape the futures of those who hold [them].” Yet those traditions are not static; they are processes of change. It is their continuous change and “periodic renewal” that keep them alive. Such changes often occur as a resolution of the tension between two realities: cognitive reality—beliefs and assumptions about the world; and physical reality—the incidental, contingent happenings and events that bring new experiences.¹⁹ The cognitive reality is, however, far from being a coherent system of meanings and signs.²⁰ Rather, it is multivocal, with different planes of contestations inherent to it, a reminder that the debates between Gananath Obeyesekere and Marshall Sahlins brought to full view.²¹

Interrogating the “pre” in the historiography highlights in sharper relief the conceptual, theoretical, and empirical justifications for the historian to fully harness the strength of history as a discipline of temporality *par excellence*.²² Smail and Shryock, in particular, paint in broad strokes the methodological approaches that are necessary to develop what Brooks calls “longitudinal insights” into modern historical questions. But for that to happen, the institutional practice of history would need to deliberately facilitate working and thinking across different methods, sources, and genealogies—of memory, experience, traditions, and historical consciousness—in ways that close the wide gaps in the prehistory/history divide. Numerous Africanist historians, some of whom see themselves as engaging in historical science, have long realized the need to develop an expansive historical methodology. Far more than any other area, historians of Africa have demonstrated the value of a historical methodology that is eclectic and cosmopolitan, in which mythology is not opposed to philosophy, orality is not anathema to critical historical understanding, and biochemistry reinforces rather than impedes humanistic understanding of the past.²³ The periodic renewal of this multidisciplinary historical methodology has been the staple of African historiography, anticipating many of the epistemological issues raised by Smail and Shryock regarding the question of historical periodization, methodology, the nature of history, and the very meaning of modernity.²⁴ This expansive methodology may well be the most original contribution of Africa to the field of history. It is what, for example, allows us to encounter the Batwa peoples (so-called Pygmies)

¹⁹ Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, 258. Vansina’s “tradition” parallels E. P. Thompson’s lived experience; and the former’s cognitive and physical realities are as much the same as are Thompson’s social consciousness and social being.

²⁰ A point that poststructural and critical anthropological studies as well as the new cultural history have elucidated. Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Sherry B. Ortner, ed., *The Fate of “Culture”: Geertz and Beyond* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

²¹ Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985); Sahlins, *How “Natives” Think: About Captain Cook, for Example* (Chicago, 1995).

²² See William H. Sewell, Jr., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago, 2005).

²³ For some of the pioneering studies, see S. O. Biobaku, *Sources of Yoruba History* (Oxford, 1973); Daniel F. McCall, *Africa in Time-Perspective: A Discussion of Historical Reconstruction from Unwritten Sources* (Boston, 1964); Creighton Gabel and Norman R. Bennett, *Reconstructing African Culture History* (Boston, 1967).

²⁴ E.g., Falola and Jennings, *Sources and Methods in African History*; John Edward Philips, ed., *Writing African History* (Rochester, N.Y., 2005).

of Central Africa as a historical subject in the two-thousand-year history of West-Central Africa rather than as an ethnographic subject of the past two hundred years.²⁵ It also discloses the various technological innovations that defined early Africa as a site of inventions, from iron technology circa 1000 B.C. to primary glass manufacture in 1000 A.D.²⁶ And it is this eclectic methodology that we must credit for showing that the Sudanic civilization developed a unique idea of monotheism before 3500 B.C.²⁷ These few examples show how paying attention to the deep past could save those committed to “modern” history from the anachronistic assumptions that tend to define research questions about the recent past.

History is not determined by the nature of sources, but rather by the nature of the questions asked about the human condition, especially human intentionality and actions, and the consequent ramifications.²⁸ And temporality and contextuality are most essential to these questions.²⁹ Hence, Brooks’s essay shows how Catholicism and European colonialism were part of the long-term gendered politico-religious history of the American Southwest, so that the modernity of the encounter with Catholicism became meaningful for the Pueblo nations in the context of their long history rather than only through the prism of their colonial experience. Brooks’s and O’Hanlon’s essays both remind us that every society’s experience shapes how it makes meanings of events, makes those events meaningful in the present, defines temporality, measures time, and generates historical explanation. The unfolding of the canvas of the “pre,” using the eclecticism of historical methodology, enables us to situate different peoples within their own traditions and then to interrogate how “they interpret their own ‘ghosts,’” and how they use their answers as a source of knowledge for historical reflections.³⁰ Only in this way can we begin to appreciate the plurality of consciousness of time as a product of deep genealogies of practice unique to every society and the different social groups within them.

Gender relations is a critical site where the history of practice unfolds in multiple manifestations. Across different societies, gender has been a dominant basis for social, political, and economic organization, but we have also learned how age, class, other forms of identity, wealth, spirituality, and culture mediated gendered relationships and hierarchies.³¹ In showing the possibility of writing a long-term gendered history of political and religious processes in the American Southwest from oral traditions, oral history, archaeological sources, and (for the post-1700 period) documentary sources, Brooks’s narrative patchworks give us an insight into the implications of biological sex differences for the political economy of power and sociopolitical organization over a thousand-year period. His essay whets our appetite

²⁵ Klieman, “*The Pygmies Were Our Compass*.”

²⁶ Augustin F. C. Holl, “Early West African Metallurgies: New Data and Old Orthodoxy,” *Journal of World Prehistory* 22, no. 4 (2009): 415–438; J. W. Lankton, O. A. Ige, and Thilo Rehren, “Early Primary Glass Production in Southern Nigeria,” *Journal of African Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (2006): 111–138.

²⁷ Christopher Ehret, *Sudanic Civilizations* (Washington, D.C., 2005), 15.

²⁸ Contrast, for example, the singularity of R. G. Collingwood’s view of history in terms of method and subject in *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946) to Fernand Braudel’s plurality in *A History of Civilizations* (New York, 1995).

²⁹ Sewell, *Logics of History*, 11.

³⁰ James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992), 26. See also Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989).

³¹ Ulrike Strasser and Heidi Tinsman, “Engendering World History,” *Radical History Review* 91 (2005): 151–164.

for what the history of the long term can unravel about how particular kinds of gendered hierarchies were formed, contested, dismantled, and intensified over time. Yet, he cannot escape the feminist critique that the ideas and institutional practices he presents here regarding sexual difference were seemingly frozen in time, as they focus on what men have done to women over a thousand years, with very little said about women's own agentive actions.³²

African studies is replete with some of the most trenchant critiques of the universal woman-as-victim model of historical explanation, in which modernization or colonialism is seen as the singular agent of change rescuing women from the timeless exploitative patriarchy of non-Western societies. Some of these critical works identify European encounters as the harbinger of a newer instrument of contestation in age-old gender discourses and actions, an instrument that in many instances introduced patriarchal practices that were foreign to the societies brought under European colonial rule.³³ Since most of these studies focus primarily on colonial Africa, they have privileged the impacts of colonial legal practices and social life on the transformations of what they perceive to be historically fixed gender ideology, paying scant attention to the sociology and discourses of gendered difference and the transformations in deep time.³⁴

The very few historical studies on Africa that cut across the premodern and modern as well as the precolonial and colonial divides have demonstrated interdependency in the sexual relations of power, especially in situations where such powers are ascribed to sex identities.³⁵ David Schoenbrun, for example, examined the deep social history of gendered relations of power and authority in East Africa's Great Lakes region between the female leaders of healing/affliction cults and the male-centered political administration over two millennia.³⁶ This and other long-term studies uncover gender relations as contested and unstable fields of social action, mapping how the ideas and practices of gender in diverse social fields, such as healing, hospitality, governance, justice, intellectual reflections, craft specialization, agricultural innovations, labor organization, and sociopolitical organization, changed over time. Consistent with Brooks's analysis, such Africanist works seem to suggest that gender is an inescapable site of social organization and must therefore be an integral part of any historical study of practice. Thus it becomes imperative, as Rosemary A. Joyce has done for the relationship between gender and power in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica, to investigate "how and why specific kinds of action came to be *representative* of certain kinds of gender," and to stress the logics of everyday interdependencies between gendered social actors.³⁷

³² Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. ed. (New York, 1999).

³³ Ifi Amadiume, *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society* (London, 1987); Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí, *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses* (Minneapolis, 1997). See also Andrea Cornwall, ed., *Readings in Gender in Africa* (Bloomington, Ind., 2005).

³⁴ For a recent example, see Nwando Achebe, *Farmers, Traders, Warriors, and Kings: Female Power and Authority in Northern Igboland, 1900–1960* (Bloomington, Ind., 2005).

³⁵ For examples, see Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998); Onaiwu W. Ogbomo, *When Men and Women Mattered: A History of Gender Relations among the Owan of Nigeria* (Rochester, N.Y., 1997).

³⁶ Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, a Good Place*.

³⁷ Rosemary A. Joyce, *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica* (Austin, Tex., 2000), 10, emphasis in the original.

Scale is central to historicizing the “pre” in spatial and temporal terms. From the Annalists to the world-systemists and the comparativists, the scale of geography (though not necessarily of time) has continued to expand in historical writings in order to capture the interrelationships among civilizations, peoples, and regions from the ancient to the modern.³⁸ In a different way, though, scale is also relevant to the understanding of practice across multiple temporalities. Outside the epistemology of evolutionary typologies in anthropology, the concept of scale remains poorly theorized in the social sciences despite the frequent use of the term in the study of social organization and social relations.³⁹ Yet it may be the case that scale has the most important influence on the different planes of temporality that constitute the subject of historical inquiry.⁴⁰ Scale is not simply about size, depth of time, or social complexity.⁴¹ It is also about the degree of intensity in the exchange of information, the institutions that moderate the flow of social relations, and the networks for the production and distribution of goods, services, and ideas. Scale changes attitudes, mentalities, worldviews, institutions, and everyday practices. And new forms of material life, interactions, and technology can also change scale toward enlargement, contraction, or implosion, as recent studies have shown in the case of Atlantic West Africa.⁴²

It is here that the issues raised by Smail and Shryock are important for exploring the intersections of scale, time, and materiality in the history of practice. Their essay ingeniously explodes the canon of modernity by taking us through the various material practices that have undergirded human experience since our species began to proliferate across the globe some 90,000 years ago.⁴³ They use the social relations of shell beads to poke fun at the idea of the “modern” in the historiography in order

³⁸ For a few examples, see Jerry H. Bentley, “Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History,” *American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (June 1996): 749–770; Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall, *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems* (Boulder, Colo., 1997); Jan Nederveen Pieterse, “Periodizing Globalization: Histories of Globalization,” *New Global Studies* 6, no. 2 (2012): 1–25; Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, eds., *The World System: Five Hundred or Five Thousand Years?* (New York, 1993). However, these works are very limiting because of the scant attention they accord the African dimensions of sources and geographies before the “modern” temporality. For correctives, see Joseph E. Inikori, “Africa and the Globalization Process: Western Africa, 1450–1850,” *Journal of Global History* 2, no. 1 (2007): 63–86; Ray A. Kea, “Expansions and Contractions: World-Historical Change and the Western Sudan World-System (1200/1000 B.C.–1200/1250 A.D.),” *Journal of World-Systems Research* 10, no. 3 (2004): 723–816.

³⁹ Julian H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution* (Urbana, Ill., 1955); Leslie A. White, *The Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome* (New York, 1959). For an early attempt to offer a practice-oriented concept of scale, see Gerald D. Berreman, “Scale and Social Relations,” *Current Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (1978): 225–245.

⁴⁰ This view is implicated in Mary C. Stiner, Timothy Earle, Daniel Lord Smail, and Andrew Shryock, “Scale,” in Andrew Shryock and Daniel Lord Smail et al., *Deep History: The Architecture of Past and Present* (Berkeley, Calif., 2011), 242–272. It seems, though, that their idea of scale is beholden to the evolutionary typology of human deep-time history, an approach that has the unintended consequence of reinforcing, rather than transforming, the existing structure of historical knowledge.

⁴¹ Archaeologists are the primary and dominant purveyors of the “social complexity” concept. For recent archaeological critiques, however, see Ben A. Nelson, “Complexity, Hierarchy, and Scale: A Controlled Comparison between Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, and La Quemada, Zacatecas,” *American Antiquity* 60, no. 4 (1995): 597–618; Timothy R. Pauketat, *Ancient Cahokia and the Mississippians* (Cambridge, 2004).

⁴² J. Cameron Monroe and Akinwumi Ogundiran, *Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological Perspectives* (Cambridge, 2012).

⁴³ Their essay here builds on Daniel Lord Smail’s *On Deep History and the Brain* (Berkeley, Calif., 2008); and Shryock and Smail et al., *Deep History*.

to invite us to contemplate the role of material life in self-realizations at different times and places.⁴⁴ To the contemporary historian, it may seem bewildering that the same human conditions and prerogatives that made the people of the Middle Paleolithic in Eurasia and the Middle Stone Age in Africa encode seashells with social capital also determined the social valuation of West African gold in and beyond the Mediterranean during the first and most of the second millennium A.D., as well as the valuation of the silver and gold of South America during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries.⁴⁵ Similar processes of social valuation made cowrie shells the currency for converting free men and women in West Africa into slaves in American mines and on agricultural plantations after the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ Whether in Paleolithic Eurasia or in Iberia, the Bight of Benin, and South Asia during the Atlantic Age, objects embodied inter-social relations as bearers of memory, genealogies, authority, identities, and power.⁴⁷ The most portable, rare, and centrally controlled of these objects of social capital served as a medium of exchange and a token of identity that linked families, individuals, elites, small and large kingdoms, empires, and even continents across far-flung territories.

As repositories of social value, gold, cowries, and silver, among others, complicate the meaning of “money,” since what on the surface appears as economic practice is embedded in the matrices of social relations.⁴⁸ For the Atlantic Age Bight of Benin and its hinterlands, it was through the use of cowries as money that the majority of the population participated in some of the fascinating ideas of early modernity and contemplated themselves as part of the larger world. Here was a scene at Oyo-Ile, the capital of the Oyo Empire, in mid-1827: Ebo, the minister for political affairs, took the British explorer Richard Lander to his house and showed him a small room filled with cowries. With pride and boastfulness, Ebo asked his Cornish visitor whether the king of England was as rich as he. Ebo did not find his stockpile of brass, silk, damask, or any other foreign manufacture useful for self and wealth comparison. It was cowries that made him think comparatively of himself in relation to a foreign king. After all, it was through this particular class of imported objects that the rituals and other social relations of self-realization were articulated in most parts of the Bight of Benin and its hinterlands from the seventeenth through most of the nineteenth centuries.⁴⁹ (See Figure 1.) As a full-time administrator in the service of the

⁴⁴ Akinwumi Ogundiran, “Of Small Things Remembered: Beads, Cowries, and Cultural Translations of the Atlantic Experience in Yorubaland,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35, no. 2–3 (2002): 427–457. See also Jane I. Guyer, “Wealth in People and Self-Realization in Equatorial Africa,” *Man*, n.s., 28, no. 2 (1993): 243–265.

⁴⁵ Pamela R. Willoughby, *The Evolution of Modern Humans in Africa: A Comprehensive Guide* (Lanham, Md., 2007); Peter Bakewell, *Mines of Silver and Gold in the Americas* (London, 1997); Kea, “Expansions and Contractions.”

⁴⁶ Jan Hogendorn and Marion Johnson, *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge, 1986).

⁴⁷ For insights on materiality of memory, see Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker, eds., *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2008).

⁴⁸ Rhoda H. Halperin, *Cultural Economies Past and Present* (Austin, Tex., 1994). For the substantivist and formalist theorists who rocked the boats of economic history and economic anthropology for about four decades, contrast Karl Polanyi, “The Economy as Instituted Process,” in Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson, eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory* (New York, 1957), 243–270; and Harold K. Schneider, *Economic Man: The Anthropology of Economics* (New York, 1974).

⁴⁹ Richard Lander, *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa*, 2 vols. (London, 1830), 2: 203; Ogundiran, “Of Small Things Remembered.”



FIGURE 1: Ile Ori (House of the Inner Head). This shrine of individuality and self-realization became popular in the Yoruba region of West Africa during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is made primarily from imported cowries, the currency of Atlantic Yorubaland and a marker of an individual's accumulation and accomplishment. The shrine would have been placed on the ancestral/family altar in order to link the individual's present and future to his/her past. Fowler Museum at UCLA, photograph by Don Cole. Reproduced by permission.

empire, Ebo would have acquired his wealth primarily from political payments such as tolls, taxes, and other types of levies connected to the market and tributes.

The narrative quilts stitched together by Smail and Shryock about the material practices of behaviorally modern humans are humbling in terms of how much the past looks like the present, not only because the present looks at the past in its own image, but also because the present is fashioned in the image of the past.⁵⁰ Their insights raise far more fundamental questions about what it means to be modern than

⁵⁰ A point eloquently illustrated in Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft: Reflections on the Nature and*

some of the recent debates that interrogate only Eurocentric visions of modernity. While I sympathize with Smail and Shryock's muddling of the "modern" as a temporal and experiential concept, we should not lose sight of the fact that early modernity was a consequence of the first truly global interconnection and therefore must be disassociated from the paleoanthropological usage of the term. In this way we can preserve modernity's relevance for studying the history of practice and tradition cross-culturally.

Given Africa's colonial history, the teaching and professional practice of African history is largely bifurcated into the colonial/modern (mid-nineteenth–twentieth centuries) and precolonial/premodern (pre-nineteenth century) temporal planes.⁵¹ This periodization scheme, however, conflates two different kinds of modernity (early modernity and late modernity or modernization), revealing a rather curious forgetfulness that modernity preceded modernization in Africa by about three hundred years. For most parts of Africa, modernity refers to the constellations of social conditions, processes, ideas, and discourses that emanated from the continent's participation in the seaborne global commerce that linked the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and to the Pacific from circa 1470 to the mid-nineteenth century. On the other hand, modernization is the sum total of industrialized Europe's ideas of civilization, reason, and progress during the nineteenth century, and the use of those ideas for creating the normative definitions of freedom, liberal economy, secularization, democratic governance, the nation-state, technology, public space (including public education and public health), consumption, and "the privileging of scientism as the highest form of knowledge."⁵² In western, central, southern, and eastern Africa, there were continuities and discontinuities between the modernity of the era of the Atlantic slave trade and the modernization that followed the establishment of colonial rule over the region in the late nineteenth century.⁵³

Modernity has a place in the contemplation of history both as a turning point from and as a "paradoxical continuity" of the historical moments that preceded it in different parts of the world.⁵⁴ As a historical moment, it was not a sharp break between

Uses of History and the Techniques and Methods of Those Who Write It, trans. Peter Putnam (New York, 1953).

⁵¹ The same can be said of the Americas and the Indian subcontinent, even if the temporal nomenclatures are different.

⁵² Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (New York, 2003), 18. For examples of this conflation of early modernity and modernization, see Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, Calif., 1990); José C. Moya, "Modernization, Modernity, and the Transformation of the Atlantic World in the Nineteenth Century," in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Eric Seeman, eds., *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2007), 179–198.

⁵³ After all, the British merchants who controlled the largest share of the slave trade in the Bight of Biafra during the eighteenth century not only continued the domination of the region's external trade in palm oil in the nineteenth century but also wrested political control from the regions' respective rulers. See G. Ugo Nwokeji, *The Slave Trade and Culture in the Bight of Biafra: An African Society in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, 2010); and Kenneth Onwuka Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830–1885: An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria* (Oxford, 1956).

⁵⁴ For different perspectives on this, see Gurminder K. Bhambra, "Historical Sociology, Modernity, and Postcolonial Critique," *American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (June 2011): 653–662; Jeroen Duindam, "Early Modern Europe: Beyond the Strictures of Modernization and National Historiography," *European History Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2010): 606–623; Shmuel N. Eisenstadt and Wolfgang Schluchter, "Introduction: Paths to Early Modernities—A Comparative View," *Daedalus* 127, no. 3 (1998): 1–18; Charles H. Parker and Jerry H. Bentley, eds., *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and*

two or more temporal horizons; neither was it opposed to tradition nor did it serve as an equivalent of modernization. It was a multiplex of relationships instigated by European commercial expansion and colonization, but involving the simultaneous participation of all parts of the globe. Modernity was the starting point on the journey toward a truly global history, defined by the constellations of production, consumption, and distribution on a scale that the world had never known. The processes and effects of this scale were felt differently in different parts of the world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and with far-reaching consequences for the succeeding periods, but this does not mean that multiple modernities existed.⁵⁵ There was only one. It was the positionality as well as the cultural/institutional character of each region that shaped the various manifestations of the same and overlapping interactive processes. In this regard, early modernity is not about the typology of imagined exceptional Eurocentric practices such as the notions of universalism, humanism, and individualism, but about processes and scales toward global integration, and the consequent transformations in local and regional political economies, cultures, and worldviews.⁵⁶

Thus it is no wonder that efforts to locate the origins of modernity in a particular place or time have repeatedly yielded contentious results. The intersectionality of the various temporal and geographical planes that produced the “early modern” as the starting point of the first truly global economy not only de-centers Europe as the point of origin of modernity but also complicates O’Hanlon’s positioning of India “at the center of the world’s first truly global economy.” After all, western Africa was also “a relevant location in the birth of economic and ideological currents associated with modernity”—to say nothing of the Americas, where Christopher Columbus’s landing has been described as “a missile that launched the Caribbean, its European commanders, and African cargo on the path to modernity on board the plantation enterprise that rose on the site of native ruins.”⁵⁷ These geographical parallels further point to the importance of comparative history, not only to disclose the processes and practices of early modernity and its relationship to the preceding periods, but also to escape the limiting visions of regional studies. O’Hanlon is indeed accurate that “it is in local and particular histories that we can appreciate the significance of the ‘early modern’ most forcibly,” because this will make us realize how profoundly multi-centered the historical moment of modernity was. It is now well established that between 1658 and 1693, cotton textiles from India accounted for 30 percent of the total value (in pound sterling) of England’s export to western Africa, and another 21 percent of that export was made up of cowries obtained from the

Community in the Early Modern World (Lanham, Md., 2007); Stephen Vlastos, ed., *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

⁵⁵ For contrasts, see Björn Wittrock, “Early Modernities: Varieties and Transitions,” *Daedalus* 127, no. 3 (1998): 19–40; Volker H. Schmidt, “Multiple Modernities or Varieties of Modernity?,” *Current Sociology* 54, no. 1 (2006): 77–97; Elsje Fourie, “A Future for the Theory of Multiple Modernities: Insights from the New Modernization Theory,” *Social Science Information* 51, no. 1 (2012): 52–69.

⁵⁶ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–762.

⁵⁷ Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589* (Cambridge, 2012), 20; Hilary McD. Beckles, “Capitalism, Slavery and Caribbean Modernity,” *Callaloo* 20, no. 4 (1997): 777–789, here 778.

Maldivian Islands in the Indian Ocean. In turn, enslaved Africans accounted for 55, 69, 81.8, and 79 percent of the average annual value of export commodities produced in the Americas during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, respectively.⁵⁸ The silver bullion from the Americas that monetized the Indian economy and the cowries from the Maldivian Islands that monetized the Bight of Benin economy quickened the pace of social change in both regions. Hence, the Indian Ocean trade made the Atlantic trade possible, but neither would have been possible without African slave labor in the Americas. Europe, however, had advantages that the rest of the world did not have in the making of early modernity: it linked different parts of the world in a global economic system—through transportation and colonialism. Early modernity, then, must be seen as the process, condition, and consequences of a global world linked together by European merchant capital, but that world was not defined by Europe. Thus there cannot be a uniform set of cultural and institutional parameters for judging early modernity.

The comparative approach has been most successful in unraveling the autonomy and interconnections of experience that grew out of the pre-early modern contacts, as well as the autonomy and transformations of the structures through which those experiences unfolded. Despite the differences in temporalities and cultures, there is “a certain universality in the human condition,” to borrow from Raymond Grew, that makes comparative approaches always germane to the task of identifying new historical questions, developing appropriate research designs, and generating new historical causative factors, whether these refer to asynchronic or synchronic temporality.⁵⁹ The emphasis of social and cultural history on everyday lives and the material circumstances that conditioned those lives also makes comparative thinking feasible for transcending the artificial boundaries of temporalities as well as real and imagined geographies.⁶⁰ But such comparisons cannot proceed on the basis of exclusionary usage of sources that are not common to the different societies that made early modernity possible. There are many sites of early modern cultural production, social agencies, intellectual reflections, state bureaucracies, court life, mentalities, and political systems to compare and contrast, in India and in western Africa, but not all of them used writing as the medium of their intellectual activities. In fact, the challenges of comparison may become insurmountable, and the spatial-temporal silos may be reinforced, when the student of comparative history is unwilling to go

⁵⁸ Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁵⁹ Raymond Grew, “The Case for Comparing Histories,” *American Historical Review* 85, no. 4 (October 1980): 763–778, here 767. See also Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers, “The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, no. 2 (1980): 174–197. Gyanendra Pandey’s *A History of Prejudice: Race, Caste, and Difference in India and the United States* (Cambridge, 2013) is an example of asynchronic temporality that compares the political experiences of the Indian Dalits and African Americans in order to reveal the contradictory rhetorics of individual freedom and the practice of intolerance in the world’s two largest democracies. A comparative work of synchronic temporality is Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge, 1998), which seeks to explain the possible interconnections of the turbulent events of 1968 in different cultures and political boundaries across the globe.

⁶⁰ Alf Lüdtke, *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, trans. William Templer (Princeton, N.J., 1995). Also compare and contrast Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994); Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism; or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, N.C., 1990); and David W. Price, *History Made, History Imagined: Contemporary Literature, Poiesis, and the Past* (Urbana, Ill., 1999).

beyond the familiar sources and theories on which the historical exceptionalism of a particular geography has been built. Hence, not only does O'Hanlon's privileging of writing-based intellectual discourses as the character of early modernity in southern India come close to reinforcing the misplaced view of Europe as the paragon of modernity, with South Asia as its mimic, but it also has the unintended consequence of foreclosing the possibility of comparison with Atlantic Africa and the other sites of early modernity. In order for the objectives of the comparative approach to be successful, a multi-scalar methodological approach is needed that will not only take into consideration different sources but also create a common vocabulary appropriate for intercultural translations of historical experience.⁶¹

The issues raised by these three essays are relevant to a return to the idea of total history, which was pioneered by Giambattista Vico, Jules Michelet, and Jacob Burckhardt, followed later by the Annales school, especially in the works of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, and to which a number of Africanists have already contributed important empirical and methodological insights.⁶² Many of them have done well to clear the fog of the anachronistic dichotomies between the "pre" and the "modern." However, the most successful are those that enable us to think across different epochs in the historical study of practice, tradition, and the human condition. They are also those that have at least sought to uncover the depth of past genealogies out of which the present is made, using all the multidimensional sources that are capable of disclosing different kinds of historical knowledge cross-culturally and in the long term. With a forum such as this, we may be close to the end of prehistory.

⁶¹ Jörn Rüsen, "Some Theoretical Approaches to Intercultural Comparative Historiography," *History and Theory* 35, no. 4 (1996): 5–22. However, the comparative approach must not lapse into decontextualized ecological, neurological, and genetic determinism that purports to find the ultimate causative explanations or general laws for historical contingents and practice in the uniformitarian science of generic man.

⁶² Their commitment to expansive methodology and total history was foundational to what would later become social and cultural history. For an assessment, see Katherine Stirling, "Rereading Marc Bloch: The Life and Works of a Visionary Modernist," *History Compass* 5, no. 2 (2007): 525–538; John R. Hinde, *Jacob Burckhardt and the Crisis of Modernity* (Montreal, 2000); Mali, *Mythistory*; Robert C. Miner, *Vico, Genealogist of Modernity* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2002).

Akinwumi Ogundiran is Professor of Africana Studies, Anthropology, and History at the University of North Carolina, Charlotte, where he also serves as Chair of the Africana Studies Department. His publications include *Archaeology and History in Ilare District (Central Yorubaland, Nigeria), 1200–1900 A.D.* (Archaeopress, 2002) and *Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa* (Cambridge, 2012), co-edited with J. Cameron Monroe. He is working on a book manuscript that focuses on the cultural history of the Yoruba Atlantic world. Ogundiran is also the director of the Upper Osun Archaeological and Historical Project, a two-part research endeavor on the political economy and cultural history of the Oyo Empire, circa 1575–1830, and the cultural and landscape history of the Osun-Osoybo sacred grove, sixteenth century to the present.

Featured Reviews

CARL H. NIGHTINGALE. *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 517. \$35.00.

In this ambitious, sprawling global history of urban segregation, Carl H. Nightingale takes the reader on a journey from the ziggurats of ancient Mesopotamia to the hillside *favelas* of modern-day Rio de Janeiro in an effort to explain the intertwined histories of colonial power, urban planning, and “city-splitting” by racial categorization. The result offers both what is most promising and most frustrating about current trends to write global histories of phenomena usually considered only in a comparative context. In this case, Nightingale moves far beyond a standard history that might merely compare racial segregation in, say, Chicago and Johannesburg or Algiers and Calcutta, and thus opens up some challenging new ideas about the confluence of international factors that resulted in the “archsegregation” of twentieth-century South Africa and the urban United States. At the same time, by traversing such a wide range of examples across time and space and by introducing such a multiplicity of variables, Nightingale’s *Segregation* runs the risk of diluting the clarity of a more focused explanatory model. Nightingale’s work can be read in conjunction with Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds’s *Drawing the Global Color Line* (2009), which similarly brings together linked developments in the United States, South Africa, and the Pacific world into a transnational history of empire, racial policy, and immigration restriction but does so in a far more disciplined fashion. Whereas Lake and Reynolds consider only a few crucial decades around the turn of the twentieth century, Nightingale presumes to encapsulate “seventy centuries of city-splitting” (p. 19).

Like Lake and Reynolds, Nightingale looks for connections and thus explicitly constructs a transnational, rather than a comparative, history of white supremacy. Exploring the global history of “the difficult and complicated process of rearranging whole cities into separate, unequal, and compulsory residential zones for different races” (p. 2), he is interested in tracing “networks of intellectual exchange” (p. 5) that helped spread ideologies and techniques of “city-splitting” around the

globe. To the degree that he can distill a unifying concept from his rambling account, Nightingale suggests that in the modern era the organization of markets in urban real estate, whether in Madras, London, Johannesburg, or Chicago, proved the most powerful and enduring force in dividing cities by racial categories. Ultimately, he locates a specific “age of segregation mania” in the years between the 1890s and the early 1920s, a period that saw a confluence of imperial power, public health reforms, and rapid urban capitalist development.

Rather than look to the Atlantic world and racial slavery for the origins of segregation, Nightingale turns his gaze eastward. As he observes, urban slavery in places like Charleston, South Carolina, or Cape Town proved incompatible with segregation, since “it was utterly unthinkable to control slaves by creating separate neighborhoods for them” (p. 52). But in the nineteenth-century colonial cities of the East—especially Madras and Calcutta—Nightingale finds the admixture of the forces he deems most responsible for global city-splitting in the long term: a colonial administration, an international network of urban planners and reformers, and a “multicontinental market in urban real estate” (p. 75). He speculates that the black-white racial dichotomy forged in the Atlantic world made its way via London mercantile networks to the Indian Ocean entrepôts but offers little proof of this dynamic. In any case, in the twinned “imperial capitals” of London and Calcutta, city planners sought to inoculate elites against both declining property values and public health hazards by containing the residential quarters of the rabble—based on class in the case of London, color and then eventually “race” in Calcutta. Public health advances pioneered in Victorian London to combat cholera soon made their way to Bengal, a context in which planners “saw natives, their dense neighborhoods, and their cultural practices as a main reason for urban disease” (p. 92). In London as well Nightingale locates the “driving intellectual principle of class segregation, the idea that

having poor people as close neighbors brought down the property values of the rich" (p. 96). Here we find the origins of what became major tools in the property market to enforce racial segregation: the restrictive covenant and the colonial "compound," whose modern incarnation is the suburban gated community.

Nightingale ultimately concludes that segregation in Calcutta proved ineffective, in part because Bengali-urban property owners made inroads into the real estate market there. Nevertheless, it was from this initial "London-Calcutta axis" that the "institutions, ideas, and policy tools" (p. 109) designed to demarcate urban space into separate residential enclaves spread outward, first to the hill stations of the Raj (but was this "segregation" or retreat?) and then to Pacific cities like Hong Kong, Honolulu, and San Francisco. In the latter case in particular, anti-Chinese sentiment combined with "racist public-health rhetoric" (p. 152) to supplement segregation with outright exclusion. Indeed, as Nightingale points out, in many parts of the twentieth-century world "for urban segregationists, the engineering of global demographic flows became part of a growing kit of tried and tested tools" (p. 157). Nightingale argues, however, that the era of "segregation mania" only came to fruition on the wave of a bubonic plague pandemic that touched key nodes on the segregationist global map at the start of the twentieth century, including Hong Kong, Bombay, Honolulu, Cape Town, Dakar, and Accra. As with many of his examples, this one proves fleeting, and the reader must be content to accept that the "historic marriage between segregation and sanitation" (p. 191) left its imprint on future events, particularly the slum-clearance movement so central to the segregation of urban space in South Africa and the United States.

Despite the lengthy excursions into Pacific ports and, in another chapter, a tour of planned showcases of "colonial urbanism" like Rabat and New Delhi, the heart of Nightingale's argument (and the better part of his archival research) rests on his close examination of Johannesburg and Chicago. The South African case proves both exceptional and illustrative, for it was there that the "earth-spanning institutions that split cities by race" (p. 232) came together in a perfect storm. Following a well-worn path of revisionist South African historiography, Nightingale argues that "imperialism was the essential begetter of urban apartheid" (p. 236) in South Africa. He locates the origins of the native reserves, pass laws, group areas acts, and the rest of the notorious apparatus of post-1948 South African apartheid in the machinations of the British colonial state during the early part of the century. Triumphant in the second Boer War (1899–1902), the imperial authorities sought to "restart the migrant labor system and to control the [Black] workers" once they arrived at the gold mines surrounding Johannesburg (p. 234). Sanitary anxieties prompted by the plague in Cape Town also played a part, as did the desire to attract white settlers and "Pacific Rim-style legal tools" (p. 234) designed to restrict Indian immigration to South Africa. Above all,

the white residents of Johannesburg confronted the fundamental contradiction of racialized urban space: they depended on black labor in their mines and homes but did not want to share a community with black people, because they feared the "effects on their property values" (p. 257). None of this is original to Nightingale, of course, but he does purport to add to the mix an important factor that drew South African and U.S. policies into the same orbit, the notion that "both settler communities played important roles in the British-led globalization of the world's urban real estate market" (p. 235).

Nightingale regards Johannesburg in the first decade of the twentieth century as a "white supremacist city unparalleled anywhere else in the world" (p. 243), although surely the southern industrial enclave of Birmingham, Alabama, might qualify, and for many of the same reasons. Yet when he shifts his attention to the United States, Nightingale rests his gaze on Chicago rather than on a southern city, perhaps because of its importance as a magnet for blacks migrating from the rural South during and after World War I. Nightingale suggests that the "archsegregationist" northern urban planners compared themselves favorably to southerners, much the way British officials in South Africa liked to "claim racial enlightenment in contrast to the benighted Boers" (p. 307).

Like Johannesburg, segregation in the Windy City was intensified by the "social anxieties of a rapidly industrializing society" (p. 263) that brought white and black workers into close proximity. (Not incidentally, social disorder that conjoined labor and racial conflicts shook both cities, Chicago in 1919 and Johannesburg in 1922.) Without the power of the central state on their side (the Supreme Court outlawed government-designated racial neighborhoods in 1917), whites in Chicago mounted "elaborate, extremist property-values propaganda" (p. 314). After all, "no law could forbid white homeowners from making racist calculations about the effects of new black neighbors on their housing values" (p. 388). In the strongest section of the book, Nightingale shows how the city's whites drew the "urban color line" with land-use zoning, restrictive covenants, and racial steering by real estate boards, all of which rested on the rationale that black neighbors reduced property values—although of course this was due to the anxieties of whites, not the behavior of blacks. By 1930, over half of Chicago's black residents lived in neighborhoods that were more than ninety percent black. New Deal housing policies and the construction of the postwar welfare state only exacerbated this situation, as they abetted white home ownership in burgeoning suburbs while relegating black residents to inner-city public housing. As Nightingale points out, lacking the coercive South African tool of influx control, U.S. federal housing policies instead provided whites "the world's most efficient system of what we might call 'efflux enablement'" (p. 355). In the long run, he concludes, between the United States and South Africa "it was the subtler of the two approaches that allowed the politics of urban color

lines" (p. 380) to continue into the new millennium, although a visitor to a still deeply divided contemporary Johannesburg might question this judgment.

Despite its vast sweep, missing from Nightingale's otherwise comprehensive account of the global dynamics of segregation is an adequate theory of the state. In other words, the perceived necessity of developing racialized urban spaces greatly enhanced—and legitimized—new forms of state power and new apparatuses of state bureaucracy. So, for instance, the colonial "theater" of segregation as described by Nightingale might demonstrate the "grandeur of the Western imperial mission" (p. 14), help colonial officials administer their polities, combat the spread of disease, and protect property values. Yet this neglects the fact that all of these rationales required the growth of colonial state power—an end in itself, much enhanced by the efforts to segregate urban space. To take but the most notorious example, apartheid in South Africa profoundly strengthened the reach of the National Party, the state apparatus it controlled, the political power of its leading figures, and the patronage pool of its planners. Hendrik Verwoerd rose to the pinnacle of power in South Africa as the architect of racial segregation (not, for example, as a military leader, like Jan Smuts). The power to enforce segregation required a vast state bu-

reaucracy, staffed, naturally, by Afrikaner civil servants. Nightingale's focus on land markets, while illuminating, mostly leaves this out, and his downplaying of the distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* segregation makes it difficult to recognize the importance of state power in simultaneously enforcing segregation and drawing legitimacy from it. When Nightingale does consider the question of power, he imagines that white elites engaged in a protracted cost-benefit analysis: is "city-splitting" worth the investment? But again, this ignores the fact that expenditure on segregation itself secures benefits.

One reaches the closing pages of this challenging book wondering if there is any time or place in which urban life has *not* been segregated, whether by "race," ethnicity, religion, class, or other markers of separate identity. A comprehensive global history of this sort—from colonial India to Hong Kong to Algeria to Northern Ireland to Palestine to the Warsaw ghetto, not to mention the townships of Johannesburg and the slums of Chicago's South side—risks casting such a wide net that, in the end, it can be hard to know exactly what has been explained.

ALEX LICHTENSTEIN
Indiana University,
Bloomington

RONALD G. WITT. *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 604. \$120.00.

Ronald G. Witt's latest book studies the development of Latin culture in the *regnum Italicum* (the Kingdom of Italy)—an area including most of northern and central Italy—from the early Middle Ages to the late thirteenth century. The strength of the book is its command of an enormous range of published primary Latin sources and of secondary literature in all the main modern European languages, especially English, Italian, and German. Given such a vast remit, it is understandable that the author does little work with unpublished sources: he cites only eight manuscripts in his bibliography, and there are no archival references. Nevertheless, the result is testimony to Witt's admirable tenacity as a scholar, bringing to rich fruition a project begun in 1977.

The scope of Latin culture as considered by Witt is immense: literary production in both poetry and prose, theoretical grammatical and rhetorical treatises, practical rhetorical products, chronicles and histories, legal works treating both civil and canon law, scientific writings, and philosophical and theological works. The heart of the book nevertheless is education, particularly at the secondary and, eventually, university levels—a process that was conducted exclusively in Latin.

The two cultures mentioned in the book's title refer

to a literary Latin culture, dominated by ecclesiastics until the thirteenth century, and a more practical Latin culture, documentary and legal, in which the laity prevailed even in the earlier Middle Ages. Witt sees these two cultures as largely antithetical. The clerical book culture grew and flourished until the *regnum* was convulsed by the investiture controversy in the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries, a cataclysm from which it never recovered. In contrast, the documentary legal culture continued to thrive throughout the High Middle Ages in Italy, becoming dominant in the twelfth century; in the thirteenth century, according to Witt, a new lay book culture was consolidated, displacing the older ecclesiastical culture, and so heralding the arrival of humanism and the Renaissance. As an overall synthesis of the development of Latin culture in medieval Italy, Witt's picture is unexceptionable.

The problems begin, however, when Witt attempts to relate this narrative to the history of Latin education in medieval Italy. He makes the logical assumption that educational processes reflected the two contrasting Latin cultures: hence there had to be a separate, short-circuited approach to learning Latin and gaining a competent degree of Latinity for a laity wanting to embark upon notarial and/or legal careers. The lengthy tradi-

tional method of learning Latin—beginning with memorizing psalms and prayers and then elementary manuals on the parts of speech, followed by years of reading and memorizing Latin authors—was suitable for budding clerical Latinists but not for notaries or lawyers. Lay teachers of medieval rhetoric (the so-called *ars dictaminis*) or of law accepted pupils with minimal basic Latinity, filling in the gaps with on-the-job further instruction.

Such a view, however, contradicts what is known of the history of Latin teaching methods in Italy during the Middle Ages. Medieval Latin education evolved directly from antique methods designed to teach native speakers and so was based on a taxonomic system of increasing knowledge of the parts of speech, applied then to the study of literature. When native speakers no longer existed, pupils learned Latin through a process of total immersion similar to what a foreign pupil would now experience when transplanted into a native-speaking classroom, simulated in the Middle Ages by a long process of reading and memorizing texts of increasing difficulty. The result was that the medieval pupil very gradually learned how to read and write in Latin without the aid of theoretical guidance on how to construct correct Latin sentences (syntax): there are no medieval treatises on Latin syntax before the mid-twelfth century. So Witt's picture of a streamlined Latin course for laymen, notaries, and lawyers before then is a presumption without foundation. When he refers to the earliest Bolognese statutes for the notarial guild or cites a passage by an early thirteenth-century Bolognese professor of grammar and rhetoric, Bene da Firenze, suggesting that the grammar course was only two or three years, he misunderstands the context. Pupils would already have practiced reading and writing in Latin for years. Bene's use of the word *audivi* (literally "I heard") reveals that these texts refer to advanced study of Latin. The standard terminology in medieval educational documents to describe a course on the Latin authors was *audire auctores*: here Bene is describing an advanced course studying the authors, not an elementary course in the basics of the language.

It is not surprising then that Witt is able to confirm what had been concluded by scholars such as Pierre Riché years ago: namely, that in medieval Italy Latin (grammar) was taught in ecclesiastical schools exclusively until the end of the eleventh century and predominantly there in the twelfth century too. Time-honored teaching methods went hand in hand with traditional educational institutions at the primary and secondary levels. Witt is able to cite hardly any examples of private lay grammar teachers in the twelfth century, but he acknowledges the existence of a large-scale survival of twelfth-century Italian manuscripts of school authors, including the Roman classics; such evidence confirms that traditional grammar education persisted, indeed thrived, in twelfth-century Italy.

The structure of Italian secondary education—so Witt acknowledges—was revolutionized by innovations coming from France in the mid-twelfth century. In Paris

a new logical approach to grammar was pioneered, enabling Latin syntax to be taught theoretically—an unprecedented development. The result was a new theoretical science of Latin, today referred to as speculative or modistic grammar: it now became possible to teach Latin more rapidly, using theoretical textbooks in place of long immersion in the authors. These methods soon spread to Italy: first, as Witt shows, this might have occurred through innovators such as Ugucione of Pisa and even Bene da Firenze in the later twelfth century. Works by such pioneers had little diffusion in Italy; the mass breakthrough came with the mass circulation throughout Europe, including thirteenth-century Italy, of two northern French textbooks, *Doctrinale* by Alexander of Villedieu and *Graecismus* by Évrard of Béthune, works of vast medieval manuscript diffusion. These new teaching methods brought about a streamlined secondary Latin teaching curriculum, which Witt misleadingly attributes to earlier medieval Italy. Once again institutions of education developed hand in hand with private lay grammar schools now displacing ecclesiastical schools in thirteenth-century Italy.

Thus Witt's vision of two contrasting Latin cultures in medieval Italy holds true only in part: beside the ecclesiastical book and literary culture, there was a practical documentary, legal, notarial culture dominated by the laity, but this was supported by and relied on secondary-level educational structures dominated by the church until the end of the twelfth century. Latin culture in medieval Italy was more unitary and interconnected than Witt suggests in this book.

The climax of Witt's monumental study is, of course, the emergence of Renaissance humanism in thirteenth-century Italy. Here the major figures are the usual suspects—Brunetto Latini from Florence and Rolandino and Lovato de' Lovati from Padua—although he suggestively includes the Florentine Henry of Settimello and Albertano of Brescia in the pantheon of proto-humanists. Witt highlights the professional, notarial, legal backgrounds of Brunetto, Rolandino, and Lovato, agreeing with recent studies that see early humanism as an ideology of non-elite citizens who counterposed ancient "new men" such as Cicero and Sallust to the chivalric and feudal culture of the traditional knightly elite in the Italian communes.

More questionable is Witt's view of the foundations of Lovato's humanism in the climate of Italian grammar as it was developing in the thirteenth century. Witt sees the thirteenth century as a period of growing classicism in grammar, culminating in Lovato's return to ancient metrical forms and language in his early elegiac poetry. His evidence is what he sees as an increasing tendency of late twelfth- and thirteenth-century Italian grammarians to cite examples from ancient Roman authors in their treatises. His examples, however, are misleading. Included are Bene da Firenze's *Summa grammaticae* (ca. 1194?), Maynardo di Belmonte's *Doctrinale* (1225), and Pietro da Isolella da Cremona's *Summa grammaticae* (1252–1286). Witt claims that such "new grammar man-

uals authored in the *regnum* largely depended upon ancient writers for their examples illustrating the rules of usage" (p. 436), but in Pietro's widely circulated treatise, the twenty or so ancient citations are drowned in a vast sea of typically medieval invented sentences and mnemonic verses. Witt seems not to have read Bene's never-printed grammar in manuscript: in the early fourteenth-century manuscript now housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice (Lat. XIII.7), Bene gives eight citations from classical poets in contrast to ninety-three instances of medieval mnemonic verses. Mayfrede (cited by Witt from a late fourteenth-century manuscript in Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare VII) "relied almost entirely on quotations taken from classical sources for his examples" (p. 413), but in an earlier manuscript datable to the beginning of the fourteenth century (and unknown to Witt and the authorities on whom he relies), Marciano Lat. XIII.19, there are eighteen citations from ancient poets as opposed to fifty-six sets of medieval invented mnemonic verses. Moreover, Witt overlooks the important thirteenth-century grammarian Tebaldo di Orlandino da Siena, whose *Regule* are preserved in thirteen manuscripts; Tebaldo was the trend-setter here, giving no citations at all of classical authors. This tendency became the norm in later medieval Italian schools, with grammarians such as Filippo di Naddo da Firenze or Francesco da Buti (and even Guarino) citing no classical authors. There is no doubt that the thirteenth century initiated the decline of authorial study at the theoretical level in the Italian schoolroom.

For Witt, twelfth-century Italy was home to a declining classical culture, but it is doubtful that schools at the lower level of the curriculum were yet subject to such a degradation of Latinity. The key treatise of elementary Latin learning—the so-called *Ianua*—in its earliest manuscript incarnation (British Library Harley 2653), a version datable to the second half of the twelfth century, is filled with citations of classical authors. Similarly the *Donatus*, an elementary Latin grammar by the Tuscan Paolo Camaldolese, datable to the same period, includes twenty-three citations of classical authors. Significantly, however, in the manuscript version of *Ianua* datable to the years 1260 to 1280 (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 15972) all the citations of classical authors found in the Harley manuscript have been excised, and all subsequent manuscripts of *Ianua* contain no quotations from the Roman classics.

Witt sees Lovato's humanism as stemming from the

grammatical roots of thirteenth-century Italy, but it is impossible to agree that speculative grammar (albeit restricted in scope to practical educational methods in Italy) and declining use of the authors in the grammar classroom could have underpinned Lovato's return to the ancients. Witt questions the validity of two recent surveys of Italian manuscript schoolbooks containing classical authors by this reviewer (*Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* [2001] and "The Origins of Humanism" in Angelo Mazzocco, ed., *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism* [2006]) not for their statistical results but "in the interpretation of their significance" (p. 489), denying the relevance of the evidence collected in Florentine libraries as well as whether these manuscripts were in fact schoolbooks. The manuscripts now in Florence from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were collected from all over Italy: not one is of secure Florentine origins, and so the survey represents a wide sampling of Italian school reading. The Florentine collections do not principally come from later humanist collectors but were substantially derived from religious houses, as well as from the Medici family, who had powerful interests in ecclesiastical and scholastic manuscripts and learning as well as in humanism. The manuscripts surveyed outside Florence are indeed schoolbooks according to recognized criteria: of 127 included, 121 were glossed in the school manner. Ongoing research on thirteenth-century Italian schoolbooks is confirming the pattern found among the Florentine collections: the school authors declined in Italy by at least fifty and as much as seventy-five percent in the thirteenth century (according to results now complete for the Ambrosian Library, the Vatican Library, the Biblioteca Marciana as well as the principal collections in the eastern United States).

Witt's account of the origins of humanism begs an explanation for the strong negative element in Lovato's classicism: not only did he embrace the ancient poets, but he also rejected the traditions of medieval grammar and poetry, as taught in the contemporary Italian classroom. Here Lovato was turning his back on medieval scholastic grammar as practiced in the schools of his time, just as Francesco Petrarch would in the next century. Italian Renaissance humanism represented the rejection of the medieval scholastic approach, not its culmination, as Witt implies.

ROBERT BLACK
University of Leeds

ANDREW PETTEGREE. *The Book in the Renaissance*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 421. \$27.50.

Book history now extends far beyond its original focus on the early development of printed books in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe. Thanks to a spate of

publications especially during the last fifteen years we have handbooks of many kinds and multivolume histories of the book in America, Australia, Britain, Can-

ada, France, and the German-speaking regions. A growing array of monographs and collective volumes take us beyond these best-studied contexts into other parts of Europe and the world. Western historiography is also interacting with local bibliographical traditions to extend our knowledge of book history across multiple writing systems and cultural contexts, from East Asia and India to the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America.

Thematically book history is capacious too. Its central point is to attend to the material forms in which texts were made, circulated, used, and preserved, and to the full array of factors (technological, economic, political, social, cultural) that shaped those processes of production, diffusion, reception, and survival. For historians of many specialties, texts are among the most abundant and best-preserved sources, whether they survive in their original form or through later copying. The historian's goal may be to interpret a text and its impact, or to reconstruct through a text the activities of people associated with it. However a historian uses textual sources, book history offers a useful set of analytical techniques to situate that text in a given context and to guard against anachronistic assumptions. Book history ranges across intellectual and literary themes (focused on authors and readers, texts and meanings), bibliographical and technical expertise (focused on objects and the methods of their production), and commercial and economic analyses (of printers, publishers, booksellers, authors, and readers, including commercial regulations and censorship).

In this book, Andrew Pettegree takes us back to the foundations of the field by focusing on European printing from its origins in the mid-fifteenth century to 1600, and on the production and marketing of books, with a special emphasis on cheaply produced and broadly diffused imprints. Pettegree revisits the terrain treated in the first classic of book history, *L'apparition du livre* (1958) (published in English as *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800* [1976]), conceived by the *annaliste* Lucien Febvre and written chiefly by Henri-Jean Martin. Pettegree's account does not overturn the earlier one in any stunning way (which testifies to the lasting power of Febvre and Martin's research and intuitions) but offers extensive new detail and rich quantitative analyses of a kind made possible by online library catalogs and other digital resources. The result is an impressive work of synthesis that combines memorable examples with sound general conclusions about the role that economic forces played on the printing and bookselling industries.

Since 1997 Pettegree has spearheaded a vast effort to create a consolidated online catalog of European printed books to 1600. It launched in November 2011 as the Universal Short Title Catalog (USTC; www.ustc.ac.uk), offering a first unified European counterpart to the English Short Title Catalogs (an effort begun by A. W. Pollard in the 1920s that has made possible the digital collection of Early English Books Online). The USTC is built on the collective work of generations—

librarians who cataloged the collections whose holdings appear in the USTC, and those who worked on collective printed catalogs of incunabula (books printed before 1500) and sixteenth-century imprints (e.g. for Germany and Italy), and most recently the teams formed by Pettegree to examine first-hand the holdings of French and Dutch libraries especially (see most recently Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby, *French Books* [2012] and *Netherlandish Books* [2011]). The USTC was constructed with human attention to culling duplicates, assigning to each book a general field classification, and to the ongoing correction of reported errors. As a result it is a valuable (though not flawless) database from which to measure and compare book production by date, city, country, printer, language, and field classification.

Thanks to the USTC and the longstanding habit of cataloging books by listing place of publication and printer, Pettegree tracks with new confidence the trends in the early printing industry. He notes the rapid multiplication of printing centers in the fifteenth century followed by sharp consolidation in the early sixteenth. In fifteenth-century Italy eighty cities had a printing press at some point, but only eleven continuously so, and four cities accounted for eighty percent of the total output (p. 54). Printing was a high-risk business, with all the costs incurred upfront and returns dependent on the uncertain behavior of buyers. Printing did best in major trade centers, which were not necessarily centers of learning. For example Florence, the cradle of humanism, was no match for Venice, which produced four times as many imprints. Florence was also one of the few European cities of the time (along with Augsburg) to print more vernacular works than Latin ones, and the sermons of Girolamo Savonarola account for almost half of the Florentine imprints of the 1490s (p. 365 n. 15). An appendix illustrates the balance of vernacular to Latin imprints by country, with “Switzerland” (chiefly, Basel, Zurich, and Geneva) showing the greatest imbalance toward Latin (by a factor of three) and England the greatest skew toward the vernacular (by a factor of eight). The USTC enables the reader to pursue such comparisons in more detail, following Pettegree's lead.

After publication books circulated through the new and used book markets in movements that are harder to track. One of the unexpected benefits of the new union catalog of European imprints has been the ability to identify books omitted from their relevant national bibliography because they surfaced only in libraries in other countries (such as the large collection of Italian books in the British Library; p. 355). But library catalogs record movements of books without explaining them. To discuss the workings of the bookselling industry (which was the largest mover of books), Pettegree relies on broad reading in secondary sources. For example, the avid book buyer Fernando Colón (son of the famous Cristóbal) kept records of his purchases that show he rarely bought books in their place of publication. Colón bought two thousand French imprints

without ever visiting Paris and acquired seven hundred fifty books in Montpellier, where there was no printing industry (p. 88). The book market generally encouraged printers to enter into explicit or tacit agreements with colleagues to avoid gluts or direct competition (p. 73) and to favor safe choices of texts to print—typically well-known, or religious, or pedagogical works (pp. 58, 69). Only a few authors developed such selling power that they could substantially shape their printers' decisions (such as Desiderius Erasmus, who is presumed to have pressured his printer to cease printing Martin Luther's works, or Luther, who bankrupted by shunning him a printer accused of battering an apprentice [pp. 104, 98]).

Religious controversy proved an especially lucrative genre that Pettegree studies well given his expertise as a historian of the Reformation. Whereas Elizabeth Eisenstein emphasized that printing furthered the Reformation, Pettegree argues that the explosion of Lutheran cheap print first taught printers the value of the pamphlet genre. When the religious controversies died down printers kept pamphlets supplied with new topics, including ballads and accounts of "news"—natural prodigies, faraway wars, or more local happenings (but only good news that burnished the image of those in power) (chapter seven, e.g., p. 138). Cheap print survives poorly because, being ephemeral in content, perceived as not worth saving, and left unbound, it was easily destroyed or reused for the paper on which it was printed. But a single surviving imprint is evidence that hundreds of other copies were made at the same time, as printing was only commercially viable as a means of reproduction in bulk. Thus each find of a hitherto unknown pamphlet raises the count of known titles by one and the count of total imprints by, say, 500–1000.

Pettegree estimates that the USTC currently holds 350,000 titles representing one hundred million individual copies in print before 1600 (p. xvi), and that less than one percent of the copies printed in the sixteenth century have survived (p. 334). With these figures Pettegree seeks to redress the impression left by a handful of famous works, like the Bible that Johannes Gutenberg printed to showcase the new technology, which survives in fifty of the 180 copies printed (pp. 27–28), or Hartmann Schedel's lavishly illustrated Nuremberg Chronicle, produced in 1493 at the expense of two wealthy Nuremberg merchants, which survives in 800 of the 1,500 Latin copies printed (pp. 41–42). Pettegree instead wants to remind us that many works of cheap print have likely not survived at all. More than half the books published in French in the sixteenth century survive in only one copy, suggesting that untold numbers have been lost altogether (p. 333). Pettegree calls attention to little-known caches of popular genres, like the collection of cheap editions of chivalric romances in the library at Chantilly (p. 374, n. 32) or the

150 surviving editions of French farces, including an important collection in private hands (p. 381, n. 7). Illicit cheap print is especially likely to have been lost, like the four otherwise unknown books discovered in 1989 in the floorboards of an early modern Delft house (p. 333).

Pettegree writes for a general audience. The book is not as fully footnoted as a scholarly reader would like, but it offers a valuable list of sources for each chapter. Pettegree strives to be complete, offering chapters on most genres including music, science, medicine, and mentioning if only briefly the Latin American colonies and parts of Europe beyond the traditional centers (pp. 263–269). Despite an occasional cliché (on the Spanish temperament [p. 115]) or outdated interpretation (on Michael Servetus [p. 310]), his conclusions are sound and his explanations nuanced. Pettegree avoids monocausal thinking both about the impact of printing and about the role of commercial factors. He invokes a "happy conjunction of cultural and economic circumstances" to explain, for example, the rapid growth in the demand for manuscript books before the appearance of printing (p. 19).

Online catalogs make possible new kinds of research and comparison. For example, Figure 4 reproduces a block book *Apocalypse* that Pettegree dates to ca. 1430, following the catalog of the University of Glasgow, while the catalog of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich dates the same book to 1465 (p. 24); the discrepancy reminds us that cataloging an early work is not an exact science and that our understanding of book historical developments continues to evolve over time. *The Book in the Renaissance* models the use of powerful new digital tools like the USTC. At the same time some of its most memorable passages show that contact with the books themselves lies at the heart of good digital tools and of vivid book history. While investigating in person the holdings of French libraries for the USTC project, Pettegree discovered in the Bibliothèque Méjanes at Aix a volume of hitherto unknown pamphlets from Rouen, 1538–1544 (p. 139). And in handling the copies of cheap French romances in the University Library in Tübingen, Pettegree encountered something he had not been seeking: the abundant marginal annotations of the learned humanist Martin Crusius (p. 151). The commercial constraints and incentives of the printing and bookselling industries that this book surveys so well explain the travel of early printed books across space and time (despite staggering losses of cheap print) and multiple sociocultural milieux. The clues that books accumulated during these travels about their significance to individual owners and broader cultural movements will continue to motivate historians to study them "in the flesh" as well as through digital tools.

ANN BLAIR
Harvard University

STEPHEN TUCK. *We Ain't What We Ought to Be: The Black Freedom Struggle from Emancipation to Obama*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 494. \$29.95.

This is a lively and lengthy synthesis of what Stephen Tuck calls the black freedom struggle, an account of African Americans' efforts from 1861 to 2009 to gain full rights and equal status in American life. The book gives the general reader an awareness that the black experience in America has always been about protest, that resistance to oppression began with the end of slavery, and that the civil rights movement of the 1960s was only a late phase of the persistent determination of African Americans to secure just treatment and a fair share of national opportunities. The popular terminology in academia for looking outside the Montgomery-to-Memphis narrative of black protest—from 1955 to 1968—is to explore the “long” civil rights movement, which usually means to investigate what happened after 1968 and sometimes to explore the time before 1955. Tuck's position seems to be that the long civil rights movement began at Fort Sumter and continued at least through Barack Obama's inauguration. It is a story of the persistent and often heroic efforts of African Americans to act on their own behalf.

Tuck follows in the tradition of other celebrations of black agency. Based on a heavy dose of anecdotal material from black newspapers and magazines, *We Ain't What We Ought to Be* demonstrates a relentless affinity for the little-known stories of the black experience. In it one encounters new characters and some startling events, a portion of which will be unknown even to the scholar who has been studying the subject for decades. The book masterfully confirms the inherently fascinating character of the African American experience. Tuck's admirable enthusiasm for the African American past is rendered in his vigorous style, which makes his book worthwhile even to those who think they know the subject well. It is especially valuable for its inclusion of women, many of whom were not heretofore well known. Tuck provides an abundance of interesting material on culture, especially an extensive discussion of hip-hop. The book is also enhanced with several thematic sections of photographs.

This book addresses a big subject, and Tuck is not the first to attempt to cover it in a single volume, though none of the earlier works surpasses the verve of his writing. The first and still most influential was C. Vann Woodward's *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955), which so engaged activists that Martin Luther King, Jr., called it the Bible of the civil rights movement. *Strange Career's* influence derived from its powerful thesis that segregation was a post-Reconstruction political creation and that its demise in the 1960s owed to national political action prompted by the compelling ideological

imperatives of the nonviolent movement directed by King. *Strange Career* taught at least one generation of readers how to think about race in America, including both the “black freedom struggle” and its white opponents. By both word and deed, Woodward participated in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, and his passion for change was apparent in his ironic prose and his choices of interpretation. Harvard Sitkoff's *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1980* (1981) drew a wide readership with its lively, succinct account of African American protest that dwelt on the heroism of activists, of whom Sitkoff was one, between 1954 and 1968, and on the demise of effective protest thereafter. In *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890–2000* (2001), Adam Fairclough offered a more comprehensive analysis of the African American experience that provided sharp contextual background for the distinctive protest movement led by King and the younger activists in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Like Tuck a British scholar, Fairclough brought more detachment to the freedom struggle than Woodward or Sitkoff, and his book is more satisfying for those less in need of celebration than understanding of how American society has worked for blacks. He suggests a thematic tension between accommodation and confrontation among African Americans, but he is careful to show that most accommodators were resisters in cautious ways. In 2005, this reviewer offered *The House I Live In: Race in the American Century*, which provided a discussion of the structural realities—ideological, political, and economic—in the United States that so long prevented African Americans' realization of democracy, freedom, and equality, but then in the 1960s suddenly changed to enable the end of Jim Crow. This work rejected the protest-accommodation binary with the assertion that protest came in many forms and that direct-action challenges succeeded only episodically. Showing that there was always black resistance to racial discrimination and exploitation—something that Tuck and Fairclough also demonstrate—the book attempted to explain why protest usually failed to end oppression but then succeeded in doing just that in the 1960s. It spent considerable effort examining the motives and behavior of whites.

Tuck chose not to acknowledge the others who preceded him along this path. He no doubt wanted to chart his own course, which every scholar deserves the latitude to do, but the effect of writing in such a contextual vacuum is that he avoids grappling with the larger meanings that previous scholars have tried to attach to the subject. It appears that the preferences of scholars,

publishers, and readers have moved away from works with a compelling thesis, as in the case of Woodward, or the stirring narrative of Sitkoff, or the tight analysis of Fairclough, to a compendium of interesting accounts of the difficult experiences of blacks and the bad behavior of whites, which is approximately the character of the Tuck book. This may reflect the past generation's embrace of postmodernism and the skepticism about synthesizing knowledge and finding structure in historical events. To be sure, synthesis fell out of favor throughout American historiography after the 1960s. History has become for the most part the collection of individual stories, recounted sequentially according to the calendar and sometimes even randomly. This new history makes for easy reading, especially as rendered by a talented stylist like Tuck, but it does not necessarily expand the body of knowledge or advance the art of the discipline. Tuck seems to presume that it is quite enough to show black people engaged with the difficulties of their circumstances and perfectly acceptable to offer little analysis for why fundamental and lasting progress toward equality and freedom only came in the 1960s. History with shallow interpretive content drives out those with bold ideas, because no one can read all the books. Few scholars make the commitment any longer to master all the literature. There is the tendency either to rely on one golden oldie that had an impact early in one's professional life, or to embrace the "new new thing" ballyhooed by a publisher and the young lions of the profession. In the end, historical literature is left lacking. To borrow the phrase, it ain't what it ought to be.

Why does one exert the effort to write a long account of African American struggle without offering an aggressive argument about its meaning? For every interesting story recounted by Tuck, there are ten others that have not been included but might have been. What the study of race in the United States needs is critical and measured judgments about the things that enabled the realization of equality and those that thwarted it. American historians have generally resisted offering explicit discussion of the categories of motivation that drove people to support or oppose racial change. Most have implicitly assumed ideological motives: that African Americans' belief in their democratic rights or their faith in God's conferral of their humanity was the source of protest, while whites were moved entirely by racial hatred. Other motives—economic, social, or political—are largely ignored as conceivable causes of action, and the possibility of contingent and evolving purposes is little considered. Tuck's work reflects this character.

We Ain't What We Ought to Be promises to emphasize certain themes that "do far more than complicate the popular image of protest associated with the Civil Rights Movement" (p. 4), emphasizes that in fact contradict conventional understandings. Tuck declares a commitment to highlight local protests and not just na-

tional movements, but his unwillingness to analyze the relationship between local activism and national organizations makes his mention of local events and local leaders seem random and unconnected. He cites some of the many community studies of the civil rights movement but by no means all, and he ignores the seminal interpretation offered in J. Mills Thornton's *Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma* (2002). This is odd, given that Tuck's entry into the scholarly arena came with a study of activism in Georgia. He declares an intention to place the black freedom struggle in global, not just national, context, but he seems to skirt away from an assessment of the Cold War in either advancing or obstructing race reform, something that has been much on the minds of scholars for at least a decade. He commits to emphasizing violence as much as nonviolence, in essence arguing that black-initiated rioting and gunplay were as effective tools as the King appeal to passive resistance. This not only suggests a false opposite but also offers an interpretation that defies the historical record. Blacks rarely used violence as a conscious strategy, except as self-defense, and never as a practical alternative to nonviolent forms of action. Another dubious theme suggests that the black freedom struggle aimed at "separation, as much as integration" (p. 7), when a realistic accounting of black desires after emancipation found a preponderance of desire for inclusion and equality in American life and a deep suspicion of racial segregation and group isolation. Although Tuck brings great enthusiasm for black culture, he has little to say about the impact of television—news or entertainment—on African American image-making, and he leaves out any discussion of the impact of *Roots* (1976) or Afrocentrism on late twentieth-century understandings of black memory. Judging from Tuck's commitment of text, hip-hop is far more important in black culture than jazz or rhythm-and-blues.

Having brought to life many noteworthy African Americans, Tuck attempts to bury some others. Except for W. E. B. Du Bois, whom he canonizes for his ideological heroism, he has little use for the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He devotes several pages to criticizing Booker T. Washington for his alleged ideological cynicism, calling Washington's philosophy "a renunciation of rights, silence on abuses, and disparagement of higher education" (p. 105). It was none of those things, and while Tuck may have acquired that jaundiced view from any number of American scholars, he cites works that mount a contrary interpretation of the Tuskegeean but does not acknowledge that there might be another way of seeing him. The casting of Du Bois and Washington into antithetical positions, indeed in Manichean relation to one another, has skewed much writing about African American history, and Tuck seems happy to go in this misguided direction.

None of these reservations cancels the fact that *We Ain't What We Ought to Be* is a highly valuable work, one that will capture the imagination of all those who relish the details of the African American experience and

those who still struggle with the meaning of race in America.

ROBERT J. NORRELL
University of Tennessee

SHELDON GARON. *Beyond Our Means: Why America Spends While the World Saves*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. 475. \$29.95.

Savings equals income minus consumption. That is one of the simplest equations in economics. But what happens when a historian studies saving through the lens of comparative politics and culture? The story then becomes considerably more complicated, and more interesting. By looking at how societies over time and across oceans have saved, and how they have thought about saving, Sheldon Garon sheds new light on the history of capitalism and the modern state and even shows economists a few things.

Saving patterns are typically explained with reference to either demographics—the famed life cycle whereby we save money in prime working years but spend it when we are young and old—or by economic growth. Wealthy countries, like wealthy individuals, save more. But Garon motivates his study by observing that neither of these common economic explanations is sufficient to account for the wide variations in saving patterns around the world over the past several centuries. The United States is a very wealthy nation with a saving level below that of many poorer nations. Germany and Japan are proud of their thriftiness, but they have not always been so frugal. Italy, not usually regarded as an especially prudent nation, has one of the highest levels of saving. Economists argue that social saving—welfare, state pensions—demotivate personal saving. But Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany have very strong welfare states and yet also save at very high rates. While strong financial institutions and secure property rights should encourage people to put money aside, Japan and Germany have not had the diverse and creative financial sector found in the United States and Great Britain. Such economic puzzles provide an opening for the historian sensitive to a much wider range of forces than the typical economist would engage. Garon uses psychology, politics, and culture to write a lively and original historical economics, which differs from both ahistorical economic theory and traditional, cliometric-obsessed economic history.

As the title indicates, the author wants to know why other nations save so much when the United States saves so little. With regard to the former, Garon knocks over the traditional answer, the straw man of timeless, essentialized cultural difference. However, the book does show that culture understood as dynamic, malleable, and transmittable across time and space has considerable explanatory power. One of the more astounding findings is how far classic texts on the virtues of

thrift, such as Benjamin Franklin's *The Way to Wealth* (1758), Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help* (1859), and even Aesop's fables, spread across the globe. The Japanese were reading Franklin and Smiles as lesson plans for economic growth. But cultural tropes moved in both directions. Soon Japanese writers were rediscovering their own thrift stories, reinterpreting Confucian lessons, Buddhist values, and the warrior code of Bushido to promote saving. By World War I, the British were looking for lessons in Japan's "saving culture." Garon follows his Princeton colleague Daniel Rodgers, whose masterful *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (1998) showed historians how to do transnational cultural history.

Institutions moved as well. After the Meiji Restoration, Japan sent emissaries around the globe to learn how the West had grown rich. They came back most impressed with the financial institutions for small savers, such as savings banks, *sparkassen*, and post office savings accounts, transplanting them to Japan. Later these institutions spread to other parts of Asia.

A great contribution of the study is its careful examination of the meaning behind seemingly neutral or universal economic concepts. Cultural historians have, until very recently, left aside economic identities. Garon's book is part of a new wave of historically grounded, culturally attuned political economy, sometimes identified as the culture of the market, other times as the history of capitalism, and including aspects of business and financial history. Thus we see that saving often meant different things to different peoples, even when they used the same texts and language. One revealing example: Japan had a strong premodern tradition of thrift, but it was linked to suppression of consumption in the rural population so that taxes could be extracted by the aristocracy. This more communal basis of saving was translated into a form appropriate to a modern society in the nineteenth century by popular writers and then grafted on to national goals by a resurgent Meiji Japan. Such cultural bricolage embedded the behavior of saving deeply into modern Japanese society, though with a more social meaning than the individualized emphasis given to saving in the United States. Even today Japanese families, though avid consumers, seek a balance between savings and consumption that has disappeared among the American middle class.

In the broadest sense, saving is part of the civilizing process, instilling discipline and self-control and con-

necting citizens to the state. States have worked hard to encourage citizen savers since the eighteenth century, both through government policy and through civil institutions. Social reformers in nineteenth-century Europe and America directed a moral language toward the poor and lower classes, seeing in saving a way that individuals of small means could shield themselves from the vicissitudes of the market and wean themselves from poor relief. Reformers encouraged savings banks and post office savings accounts, which were safe and easy to use for those with modest incomes. Saving, once exclusively identified with the wealthy, became a mass movement. Children received school lessons on the value of a penny saved, and they learned these lessons in England, France, Germany, and Japan in a strikingly similar manner. Gender was enlisted in the cause as well, as the image of the frugal housewife keeping the family accounts was promoted by pro-saving advocates across the industrial world.

Organized saving proved extremely effective in increasing both the rate of saving and the percentage of people who saved. In Germany and France, saving advocates connected private frugality directly to the state's fiscal needs, particularly to fund the military. In Japan, diligent saving would provide cheap capital to allow the Japanese nation to modernize and catch up to the West. After the devastation of World War II, Japan continued to promote high rates of saving to rebuild and push itself into the top rank of industrial nations. Britain and Germany did likewise, with cross-party embrace of consumer austerity and continuation of wartime savings propaganda. Garon argues forcefully and convincingly that the key variable in the history of saving is politics—how states and state actors have crafted the institutions and values of saving to encourage the practice among a broad swath of the public.

Closely related to politics as a causal factor is war. Fear of military inadequacy could motivate government pro-saving policies. But wars also shaped long-term patterns, as in the case of the defeat and rebirth of Japan. Garon writes an “eventful” history, to borrow the phrase of William Sewell (*Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* [2005]). Events can alter culture and institutions, creating long-term, path-dependent processes that carry on after the event has faded from everyday life (though not from memory).

The path followed by the United States differentiated it dramatically from other nations, especially after 1980. In popular thinking the United States is a low savings, high consumption nation. That generalization is not totally wrong, but it is incomplete. The United States had high rates of saving at different times, including in the first decade or so after World War II, supposedly the flowering of consumer society. On the other hand, the United States has always saved somewhat differently than its European and Asian counterparts. The state has played a much smaller direct role, as evidenced by a modest post office savings bank system, designed not to compete with the private sector. Unlike most of the rest of the world, America lacked a

strong public option. The United States had private savings banks that catered to workers, immigrants, and the poor, but nothing like the vast numbers of such banks found in Britain or Germany. Far fewer Americans had savings accounts, and even the famous wartime bond drives reached a smaller percentage of citizens in the United States compared to Europe or Japan. Thus while the United States often shared cultural and moral values that spoke of the virtues of thrift, it lacked the institutions and policies that promoted saving on a wide scale.

Historians have spent so much time focused on consumption they have forgotten that the *doppelgänger* of consumption is savings, and savings' own evil twin is debt. Garon's book complements a recent spate of works that have examined the history of debt, credit, and finance. When nations promoted saving as necessary to the national mission, they also designed policies on debt and consumption. Where the United States has generally seen high levels of personal consumption as indicative of its success, other nations have limited the availability of consumer credit and discouraged overconsumption. Likewise, American policy has since World War II strongly promoted homeownership, and with it the taking on of mortgage debt, more so than in other nations.

These differences, while present a century ago, exhibit a directionality that has shaped the paths of economic history down to the present. Here the stickiness of historical patterns and institutions becomes clear, as the trajectory of the United States has diverged ever more sharply from other nations. The Keynesian promotion of consumption, the belief that access to credit is liberating, and the emphasis on financial risk taking as characteristic of an “ownership” society have all driven the United States (and to a degree Great Britain) away from the simple but very effective savings plans still found in other nations. In contrast to predilections about the inevitability of American-style consumer capitalism, most other nations have avoided the American practices of taking on extraordinary levels of consumer debt and complicated, highly leveraged home mortgages.

What lessons might this long history of saving offer with regard to the state of capitalist economies today? Garon largely embraces the moral position that saving is good and mindless consumption problematic for societies. One potential criticism here, however, is that what works at the individual level may not aggregate to the macro level. Garon mentions but largely dismisses the paradox of thrift. At the macro level, however, too much saving can grind an economy to a halt. Japan, for example, has not given up its belief in thrift, but it has seen its saving rate fall due to a decade and a half of economic stagnation. China's policies of forced saving make capital available to its export-oriented firms but also reduce global consumption. Only by channeling its excess savings into dollar denominated assets has China been able to prevent the renminbi from appreciating against the dollar. Likewise German savings flowed into

Spanish, Greek, and Irish property, inflating wages and prices to the point that the euro area may now be unsustainable. High levels of debt and leverage, it is true, contributed to an unsustainable boom in the United States, but it is the current household deleveraging, or saving, that has thrown the economy into recession. In an interconnected global economy, no nation can shield itself from worldwide fluctuations simply by embracing the virtues of thrift.

At the micro level, Garon's intellectual, moral, and institutional history of saving allows him to explain as-

pects of behavior that economic theory cannot explain. By isolating saving an object of study, he shows how historians can enter conversations about contemporary policy that have been almost wholly dominated by social scientists. This book is a model for how historians might re-engage with matters of economy and business using the insights and tools developed during the cultural turn.

KENNETH LIPARTITO

Florida International University

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

GARY IANZITI. *Writing History in Renaissance Italy: Leonardo Bruni and the Uses of the Past*. (I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 418. \$49.95.

Leonardo Bruni (ca. 1370–1444), scholar and statesman, was perhaps the most influential humanist of the early Renaissance and one often credited with pioneering modern historical methods. In this comprehensive, painstakingly researched, and thought-provoking study of Bruni's historical works, Gary Ianziti's central question is not whether Bruni innovated, but why. He acknowledges Bruni's "critical questioning and probing of evidence . . . and search for new sources, which extended even into the archives" (p. 93). He notes Bruni's emphasis on human causation, his pragmatic interpretation of politics (likened several times to Niccolò Machiavelli's), and his novel experiments in historical genre. But by taking into consideration a wide spectrum of Bruni's historically minded writings—commentaries, biographies, memoir, and works often classed as translations, as well as the histories proper—and setting them firmly in their immediate context, Ianziti argues convincingly that Bruni's innovations were a by-product of his quest to promote a partisan vision of the past, geared to present purposes.

Bruni's reputation rests largely on his monumental *History of the Florentine People*, but his historiographical theory and method come through most clearly in other works, attesting to the merits of Ianziti's broad scope. It was in defending his "translations" as true histories, for instance, that Bruni offered his definition of *historia*: a work that, like translation, consisted primarily in organizing and embellishing ready-made material, but that drew on multiple sources and expressed the historian's "will and judgment" (p. 15). Scholars have focused on his use of multiple sources, seeing in Bruni's works "the birth of positivist historical methodology" (p. 46), but Bruni himself stressed the primacy of the historian's will and judgment. His early biography of Cicero shows this plainly. Prompted by a rival humanist's recent translation of a classical biography by Francesco Plutarch that Bruni found too critical of its subject, Bruni's own was largely a rewriting of Plutarch, as contemporaries noted. If it drew on other sources as

well, it was not in the interests of achieving a balanced perspective, but to support Bruni's own, idealized vision of the ancient statesman he admired. Ianziti proves this by closely comparing Bruni's text with his available sources, demonstrating that in the service of his vision Bruni was equally willing to engage in less admirable historical methods, including "suppression of information, alteration, and deliberate manipulation of data" (p. 46).

Having articulated these key elements of Bruni's historical vision and approach in the opening chapters dedicated to the humanist's early works, Ianziti proceeds chronologically, revealing recurrent themes as well as a certain evolution in the face of changing circumstances. Professional rivalries spurred not only Bruni's *Life of Cicero* but his later biography of Aristotle and his own memoirs. The desire to rewrite an authoritative precursor underlay his biography of Dante (a riposte to Giovanni Boccaccio's), his account of the First Punic War (a pro-Roman version of the Greek historian Polybius), and his *History of the Florentine People*, which contested the famous Villanian chronicle tradition. Bruni's polemical message and the way he treated evidence in its service (sometimes laudably source-critical, sometimes deliberately distorting) characterize both major and minor works. If the early books of the *History*, written for Florence's oligarchic regime, justified governance by the expert few and provided a historical template for the territorial state Florence was becoming, the later books glorified the Medici who had by then taken power, again suppressing and manipulating the historical record as necessary. Ancient history was no less politically charged: Bruni's account of fourth-century B.C. Greece, Ianziti argues, was a cautionary tale about the dangers of excessive military aggression in mid-fifteenth-century Italy.

Ianziti notes the influence of classical models on Bruni's historical approach, but foregrounds the prism of contemporary pressures through which they were read. His account of the stakes involved in Renaissance historiography is gripping (pp. 192–193). In an environment where history was understood to be a commentary on the present, where political leaders subjected new works to intense scrutiny, and where humanists vied with each other for patronage, even passing comments could result in obscurity and exile or wealth and fame.

Bruni's emphasis on authorial will and judgment as the very essence of historiography was formed in this context. If that emphasis opened the door to Bruni's historiographical sins, it also produced his innovations: as Ianziti, quoting his colleague James Hankins, observes, "advances in historical technique, in the fifteenth century as in the twentieth, are often the children of controversy" (p. 149). A masterful articulation of the features of fifteenth-century practice, Ianziti's study offers food for thought for all historians about the degree to which those features—the foregrounding of authorial judgment, the urge to rewrite influential precursors, and the influence of professional rivalries and contemporary polemics—still inform the writing of history. If we adjust our conception of "modern historical practice," we may find that Bruni was one of its forerunners after all.

SAMANTHA KELLY
Rutgers University

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

E. NATALIE ROTHMAN. *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. xx, 323. \$45.00.

Relations between Venice and Istanbul (or more often, Constantinople) are a classical theme in Mediterranean studies, with Venice's decline in the early modern period as interpretative narrative. E. Natalie Rothman's fine study departs in several ways from the existing literature. It is a book about intermediaries, the people crossing the Venetian-Ottoman frontier, moving in a broader trans-imperial field of power in which early modern Venice was an important node (p. 14). This focus on intermediaries is perhaps less "rare" than Rothman claims (p. 7), if we think of recent work on mobility, *gens de passage*, and the economy of ransoming in the Mediterranean, but her in-depth analysis shows the heuristic advantages of this approach. It intends to overcome the persisting "insularity" of Venetian historiography with a decentering look at the Venetian overseas territories—in Rothman's view the "imperial" aspect of Venice. Instead of opposing "Europe" as a preexisting quasi-"natural" entity and the "Turk" as a cultural other, a look at the intersecting worlds of mediation shows the multiple connections, convergence, and, indeed, centrality of the Ottomans in European politics and culture of the sixteenth century. Provincializing Europe, one of the aims of Rothman's book, means not only decentering but also not considering Europe as a "given."

Against the idea of "contact zones" as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet," Rothman argues that cultures "do not 'meet, crabble, clash'" and are not, as a pregiven fact, "disparate" (p. 4). Rothman's alternative proposal is to adopt the perspective of "those crossing and transgressing imperial lines" (p. 15)—she calls them "trans-imperial subjects," an omnipresent term that needs explanation. The prefix "trans-" refers to the

mobilization of elements of their roots "elsewhere" (language, privileges, etc.); "imperial" tries to avoid the anachronistic "national" but is perhaps the loosest term covering divergent realities from the Holy Roman Empire to Mughal India, or from the Ottoman Empire to Venice and its overseas positions. "Subject" seems to be the crucial term: subject and not "person, self, individual" (p. 12), the term refers to constructions of subjecthood (status or position) in concrete historical and institutional contexts with the entwining of political, religious, or juridical affiliations.

We are here far from the somewhat romantic idea of adventurous *passeurs de rives* as exceptional *virtuosi* of self-fashioning. Instead, we are at the core of the construction of social categories in a culturally saturated context, a process in which the boundary crossers actively participated. In this sense, this is a book on integration as a process and on the multiple dimensions of inclusion and exclusion. We may add in Venice because the perspective is essentially Venetian, as are the sources explored: transcripts of trials of the commercial brokers' guild, petitions (*suppliche*) to the Senate, answers (*risposte*) by the Board of Trade (*Cinque savi*), documents on commercial brokers and *dragomans* (interpreters), notarial and baptismal records, reconciliations, documents of the Casa dei Catecumeni.

This impressively rich source material allows Rothman to reconstruct three types of "trans-imperial subjects": commercial brokers (part one), religious converts (part two), and official interpreters or *dragomans* (part three). Part four analyzes their interaction and points to major shifts during the sixteenth century concerning which criteria were used to define differences and categories. Commercial brokers, called *sensali* in Venice, were a shared social institution in the Mediterranean and beyond, and foreigners played an important role as brokers in Venice. The narratives found in the trials before the brokers' guild and the petitions, a highly rhetorical genre, addressed to the Venetian authorities to be admitted as a broker allow us partially to reconstruct not only the trajectories of these people but also the arguments and criteria they advanced to obtain admission. These included linguistic competence, usefulness for the community, and loyalty toward the city (pp. 48–49). The trials of unlicensed brokers show that the broker was not the neutral figure imagined in normative documents but "a proxy" (p. 75), bound to clients through business partnership or friendship. Based on the material of the Venetian Casa dei Catecumeni (over 1,000 conversions) and reconciliation procedures at the Venetian Inquisition with narratives of conversions (pp. 98–99), the second part presents conversion as a process of gradual modification (p. 91), as a highly public form of subject making (p. 123), and as a classification of converts as social types. Parallel developments and resemblances across religious divides have led historians, including Rothman, recently to extend to a larger euro-asiatic space the highly discussed and deeply criticized concept of "confessionalization" intended to describe the link between the creation of con-

fessional churches and state building. I doubt whether this transfer and the redefinition of a heavily loaded concept instead of simply point to similar processes of "ideologic hardening" in other religious contexts is really useful.

Part three is concerned with "Translations" and the making of Venetian public *dragomans*, following Ottoman models, as official interpreters at the Venetian board of trade to assist Ottoman subjects in Venice. Here reappear converts such as Teodoro Dandolo from the Uzbek city of Bukhara, baptized in Venice where he sought in 1608 an appointment as interpreter of Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and "Indian" (pp. 89, 189). In the seventeenth century, linguistic incapacity was becoming progressively a major marker of foreigners who needed to be assisted by interpreters.

In the last part of the book, Rothman attempts to integrate the different studies into a general interpretation, pointing to key moments of Ottoman difference with the distinction of "Asiatic" merchants and the invention of the category of "Levantine" prior to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a first manifestation of an European "Orient." In the long run she observes a gradual shift, from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, from an essentially juridical and commercial discourse of difference toward a predominantly ethno-linguistic divide. The ideological hardening of religious boundaries linked political status and position ("subjecthood") with religious belonging ("confessional membership").

Reconstructed trajectories of the travel of Dandolo from Bukhara via Aleppo to Venice and Rome, of the Cypriote Michiel Membré, *dragoman* from 1550 to 1594 and translator of a world map into Turkish (pp. 172–173), and of the narrative of multiconversions (pp. 98–99) make Rothman's book a gripping read. Her "trans-imperial subjects" are perhaps not "brokering empire," but they are convincingly presented as socially and institutionally integrated key figures in early modern Venice and the Mediterranean. A last point is praiseworthy: contrasting with the current monolingual publishing practice, Rothman gives quotations from sources in the footnotes and in the appendixes in the original language and thus allows a serious use of these texts.

WOLFGANG KAISER

Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne

MICHAEL A. REYNOLDS. *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908–1918*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 303. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$31.99.

Scholars have long endeavored to understand the history of empires: their formation and governance; the forces, identities, and personalities that hold them together and generate some form of loyalty; the various strategies that imperial elites have used to manage social, ethnic, and religious difference; and especially the question of how empires end. In this marvelous book,

Michael A. Reynolds offers a new and highly persuasive exploration of the nearly simultaneous and intricately interconnected collapse of the Ottoman and Russian empires in the wake of World War I. In the process, Reynolds contributes in meaningful ways to the broader history of the war, highlighting the importance of the almost-always ignored Caucasian front to its overall trajectory and the ensuing revolutions. He also offers valuable new context for understanding the horrifying fate of Armenians in the war years. The book was exhaustively researched in archives and libraries in Turkey, Russia, Germany, and the United States. It is also written with praiseworthy clarity and style, and an engaging attention to local details and the contingency of individual decisions in the midst of broader geostrategic patterns.

While the book examines the collapse of both empires, the story is told most fully from the perspective of the Ottomans. For the Unionists who took power in 1908, the primary and overriding goal of all policies, Reynolds asserts, was the preservation of the Ottoman state, and any and all means were acceptable. Yet, their actions—in combination with those of the other Great Powers and of the heterogeneous peoples in their empire—unintentionally paved the road to their own ruin. The book interweaves discussions of high politics and imperial geostrategy with analyses of the activities and agendas of those ethno-religious communities whose members found themselves embedded in the imperial field of war (especially Kurds and Armenians, but many others also).

To understand what caused the end of these long-standing and long-powerful empires, Reynolds argues that we must focus on geopolitical rivalries, the struggles and interventions of the Great Powers, and the vagaries of war. He approaches "the Ottoman and Russian empires as *state actors* [italics in original] . . . and argues that interstate competition, and not nationalism, provides the key to understanding the course of history in the Ottoman-Russian borderlands in the early twentieth century" (p. 6). In making this argument, he challenges the standard and often teleological view of "empires to nations" in modern history, disputing the notion that the demise of empires can best be explained by "ethnic passions and conflicts" and "a clash of irreconcilable nationalisms" (pp. 4, 266). Nationalism as a broadly shared sense of communal identification was, for Reynolds, "at least as much a consequence as a cause of imperial collapse" (p. 9). The relatively small role of nationalism in helping to break apart these empires is seen in the reluctance to declare independence and hesitating steps of the newly "free" Georgians, Azëris, Armenians, and other Caucasian communities in the wake of the tsarist collapse. "The national idea had triumphed," Reynolds writes, "albeit to the regret of all the nations concerned" (p. 214). Hardly a springtime of nations.

Reynolds does not ignore the historical importance of national identifications. However, he views the national idea—"the belief that the world should be di-

vided among governments ruling over ethnically homogenous territories" (p. 8)—as an intellectual concept that came to be manipulated as a tool of imperial expansion and great power rivalries. This national idea developed first in Europe and then was dispersed globally through European military success, the spread of European culture and ideas, and European control over the rules of interstate competition. European powers used the national ideal and demands for "minority rights" as a means to delegitimize multiethnic, multireligious empires (such as the Ottoman) and to justify intervention in the affairs of others. By the Berlin congress of 1878, the "national idea" had developed into the "principle around which the powers organized their competition" (p. 14). The loss of so much Balkan territory in 1878 shifted the focus of Ottoman governance east into Anatolia and, in stark contrast to the preceding patterns of indirect rule, Ottoman leaders strove to assert direct control over their imperial subjects, generating ever greater opposition and discontent among the peoples of the region. By World War I, "experience had taught [the Ottoman leadership] that the global community of states accorded no legitimacy to pluralistic but weak empires. As long as Anatolia remained ethnically pluralistic it would be vulnerable to subversion and partition" (p. 150). Homogenization through Turkification (and the expulsion of Armenians) was the consequence of this intersection of the national idea and interstate tensions.

Throughout the book, Reynolds is also attentive to "substate actors, demonstrating how the dynamics of global interstate competitions interacted with local and regional agendas to produce new forms of political identity" (p. 6). He underscores how relations between Armenians and Kurds in eastern Anatolia—and the repeated interventions of the Russian and Ottoman states in their conflicts—were "basic driver[s] of instability in the region" (p. 78). While Armenians and Kurds might have aspired to separate from each other and from the increasingly centralizing control of the Ottoman state, the Great Powers callously exploited their communal dreams as instruments in their interstate competition. Both Russian and Ottoman state leaders supported communities of Kurds and Armenians at different times, shifting back and forth as power concerns evolved. Here Reynolds actively discounts more traditional explanations that privilege religious (especially pan-Islamic) and ethnic (pan-Turkic) explanations in determining the roots of Ottoman (and Russian) policies. Ethno-confessional considerations and solidarities might have been used as decorative coloring to sweeten or explain certain power grabs, but ultimately they were not the driving forces in the *realpolitik* strategies of the Great Powers or the local actors on the ground.

Shattering Empires tells a profoundly sad and painful story. By the end of World War I, the human experience in Eurasia would be forever changed not just by the disappearance of several empires and the formation (however fleetingly) of new states but also by the radical and

cruel reformulation of the demographics of the region. Intercommunal violence exploded in the context of war and global Great Power competition, and imperial elites targeted whole populations for forcible resettlement, horrifying mistreatment, and/or annihilation. The book is filled with confounding amounts of violence, brutality, and suffering. Mutually reinforcing revenge cycles meant that those massacred one day led massacres on the next. None, however, suffered more than Armenians, wiped pitilessly and in calculated fashion from the map of eastern Anatolia. This is an important, insightful, and engaging book. The author is to be commended.

NICHOLAS B. BREYFOGLE
Ohio State University

CLARE ANDERSON. *Subaltern Lives: Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790–1920*. (Critical Perspectives on Empire.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 219. \$32.99.

The Indian Ocean has increasingly become the subaltern sea, the arena that provides privileged purchase on understanding non-European mobility. With its deep archive of transoceanic exchanges and intensified mobility during the age of European imperialisms, the Indian Ocean world has long been dense with lateral linkages. It is hence a rich zone for exploring the intersections of subaltern, oceanic, transcolonial, imperial, and transnational historiographies. A pioneering historian of convict transportation within the Indian Ocean world, Clare Anderson has been an important figure in enabling these intersections to become visible. Drawing on two decades worth of archival research in several countries, *Subaltern Lives* advances the debate and will become a classic in the field.

The book narrates five riveting biographies, four of convicts and one of a jailer. Two narratives concern "ordinary" non-political convicts: Dullah, transported from Calcutta to Mauritius in 1816, and George Morgan, an African sailor and performer whose dramatic story of transportation from Calcutta to Burma involved escape en route, recapture, and re-transportation to Van Diemen's Land. Two stories focus on political figures with equally remarkable stories. Narain Sing, a military general, was sentenced to imprisonment in Burma for his part in the Anglo-Sikh wars, but not before he led a mutiny on the steamer shipping him to Calcutta. Once imprisoned, Sing used his military status to climb the prisoner hierarchy and become an overseer. Liaquat Ali, a saint-soldier (sent to the Andamans), played an important role in the 1857 revolt but eluded capture for fourteen years before being brought to trial. Amelia Bennett, a Franco-Indian woman taken captive during the revolt and whose life Ali saved, testified in his defense, thereby saving him from the gallows. The final biography is drawn from the diary of a naval brigadesman from Maine, Edwin Forbes, who worked as a convict overseer on the Andamans from 1861 to 1864.

The book vividly captures both the intimate and painful detail of convict experience while sketching out the broader implications of the system for imperial penal governance, transnational flows of labor, and colonial cultures. In addition to the conditions under which convicts travelled (below deck, with 6 x 0.5 feet of space per convict, slightly less than that allotted slaves in the Atlantic trade), we learn of their lives in penal settlements and the work routines they followed in building roads, bridges, and colonial infrastructures (the system being driven mainly by the labor needs of receiving colonies). Transportation formed part of the imperial practice of normalizing unfree labor whether slave, convict, or indentured—all systems that depended on terror. While designed to inflict “social rupture, social levelling and shame” (p. 106), the system nonetheless ended up accommodating existing systems of caste, status, and hierarchy.

Yet, overall penal governance did racialize spaces, societies, and peoples, a process shaped in an interplay of religion, class, education, and ideologies of temperate and tropical climatic zones. The Antipodes became defined as destination for white metropolitan criminals and Southeast Asia and Mauritius as zones for Indian convicts (although these boundaries were blurred by Euro-Indian convicts or colonially convicted Africans, Chinese, or Indians sent to Australia). These different systems of unfree labor were used strategically with and against each other. Indenture initially was understood as a type of penal transportation by those administering the system and those in it. Australia’s opposition to convicts from the Caribbean rested on a strategic desire to separate convictism from the lingering association with slavery.

From the point of view of Indian Ocean studies, the book makes an especially rich contribution in illuminating the range of enforced cosmopolitanisms that transportation brought into being. The cast of characters in the book is remarkable: African sailors, adivasis, female Madagascan slaves, poor whites, Sikh generals, Indian peasants, and many more rub shoulders. The routes that these characters took make apparent long-forgotten networks encompassing Port Louis, Calcutta, Port Blair, Bencoolen, Penang, Moulmein, Madras, Bombay, Robben Island, Sydney, and Hobart. The book makes a signal contribution in helping complicate our understandings of colonial cultures as much through transcolonial exchanges as through metropole/colony circuits.

From far-flung and fragmented archives, Anderson has created a remarkable book of reticulated biographies and the penal assemblages through which their subjects passed (as well as the communities they left behind and the groups they encountered living around their penal settlements). Methodologically inventive and lucid (and hence well-suited for undergraduate and graduate teaching), this book will play a major role in

mainstreaming studies of the Indian Ocean arena in the domain of world and global history.

ISABEL HOFMEYR

University of the Witwatersrand

JOSÉ ANGEL HERNÁNDEZ. *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century: A History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xvii, 266. \$29.99.

Mexicans were crisscrossing the border between the United States and Mexico long before the current immigration debates. Yet, Latina/o studies scholarship has been heavily skewed to events in the late twentieth century. This is unfortunate because it means that we have not well understood how early generations of Mexicans grappled with the national divide. José Angel Hernández’s fine monograph joins other recent histories that have started to address the gap. Hernández’s research focuses on Mexicans and Mexican Americans who moved south of the border to create new communities in the decades following the U.S.-Mexican War (1846–1848). Some relocated for deeply held political reasons, others for pragmatic interests. Hernández convincingly documents the range of impacts that such migrations had on northern Mexico. His book carries the reader through the national policies that encouraged Mexican American colonization and various responses to colonization efforts across the border, and concludes with a study of one such repatriate community in Chihuahua.

When the U.S.-Mexican War ended in 1848, the Mexican government conceived of colonization schemes that targeted Mexicans living in the territories ceded to the United States. The scant number of settlements in the northern frontier had been a source of anxiety since Mexican independence in 1821. The fledgling nation had often tried to recruit settlers, as in the case of the famous Texas plan that allowed a small number of Euro-American families to settle in Mexico. That experiment ended disastrously for Mexico, to say the least, but the impulse to build northern settler communities remained. The main difference after the war, Hernández notes, was that state authorities increasingly prized Mexicans living in the United States as ideal colonization candidates. In their grandest forms, repatriation proposals promised a dedicated chain of defensive towns that could be mobilized to protect the nation. Fantasies of repatriates forming militia communities did not just center on defending against another U.S. invasion. Hernández rightly points out that Mexican authorities had an equal, if not greater, interest in continuing their wars against northern indigenous groups, whom it derisively termed *indios bárbaros*.

This book is the first to investigate these efforts across the entire border region by drawing upon a truly transnational set of archives. Indeed, *Mexican American Colonization* uncovers intriguing regional specificities that inflected repatriation communities from Alta California, Texas, and New Mexico. As Hernández shows,

these efforts rarely developed as promised. Mexico's depleted treasury coupled with local corruption meant that many colonists never received the money or land promised to them. Moreover, U.S. authorities directly intervened in repatriation efforts by simply ending Mexico's recruitment efforts in places like New Mexico (Hernández makes a minor error by conflating the U.S. governor, John Washington, with the territorial secretary, Donaciano Vigil, in this discussion).

With the broader patterns outlined, Hernández concludes with his most compelling material: a case study of La Ascensión, Chihuahua. The town's history mirrored the shifting fortunes that repatriates faced. Many *Ascensionenses*, after all, participated in more than one colonization effort. Twenty years before moving to La Ascensión, they founded one of the original repatriation settlements, La Mesilla, shortly after the U.S.-Mexican War. La Mesilla grew quickly and became a tantalizing prize when the United States redrew the borderline in 1854 to include the town within its own boundaries. A political riot in La Mesilla in the 1870s pushed some Mexican settlers south of the new borderline to La Ascensión. Life in Mexico, however, proved far from idyllic. In 1892, twenty years after their flight from La Mesilla, *Ascensionenses* became increasingly critical of the Mexican government's failure to clarify existing land titles and its blindness to local corruption. Tensions boiled over, resulting in gruesome political assassinations and revolt. These incidents suggest that Mexican and Mexican American settlers attempted to traverse the border strategically, and that such traversing did not always result in an easier life.

These are important incidents unknown to most U.S., Mexican, and borderlands historians. At times, though, the text loses focus by battling a historiographical straw man. Hernández suggests that other scholars merely accept romantic notions of nationalism to explain repatriation. He asserts that it was economic or other pragmatic issues that motivated the colonists and strategic military decisions on the part of the state. Yet, such an interpretation is not as starkly divergent from work by scholars like Martín González de la Vara, myself, and others as he imagines. Previous work on colonization agents has shown how nationalist rhetoric explained, masked, or justified the same practical motives that Hernández documents. Overly zealous efforts to claim an entirely novel interpretation distract from the actual critical contribution that this book makes to understanding life on the nineteenth-century border.

ANTHONY P. MORA
University of Michigan

MICHAEL SCOTT VAN WAGENEN. *Remembering the Forgotten War: The Enduring Legacies of the U.S.-Mexican War*. (Public History in Historical Perspective.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 329. \$28.95.

Michael Scott Van Wagenen's book explores contrasting memories on either side of the Rio Grande of the

U.S.-Mexican War. Van Wagenen argues that although both the United States and Mexico have used the war to further nationalist ends, each has at times understood it as a national embarrassment best forgotten. In both countries social, political, and economic concerns have shaped the official memory of the war.

The height of nationalist memory in the United States came in response to anxieties first over disunion caused by slavery, and later over the erosion of a dominant Anglo culture. In Mexico nationalist memories came to the fore first in the service of a government seeking legitimacy in the face of internal revolt, and again in the service of a population made uneasy by the economic dislocations of globalization. The memory arc of national embarrassment prefigured the unease that the Vietnam War produced among many in the United States and the Chicano movement's struggle to reclaim the nation's Hispanic heritage. In Mexico the arc of embarrassment was brief and reflected the efforts of nineteenth-century reformers to challenge the authority of those who led Mexico to defeat, most notably Antonio López de Santa Anna. Appreciating the content of these memory arcs and the cultural work they perform, Van Wagenen concludes, provides a perspective of the fraught relationship between the United States and Mexico that diplomats on both sides of the border would profit from.

Van Wagenen does an impressive job of explaining how the memory of the war has shaped diplomacy, internal politics, scholarly debate, and popular culture in both Mexico and the United States. His book is at its best when exploring how the distinct sociopolitical environments in the United States and Mexico influenced the production of their respective memory arcs. In the United States the government largely left the project of memory creation to groups of private citizens who appropriated it to serve their diverse ends, whether Anglos in California in the late nineteenth century anxious over demographic change, or members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints seeking membership in the nation, or Chicanos in the twentieth century eager to expose the United States' history of racial discrimination. As a result of this decentralized process, the U.S.-Mexican War meant different things to different Americans at different times and never entered the national memory in the same powerful way as the Civil War or World War II.

In Mexico, starting with Porfirio Díaz, the government created the memory of the U.S.-Mexican War to bolster its authority over an unruly population. The principal vehicle for this project was the quasi-religious cult surrounding the *Niños Heroes*, six military cadets whose deaths at the battle of Chapultepec (either in combat or suicide depending on the needs of the moment) symbolized Mexico's glorious defeat at the hands of the *yanqui* imperialists. Eventually this memory became so central to Mexican identity that when President Carlos Salinas tried to soften popular perceptions of the United States and thus generate support for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) by

removing the *Niños* from the nation's textbooks, popular outrage forced him to back down. The United States' and Mexico's different memories of the war, Van Wagenen tells us, reflect, in no small part, the different ways in which the two nations produced those memories.

The book has its flaws. Interpretive inconsistencies raise more questions about paths not taken than the author might wish. The early discussion of the memory of the war in the United States provides an interesting commentary on the gendered language of war, invasion, and conquest; gender then drops from the discussion almost entirely and never really appears in the analysis of Mexican memory of the war. Similarly, while there is a sustained discussion of Mexican elementary and secondary school textbooks' portrayal of the war, there is only a passing reference to how U.S. textbooks treated the conflict. The United States does not share Mexico's model of a national curriculum, but the fact that in the twentieth century textbook content in the United States has been driven by the demands of a few large markets, notably Texas, suggests ample ground for fruitful analysis of this topic. These reservations aside, *Remembering the Forgotten War* makes a valuable addition to the growing library of scholarly works on war's role in national memory, and it is a useful reminder of the importance of memories of this particular conflict in U.S.-Mexican relations.

PETER C. MESSER

Mississippi State University

JOHN MCKIERNAN-GONZÁLEZ. *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848–1942*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 416. Cloth \$94.95, paper \$26.95.

"When our honored and lamented Reed went to Havana and discovered that yellow fever was transmitted by the bite of a mosquito, and Gorgas, by the most brilliant sanitary experiment ever made, put an end to this disease in its very stronghold, they drove the last nail in the coffin of the filth theory of disease. But it is to be feared that the devotees of this theory are loath to bury it, thus violating one of their cardinal principles. It seems to me it is the duty of the health officers of this country to see that this ceremony is properly performed."

These words were written by Charles V. Chapin, health officer in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1902. They might well have been the epigraph for John Mckiernan-González's book about the way the U.S. Marine and Hospital Service in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attempted to control the border between Mexico and the United States, focusing especially on Texas. He shows that the then recently discovered germ theory rationalized disease-specific interventions in a way that local environmental sanitary improvement could not; that quarantine was used by the federal government as an instrument of border control and as a way to classify people in racial categories

(Mexican, white, colored) for the purposes of determining sources of infection; and that it became a way for public health practitioners to legitimize the growing power of their profession.

Mckiernan-González describes various episodes when federal medical authorities exercised (or attempted to exercise) control over the public with respect to border crossing by, for example, domestic servants and laundresses who lived in Ciudad Juárez but came daily to work in El Paso. But he also describes Mexican resistance to the degrading rituals of bodily inspections, forced vaccination for smallpox—even when people could demonstrate that they had previously been vaccinated successfully—and kerosene-vinegar baths to kill typhus-carrying lice.

In 1917 domestic servants and laundresses rioted in El Paso when they were required to get off the trolley taking them to work and submit to disinfection. In a reversal of the quarantine, they interrupted southbound traffic carrying "sporting" men to the race track and other destinations in Ciudad Juárez. Complicating the story even further was the fact that typhus usually appeared in the poorest parts of El Paso among recent Mexican migrants after they had been in the city for a month or so. Since the incubation period of the disease was a week or two, the immigrants must have been exposed in El Paso. This was known to the health officers but, as Mckiernan-González observes, did not lead them to advocate for sanitation and other environmental improvements in the poor sections of El Paso. That is to say, quarantine and the theory that justified it deflected attention from local improvements that might have diminished the incidence of typhus and led to a focus upon alien sources of pollution.

As epidemics of smallpox and yellow fever receded by the 1920s, endemic diseases like tuberculosis, pneumonia, heart disease, and diarrhea among children became the most important conditions affecting the health of the U.S. population. It was well documented in Texas that mortality from these causes was highest in neighborhoods and counties in which Mexicans were heavily represented. The response of the public health establishment in Texas was not to support sanitary improvements in these neighborhoods, or higher wages, or better working conditions but rather health education, segregated schools, and the baths to cleanse "dirty" school children.

Mckiernan-González describes all of this persuasively and adds substantially to the large literature on the history of public health, particularly its role in controlling immigration into the United States. What is missing is a sense of how exhilarating it must have been for health officers like Chapin to have a theory that was so successful with respect to explaining and preventing—if not treating—some of the most important diseases of the time. That there was arrogance, authoritarianism, and excess, and that the theory legitimated racist behavior that was offensive at the time and embarrassing now, is true. Perhaps the situation Mckiernan-González describes is not so different from the

contemporary enthusiasm for genetic explanations of disease. But it is also true that public health workers had at their disposal a revolutionary theory that explained more than had been explained previously.

STEPHEN J. KUNITZ

University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry

ORIEL PRIZEMAN. *Philanthropy and Light: Carnegie Libraries and the Advent of Transatlantic Standards for Public Space*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2012. Pp. xxii, 235. \$124.95.

As its title suggests, Oriel Prizeman's *Philanthropy and Light: Carnegie Libraries and the Advent of Transatlantic Standards for Public Space* comprises a comparative study of a small group of Carnegie-endowed libraries in Britain and the United States. Specifically the author looks closely at the design and planning of four early twentieth-century buildings at Rowley Regis, Cradley Heath; Rowley Regis, Blackheath; Rowley Regis, Tividale; and Wednesbury (all of which were nineteenth-century industrial towns located in the West Midlands in England) and compares them to the Braddock Carnegie Library and Lawrenceville Branch Library in Pennsylvania. The underlying premise for this comparison is that all of these institutions shared a common patron and were all located in heavily industrialized and polluted districts. Their analogous working-class constituencies and need to overcome challenging environmental conditions offer the author an opportunity to explore differing approaches to library design, as well as divergent notions of public and private space on opposite sides of the Atlantic. Prizeman heavily bases her analysis on a thorough investigation of the deployment of natural and artificial light in these buildings, both to enable patrons to read books comfortably and to facilitate the surveillance of these same patrons by the librarians. The author expands our understanding of what light, as well as heat and ventilation, meant to an underclass of laborers, poorly housed and toiling in dangerous and dark cities.

Designed between 1889 (Braddock) and 1909 (Rowley Regis, Blackheath and Tividale), the erection of these buildings coincided with the introduction of electric light, a technology that replaced gas and allowed libraries to remain open during evening hours. Prizeman's discussion of contemporary experiments with optimal levels of artificial and natural light in public spaces is informative but is sometimes difficult to follow because of the way in which it is distributed among the various chapters in the book. Still, her focus on light as a means of defining a new type of public space, especially among the working classes in England, is insightful. This innovation paralleled the transformation of the library—first in the United States and then in Britain—from an elitist and private realm frequented by a privileged class to a more egalitarian and open institution. This democratization strongly influenced the introduction of publically accessible book stacks and

open plans in American libraries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a shift acknowledged by British librarians and architects but not fully embraced by them. In both nations, even as library reading-rooms became more egalitarian, light, according to Prizeman, was employed to mark a threshold between the noise and pollution of the industrial city and the inner world of the library, as well as to facilitate the observation and control of personal behavior. The fact that this strategy was founded upon the development of measurable standards of illumination, based upon scientific observation, adds a new dimension to our understanding of how these buildings performed. It also reminds us that Andrew Carnegie's corporate philanthropy, which ultimately produced more than 2,800 library buildings in the English-speaking world, was intended to function as an instrument of socialization as well as uplift.

Prizeman includes many useful and intriguing diagrams and tables to plot the level and economy of illumination in her case study buildings during summer and winter, and through daytime and evening hours, but the accompanying photographic images are often small and dark, a circumstance without doubt beyond the control of the author. I also wish that she had examined a somewhat larger cross-section of Carnegie-endowed buildings to further support her observations and conclusions. This is especially true for her American examples. The Braddock Carnegie Library is a much larger and more complex building than its English counterparts and predates them by nearly two decades, a period of time during which public library administration and planning underwent radical transformation. And while the radial shelf system at the Lawrenceville Carnegie branch was certainly panoptically configured to facilitate surveillance, it was not a system adapted for the majority of Carnegie buildings in the United States. It might have been useful to note this and to include an analysis of at least one American library with a more normative book-stack arrangement. Still, Prizeman's examination of environmental performance as a way to analyze the social and political meaning and function of this new building typology lends new insight into the significance of Carnegie's program and his buildings and will serve as a model for future studies of this type.

KENNETH BREISCH

University of Southern California

ERIKA KUHLMAN. *Of Little Comfort: War Widows, Fallen Soldiers, and the Remaking of the Nation after the Great War*. New York: New York University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 225. \$49.00.

World War I left almost three million women widowed. In both Germany and France, 600,000 women lost husbands to the ravages of the war. Widows in both Italy and England numbered 200,000, while in the United States about 33,000 women faced the postwar world without their spouses. What were the experiences of these women in the aftermath of their loss? What, in

turn, was their relationship to the state as governments sought to shape both the mourners and their meaning to fit the needs of the rebuilding nation and as these women made claims on the state? These are the questions that Erika Kuhlman explores in her superb new book.

Kuhlman, whose earlier books have included *Petticoats and White Feathers: Gender Conformity, Race, the Progressive Peace Movement, and the Debate over War, 1895–1919* (1997) and *Reconstructing Patriarchy after the Great War: Women, Gender, and Postwar Reconciliation between Nations* (2008), again illustrates her expertise as an historian of the national, international, and transnational. Emphasizing the history of widows in the United States and Germany (representing both a victorious and a defeated nation), she also contextualizes these national stories in the broader history of Western Europe and the British Empire and in the transnational resonances that reached across borders. An authority on the operation of gender in the making of both war and peace, Kuhlman is ideally situated to give the subject of war widows and the postwar nation-building enterprise the depth and breadth it warrants, and succeeds admirably here.

Kuhlman illuminates the contested nature of both war widows' experiences and the meaning of those experiences in the context of the nation. As Kuhlman suggests, her work "scrutinizes the ways in which the winning and losing nations were created and supported by those with an interest in either maintaining national triumph or in dispelling national defeat, and how widows interacted with those constructs either to support their continuance or to help break them apart" (pp. 16–17). States celebrated widows as symbols of patriotism and devotion to the nation and employed their image in the memory-making project after the war. Portrayed as defenseless representatives of the homeland, war widows often served as justification for continued militarism. Widows, though, did not necessarily accept this role. Instead, as Kuhlman so ably illustrates, widows frequently challenged the state's casting, making demands—for economic support and a meaningful place as citizens—that undercut the state's intentions.

Kuhlman offers other historical correctives as well. She challenges, for instance, earlier scholars' claims that soldiers' experiences caused an unbridgeable chasm between the battlefield and the home front; instead she illustrates the close relationships that existed between couples despite the separations of distance and experience. Indeed, Kuhlman demonstrates, it was sometimes widows who felt alienated from those around them. Such an experience, she notes, meant that some widows felt greater connection with widows across national borders than with their home governments, damaging the very identification with the nation their states sought. Kuhlman's final chapter explores the pro-natalist movements that emerged in several former belligerents, efforts related to both the horrendous loss of life and the emergence of feminism. Even as nations urged women to bear children, though, widows

found themselves in a complex position. If remarrying allowed the widow to continue to serve the nation as a mother, such an act might also constitute a rejection of the warrior-husband and a loss of the economic and commemorative status of widow. Kuhlman concludes with an epilogue that provides an overview of the history of the war widow in World War II and after, and suggests the expansion of transnational tendencies in recent years. Even so, Kuhlman concludes, the power of the nation and the binding power of war remain strong in the twenty-first century.

Kuhlman writes about complex issues with characteristic clarity. One of the many strengths of this book is the author's ability to move effortlessly between broad themes and individual stories, between transnational issues and their local expressions, between global events and their human meanings. The book is deeply researched and draws on a wide range of primary sources. Particularly powerful is Kuhlman's employment of correspondence by and with widows, as well as an anthology of memoirs by German war widows, both sources that she uses to give humanity and voice to the women at the book's center. Importantly, the reader also recognizes these women as political actors who struggled with their governments over the meaning of their widowhood. Readers will appreciate, too, the thoroughness of Kuhlman's notes and bibliography, which account for roughly one-quarter of the book's pages. Kuhlman exhibits a noteworthy command of the surrounding historiography and her impressive facility with a wide range of historical fields allows her to write at their intersections, introducing the reader to innovative ways of thinking about the work of the historian. Put simply, this book is a triumph, representative of the best new work in the comparative and transnational history of gender, war, and peace.

NANCY K. BRISTOW
University of Puget Sound

DANIEL GORMAN. *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 377. \$99.00.

The proposition put forward in this book invites the immediate response by international historians of the interwar period: "But it didn't happen." The natural progression from that starting point is also to say that because the intended outcome did not become a reality and "didn't happen," then something is not worth studying. In this case it is. Too often international historians pursue the easy narrative of an event's development, a linear chronological romp through primary and secondary sources, which lead to the known outcome: the start of World War II, the failure of a world conference, the completion of a diplomat's life, or the conclusion of an "era" or "period" defined by a selected combination of elements of analysis. Daniel Gorman's approach draws on many methodologies, combining thematic development within the selected periodization. His ability to link the overall interwar strategic and

cultural context to specific socioeconomic themes within the period is a viable way to try to prove a non-event. Vitaly, Gorman's study also shows the worth of studying things that do not happen in order to gauge the "rightness" of decision-making given the possible courses of action. His decision to end the book with the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact in 1928 makes sense. Changes in the international system in the 1930s weakened the diplomatic influence of the pact's supporters; ultimately they failed to direct world affairs as they had hoped.

Gorman does an outstanding job of investigating the Anglo-American attempt to construct an international society in the post-World War I era. His research is multinational, multi-archival, and multidisciplinary, having intellectual depth and breadth. Gorman brings a political scientist's sensibility to bear on the evidence, weaving aspects of religion, culture, sport, and social and political activism into a rich tapestry of ideas and beliefs. He explores a range of class issues related to the various elites present on both sides of the Atlantic, complementing that analysis with insights regarding the evolution of middle-class political awareness and involvement in international affairs. Greater public desire to influence international relations in the pursuit of peace and stability reached its high-water mark in the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The roots of post-World War II Anglo-American direction of international governance and globalization, Gorman argues, are to be found here.

Overall the argument is compelling and presented in a convincing manner. My only quibbles concern the definition of what a society is and what it is supposed to do, and the author's equation of an Atlanticist focus with one that is truly international. A more sophisticated and better-developed sense of what an international society based on 1920 norms might be like, coupled with a more nuanced discussion of what that society expected to achieve, would provide a metric for judging levels of success or failure. Finally, the ever-present reality of racism and its influence on the internationalist movement is not dealt with in any significant way. This, in conjunction with Gorman's failure to include the rise of Russian, Japanese, and Chinese influence, makes his focus Atlanticist rather than international.

There is no doubt, however, that this book makes an important contribution to the literature on interwar international relations. It deserves a place on the bookshelves of historians interested in exploring relations between states in the 1920s as it gives insight into the process of globalization that continued in the post-World War II and post-Cold War eras.

GREG KENNEDY
King's College London

JON THARES DAVIDANN. *Cultural Diplomacy in U.S.-Japanese Relations, 1919-1941*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. 262. \$95.00.

How and why did the United States and Japan go to war? Jon Thares Davidann revisits this classic question

in a study of cross-cultural imaginings and encounters between the two societies. Complementing standard works that focused on formal diplomacy and state-running elites, his lucid, staccato-paced volume examines the role of "public opinion" and "private citizen diplomacy" (p. 2) in the making and breaking of this bilateral relationship.

Davidann argues that the "unofficial" relationship of the U.S. and Japan began in the wake of Commodore Matthew C. Perry's "opening" of Japan. As the once self-isolated society quickly transformed into a "modern" industrial nation, a growing number of Americans sought to build amicable ties with the Japanese. The engine of this movement was a group of Christian missionaries such as Sidney Gulick and Sherwood Eddy, who viewed Japan (a little naïvely) as a budding democratic nation. In Japan, a community of liberals—most notably Tsurumi Yusuke and Nitobe Inazo—welcomed these U.S. overtures and strove to foster goodwill from the other side of the Pacific. The two sides converged at the Institute of Pacific Relations, a forum designed to improve bilateral relations through dialogue and cooperation. Its 1929 meeting in Kyoto, argues Davidann, marked the "high point of unofficial diplomacy" between the two countries (p. 131).

The advocates of cross-cultural exchange, however, faced a wall of obstacles. While liberal internationalists were reaching out across the Pacific, the U.S. press often cast a skeptical eye on Japan, painting it as a rising military threat built on unchanging Shintoist and "feudalistic" beliefs. The arrival of Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i and the West Coast triggered fears of a "yellow peril" and fueled a powerful anti-immigration campaign in the United States. The Kwangtung Army's aggression in Manchuria planted further distrust in the minds of Americans, even while liberal missionaries maintained their sympathy toward the Japanese.

The informal relationship crumbled from the Japanese side as well. The years following the immigration controversy saw a rise of right-wing tendencies in the Japanese government. This climate fueled the passion of conservatives, who avidly supported the imperial cause. Liberals such as Nitobe sought to repair the ailing alliance, but did so while defending Japanese state policy. The second Sino-Japanese War virtually "destroyed" (p. 205) the informal rapport of the two societies. Private, person-to-person diplomacy proved powerless and futile against official agendas as the reluctant Roosevelt administration began to confront the East Asian threat and as the Japanese government effectively rallied the public through propaganda, censorship, and political pressure. It was a matter of time for the war to break out—eventually on December 7, 1941.

Davidann's study has good things to offer. Written in crisp and smooth prose, it revisits the interwar era through a careful analysis of English-language sources. Admirably impartial toward the individuals in discussion, Davidann not only highlights internationalist and nationalist tendencies in every phase of the tense two decades but also teases out the prejudices and misun-

derstandings of both liberals and conservatives. Avoiding deterministic overtones, he successfully captures the complex thoughts and motives of key American and Japanese observers—most notably Charles A. Beard, John Dewey, Gulick, Nitobe, Henry L. Stimson, and Tsurumi.

Yet the breadth in chronology may have forced some sacrifices in depth. On the U.S. side, the book's primary focus on white men leaves us wanting to know more about the cross-cultural perspectives of women (which is covered marginally) and people of color (particularly African Americans). On the Japanese side, the sole use of English-language materials opens questions about the range of Japanese "public opinion." Here, too, one can ask about female bridge figures such as Ichikawa Fusae and Sakanishi Shiho as well as male critics who wielded wide influence in Japanese society (e.g., Mufuse Koshin and Oya Soichi). Moreover, the book largely limits itself to the discourse of Japanese intellectuals, politicians, and journalists—the "elites." In assessing "popular" sentiment toward U.S. policies and values, it would be of merit to turn greater attention to the wider consumers of American music, fashion, movies, and sports (especially baseball)—which appears to have remained popular in Japan even after official relations began to sour in the 1930s.

Such questions and quibbles aside, this carefully crafted book about the U.S.-Japanese "road to war" insightfully exposes the limits of unofficial diplomacy in the face of state-driven conflicts. It also illustrates the significance of private individuals in shaping cross-cultural exchange in a rapidly changing world. The end result is an engaging study that delivers useful knowledge to students and scholars of transpacific and international history prior to World War II.

HIROSHI KITAMURA
College of William and Mary

S. C. M PAINE. *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 487. \$37.99.

S. C. M. Paine sets out to show the close linkages among the Chinese civil war, the East Asian regional war (Japan versus both China and Russia), and the global war (World War II). Suggestively, she sees three "levels" of these wars as "nested," with each being a part of the others and each having many, often tragic, implications for the others (pp. 9–11). Paine's synthesis indeed compels the reader to see these wars in a new light; although there are not many analytical breakthroughs here, the whole seems greater than the sum of its parts.

This book is mostly a chronicle that piles fact upon fact, often in an overwhelming degree of detail: battle follows battle follows battle. The author focuses on countries, political leaders and strategies, economic goals, and policies. The "people" receive an occasional nod but are generally bit players, reacting to situations and to their leaders; as a group, they are little differentiated. Two examples make the point. Paine notes that during the "great rebellions" of the nineteenth cen-

tury, "many Chinese" thought the declining stage of the Qing dynastic cycle was occurring (p. 268). Who is meant by "many Chinese"? How many Chinese conceived of a "dynastic cycle"? How many placed their lives into such a paradigm? Or again, "the masses . . . concluded that the Communists . . . held the mandate of Heaven" (p. 268). Were "the masses" really concerned about the mandate of Heaven? Was that conception truly a motivating factor in their political, social, and economic choices?

Paine makes nomenclature of political movements an important point but without clearly defining the parameters of "incident," battle, rebellion, civil war, revolution, and war in general. Part of this reflects the perspectives of the East Asian antagonists who chose to name events so as to reflect their own views and to propagandize their actions in certain ways. But the author is not consistent here. She accuses the Chinese (p. 109) of giving the name "rebellion" to many mid-nineteenth-century movements that were really, she argues, "civil wars" (including the Boxer uprising, which only involved a few provinces in north China). But in a later analysis (p. 268), Paine does not hesitate to call these "civil wars," as she had analyzed them, simply "the great rebellions." In her treatment of the early republic, she readily identifies three "revolutions"—in 1911, 1913, and 1915—pointedly not rebellions or civil wars, but she does not explain what made each of them a "revolution" (pp. 111–112).

Paine's strongest points concern the regional and global wars. Her treatment of Japanese and Russian aims and strategies, of the role of the United States, and of the tragedy of the Chinese regional and civil wars is perceptive; especially good in this regard is the first part of her conclusion (pp. 271–282). But the book is marred by the irritating repetition of events and their meanings, probably a result of the author's choice of organization. There are errors and inconsistencies in the coverage of Chinese domestic affairs. For a few examples, Hu Hanmin was not the leader of the Western Hills group (p. 50); Chiang did not return from the Soviet Union in 1923 "favorably impressed" (p. 51). On page 57, the reader learns that Chiang "had eliminated, neutralized, or co-opted his most powerful warlord rivals," only to read a few pages later (pp. 64–65) that this was not the case. Chiang's successes in state-building are applauded (p. 57) but then downplayed (pp. 68–69). Many historians would find that the "Nationalists paid careful attention to the rural crisis" (p. 62) a novel idea. Moreover, the author's written style seems breezily intemperate. Wuhan was "*ground zero* [my emphasis] for the death of the dynastic system" (p. 52); Chiang's 1927 launching of the White Terror is described as his "[taking] a breather to clean house" (p. 53); the Soong sister who married H. H. Kung was the "least seductive" of the three sisters (p. 55); and "[i]f the Communists had their way, entire social classes were slated for death" (p. 115).

Paine's most important contribution is in dealing (however briefly) with the intangibles of war. She shows

that assumptions (sometimes cultural, other times existential) defined and forged policies. Too often antagonists did not ask, or stopped asking, what particular wars were about. This might mean that a policy did not produce the desired results: that is, the wartime expenditure of human and natural resources meant nothing in the end. Or it might mean that the policy failed outright. In the worst scenario, the policy achieved the opposite of what was intended or further complicated the original war goals. In any case, wrong assumptions in the nested hierarchies of the wars for Asia “produced tragedy on multiple levels” (p. 279).

R. KEITH SCHOPPA

Loyola University Maryland

KRISTAN STODDART. *Losing an Empire and Finding a Role: Britain, the USA, NATO, and Nuclear Weapons, 1964–1970*. (Nuclear Weapons and International Security since 1945.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xv, 327. \$95.00.

The collapse of the communist bloc revolutionized the study of the Cold War by leading governments around the world to open previously top-secret archives. The most spectacular releases undoubtedly have come from formerly communist nations, whose geopolitical decision-making had been almost totally inaccessible to scholars. Western nations have relaxed secrecy rules too, making it possible for historians to appreciate more fully the complexities of policymaking in the United States, Britain, France, and other nations with relatively open archival traditions.

Kristan Stoddart’s illuminating *Losing an Empire and Finding a Role: Britain, the USA, NATO, and Nuclear Weapons, 1964–1970* is a prime example of the sort of study that is now possible on the Western side. Stoddart draws skillfully on newly declassified British documents to tell the story of nuclear policymaking in Great Britain during the crucial six-year administration of Prime Minister Harold Wilson and his Labour Party.

Although Stoddart emphasizes that the British government has withheld a good deal of material on grounds of protecting national security, he manages to assemble a deeply detailed study that convincingly carries forward a line of research initiated by Richard Moore in *Nuclear Illusion, Nuclear Reality: Britain, the United States and Nuclear Weapons, 1958–64* (2010). Moore’s book examines British policymaking under the Conservative Party in the first years after Britain acquired nuclear weapons.

Stoddart picks up the story in 1964, an important watershed for at least two reasons. Labour’s electoral victory in that year brought to power a party that was deeply conflicted about nuclear weapons, with many leftwing members advocating unilateral nuclear disarmament. At the same time, changing technology, especially the development of submarines capable of launching nuclear missiles and rapid advances in anti-missile defense in the Soviet Union, confronted Wilson and his aides with urgent questions about what sorts of

weapons and strategies Britain should pursue. Stoddart emphasizes that these challenges were compounded by persistent economic problems that led the government in 1967 to order the withdrawal of British military forces from the Far East.

The book offers two central arguments about London’s behavior under these difficult circumstances. First, as the title suggests, Stoddart argues that British defense policy in general and nuclear policy in particular focused increasingly on the country’s role within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as its global ambitions shrank during the 1960s. Stoddart shows above all how British leaders went about pressing the alliance to adopt their preferred procedures for commanding and controlling the use of nuclear weapons. Second, Stoddart contends that, despite a rapidly shifting array of problems, British policymakers consistently followed a single basic objective as they made decisions about nuclear weapons: they aimed to preserve a credible deterrent that would ideally stop war from breaking out in the first place and end fighting very quickly if deterrence failed. “British nuclear policies were all designed to prevent war not to win it,” Stoddart asserts (p. 17). This approach, he contends, reflected British leaders’ keen awareness of their country’s vulnerability to nuclear devastation and contrasted with the eagerness of many U.S. officials during the 1960s to consider how nuclear weapons could be used to achieve military advantages during wartime.

The main problem with the book is that these compelling points are often obscured by the density of Stoddart’s prose and his heavy use of acronyms and jargon—by a tendency, in short, to borrow the cumbersome language used by the policymakers of the time. Also problematic is the lack of clear signposts connecting some of the detail to the overall argumentation. The effect is probably to limit the book’s appeal to specialists in British national security policy. This narrowness is accentuated by the lack of attention to U.S. sources. Research in American material might have helped in at least two ways. First, such sources might have deepened Stoddart’s analysis of Anglo-American interactions, a key concern throughout the study. More importantly, deeper consideration of the American side might have enabled Stoddart to draw tighter connections between his own conclusions and the rapidly growing body of work on U.S. nuclear decision-making.

Still, Stoddart deserves enormous credit for his pioneering work in British materials and his meticulous reconstruction of London’s decision making. A convincing first foray into nuclear policymaking during the Wilson years, Stoddart’s book unquestionably lays out a body of research and lays down interpretive markers that will shape further work in this area.

MARK ATWOOD LAWRENCE
University of Texas at Austin

DOUGLAS HAMILTON, KATE HODGSON, and JOEL QUIRK, editors. *Slavery, Memory and Identity: National Repre-*

sentations and Global Legacies. London: Pickering and Chatto. 2012. Pp. xii, 219. \$99.00.

Identity formation is invariably a dynamic process that entails constant negotiation and re-negotiation within and between groups in a given society, the details of which can vary widely depending on any number of social, economic, cultural, and political considerations. As Douglas Hamilton, Kate Hodgson, and Joel Quirk note in their introduction to this volume, socially constructed memories of slavery have become an increasingly prominent factor in group and/or national identity formation in various parts of the world since the mid-1990s. The ways in which modern perceptions of slavery and its legacy have shaped and continue to influence peoples' understanding of both their past and present are the central focus of this collection of ten essays presented originally to a conference on national representations of slavery and abolition held at the Danish National Archives in Copenhagen in September 2010.

In their introduction, Hamilton, Hodgson, and Quirk set out to understand and analyze what they describe as recurring ideological and political patterns that continue to have a lasting impact on public representations and collective understandings of slavery and its legacy. They argue more specifically that slavery serves as a "relational" source of self-identification in at least two often highly stylized and comparative ways. In the first instance, social formations such as nation-states, ethnically or racially defined social groups, or religious institutions adopt an essentially self-congratulatory stance in which they contrast their record on slavery favorably with that of other groups. Public commemorations of the bicentennial of the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807, to cite one such example, emphasized Britain's role as a world leader in the drive to abolish slave trading and ultimately slavery itself while minimizing the extent of British involvement in slave trading. In other instances, groups may appropriate the idea that slavery or its legacy is the reason why they have "fallen behind" or are viewed as "backward" by peer groups, and utilize this argument to seek redress of real or perceived social, economic, and political grievances. The creation of the Truth and Justice Commission in Mauritius several years ago, for example, was spurred in no small measure by the belief among Mauritian Creoles (i.e., descendants of the island's largely African and Malagasy slave populations) that their current lack of opportunities for social and economic advancement can be traced to the legacy of slavery.

This volume has a number of commendable features beginning with the fact that it includes essays by individuals trained not only in history but also in anthropology, literary studies, museology, political science, and sociology. This multidisciplinary approach is intellectually refreshing and underscores the value of soliciting a range of scholarly perspectives to better understand the complex dynamics of memory and identity formation. The inclusion of studies that focus on states and societies scattered across half of the world is an-

other gratifying feature. In addition to Britain, Portugal, and the francophone world, essays explore developments in countries as diverse as the Bahamas, Benin, Brazil, Mauritius, Nepal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, and the United States. The insights provided by this pan-regional perspective are further enhanced by several authors' adoption of an explicitly comparative approach in their work. Sara Elmer and Christine Whyte seek to examine the legal abolition of slavery in Nepal and Sierra Leone between 1920 and 1930 in a global perspective, while Anne Eichmann considers the heritage of slavery and nation building in modern Mauritius and post-apartheid South Africa and Jim Downs discusses issues that surround the representation of slavery in the United States, the Bahamas, and England. Natalie Joy's essay on Native American slaveholding highlights the need for historians to remember that Africans were not the only peoples to be enslaved and that due consideration needs to be given to how perceptions and understandings of slave systems elsewhere in the world can shape modern discussions about slavery, memory, and identity.

Despite such strengths, these essays, both individually and collectively, ultimately lack the kind of intellectual gravitas that would make them a truly significant contribution to our understanding of how and why socially, culturally, and politically constructed memories of slavery have shaped group and national identities in various parts of the world since the 1990s. At the heart of this assessment is these essays' failure to move beyond essentially descriptive narrative accounts and generalized discussions of local developments and engage in the kind of probing examinations and analyses of the social, economic, cultural, and political contexts within which contemporary discussions about slavery, memory, and identity occur. Students of decolonization have long appreciated the important role that bourgeois intellectuals and political elites played in the creation and articulation of modern African and Asian national identities, but the extent to which and the reasons why such elites engage in and seek to control or manipulate more recent local and national dialogues about slavery, memory, and identity remain largely unexplored. Appropriately detailed considerations of the extent to which local and international economic and political transformations influence these discourses are also mostly absent from these essays. Careful and perceptive examination and analysis of these contexts is crucial to developing a more sophisticated understanding of these dialogues and assessing their impact both within and beyond the confines of given states and societies.

Presentational problems also undercut the arguments advanced in several essays. Elmer and Whyte's chapter on Nepal and Sierra Leone includes a significant discussion of attempts to abolish slavery in Ethiopia, the immediate relevance of which is not always clear. The kind of jargon that can mystify the uninitiated and confound even those versed in the art of obfuscation is a distraction in Nikki Spalding's essay on the pedagogies of representing "difficult" histories dur-

ing museum field trips and a much more serious problem in Marta Araújo and Silvia Rodríguez Maeso's study of how slavery and racism are treated in modern Portuguese textbooks. Understanding the complex dynamics of memory and identity formation can be a sufficiently daunting task in its own right without being further complicated by a lack of clear and concise prose.

RICHARD B. ALLEN
Worcester, Massachusetts

STAFFAN MÜLLER-WILLE and HANS-JÖRG RHEINBERGER. *A Cultural History of Heredity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 323. \$45.00.

MIGUEL GARCÍA-SANCHO. *Biology, Computing, and the History of Molecular Sequencing: From Proteins to DNA, 1945–2000*. (Science, Technology and Medicine in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xiii, 242. \$85.00.

If these two books were college courses, *A Cultural History of Heredity* would be a survey for undergraduates and *Biology, Computing, and the History of Molecular Sequencing* would be a research seminar for graduate students. The first book summarizes a very large body of secondary sources, many of which have been published in the last twenty years. The second volume is a revised dissertation, grounded in a remarkable variety of primary sources including corporate records and oral history interviews.

Each book has a different theoretical perspective. The authors of the first refer repeatedly to Michel Foucault and his various disciples; terms such as “epistemic space,” “knowledge regime,” and “biopolitical dispositive” pepper the text. The author of the second is under the influence of John Pickstone, so he writes about sequencing as both a “way of knowing” (the title of Pickstone’s 2001 history of the modern technosciences) and as “a form of work” (a concept that Pickstone uses to categorize the various methods used by the modern sciences). Truth in reviewing: I am *not* a disciple of Foucault; I find that his concepts obscure rather than clarify the histories of science, medicine, and technology. By contrast, although I found Pickstone’s theoretical perspective on the history of the sciences and their technologies unhelpfully vague when I first read his book, Miguel García-Sánchez has deployed his concepts here with such brilliance and clarity that I intend to reread Pickstone.

Sadly, anyone who is not already familiar with what the word “sequencing” means in biochemistry, molecular biology, and genomics is going to find García-Sánchez’s book very hard going. His general thesis can be stated in plain English, but the details of his arguments probably cannot be. García-Sánchez believes that we cannot properly understand the history of the modern (often interdisciplinary) technosciences without knowing at least four things: the work processes of the different disciplines involved; the personalities of the people who have staked out research frontiers; the

institutional cultures in which those people work; and the character of the technologies some of them invent in order to pursue their work more effectively. Without understanding all those factors, we (whether scientists, policymakers, entrepreneurs, or citizens) cannot begin to understand, he asserts, how to control future developments in the sciences successfully.

To illustrate what he means by each of those four historical factors, García-Sánchez explores such topics as the development of computer modeling in evolutionary biology; the use of computers in creating and maintaining biochemical databases; the differing personalities of the British Nobel Prize winner Frederick Sanger and the American National Medal of Science winner Leroy Hood; the differing institutional cultures of CalTech, Harvard, Berkeley, and Cambridge; the commercialization of sequencing machines; and the political history of the international Human Genome Project. If you can make your way through his detailed expositions of these topics, you will very likely conclude, as I have, that García-Sánchez’s overall thesis is ably demonstrated—despite some occasional reversions to dissertation prose. If you want to start by reading just one chapter, I recommend chapter five, which explains why the sequencing machine commercialized by Hood and his co-workers is so different from the ones that are based on Sanger and Gilbert’s techniques. If you are a historian of technology you will be especially appreciative of this chapter, because it is one of only a very few well documented accounts of how “ways of knowing” and “forms of work” can affect the development of technological systems.

A Cultural History of Heredity is, of course, a very different project. Staffan Müller-Wille and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger want to survey Western notions about heredity, reproduction, and evolution—roughly from the early seventeenth century to the early twenty first. They call their effort a “cultural” rather than an “intellectual” history because they want to trace the meanings of key words (such as inheritance, population, and generation) in the natural sciences, but also in other discourses and domains such as law and medicine. They argue that as much as the changing scientific meanings of heredity have affected contemporaneous legal, medical, political, and economic discourses, so too have changing legal, medical, political, and economic conditions altered the contemporaneous development of the sciences of heredity.

Sadly, and for different reasons in different sections of the book, the authors do not succeed in reaching that goal—although, at different points in the *longue durée* they are examining they have very interesting and significant things to say. The first substantive chapter of the book covers the ideas of several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century naturalists and physicians, as well as the theories of some of their Greek and Roman predecessors. This is followed by a chapter on the other discourses of those centuries that concerned themselves with inheritance (the law, politics, and economics) or hereditary disease (medicine) or speciation (nat-

ural history, taxonomy, anthropology). I find these chapters to be incoherent by virtue of over-compression; 200 years of intellectual, political, and economic history occurring in seven or eight different national or civic contexts narrated in just fifty-six pages.

The authors do have very interesting arguments to make, however, in parts of the next four chapters, which discuss the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on which their own scholarship focuses. General historians will profit from learning, for example, all the various ways in which such words as “generation,” “evolution,” “inheritance,” and “population” have been used in the last 200 years. They will also discover that the eugenics movement did not originate in the scientific ideas of Charles Darwin, Francis Galton, or Gregor Mendel; that Mendel was a practical breeder, following in the tradition of progressive agriculturists who were hybridizing apples, horses, wheat, and cows; and that one result of the Human Genome Project was, ironically, to stamp out the flames of genetic determinism. Historians of biology will especially appreciate the careful distinctions the authors make between vertical/generational and horizontal/populational studies of heredity, as well as their nuanced discussions of such complex topics as preformation and epigenesis in classical genetics, the implications of the various model organisms (*drosophila*, corn, algae, viruses) that could be found in twentieth-century laboratories, and the disappearance of the gene in the discourse of genomics.

Unfortunately, despite the fact that I wish it had because I believe it to be true, this book does not convince me that genetics and society have been co-constructed. My advice to Müller-Wille and Rheinberger: try again, because you have something very important to say. Drop the Foucauldian verbiage, pay less attention to the secondary literature and more to your own insights, focus on the eras you know best, and consider the possibility that Darwin, Mendel, Friedrich Leopold August Weismann, and Galton really did create a paradigm, an epistemic break, when they asserted that the connection between one generation and another had to be a material object, subject to the laws of nature. I might then be pleased to assign your survey to undergraduates and recommend it to my colleagues and friends, hoping to convince them all that the history of modern Western societies and the history of genetics have been determinatively intertwined.

RUTH SCHWARTZ COWAN
University of Pennsylvania

L. STEPHEN JACYNA and STEPHEN T. CASPER, editors. *The Neurological Patient in History*. (Rochester Studies in Medical History.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 264. \$75.00.

Several decades ago, when I was a medical student at a London teaching hospital, I learned the mysterious art of neurological examination. Lasting sometimes over an hour if performed in its entirety, the procedure, which was designed to carefully trace the operations of

the voluntary and involuntary nervous systems as well as the coherence of cognitive functions, appeared to constitute the apotheosis of clinical skill. Within this neurological scheme, the patient tended to be obscured rather than revealed by the collective tools and interpretative powers of the clinician. After all, there was little that could be done for most neurological patients beyond delivering a simple diagnosis and a generally pessimistic prognosis. The aim of *The Neurological Patient in History* is to explore the history of such encounters between patients and doctors and the narrative and clinical techniques that bind them.

The introduction offers a firm, if rather familiar, account of the place of patients in, or more often their absence from, histories of medicine. Given the recurring focus on the “construction” of the neurological patient throughout the volume, a clearer discussion of the methodological value of the concept as an enduring thread through the various analyses would have helped. The major part of the volume is neatly structured into pairs of chapters that explore accounts of neurological disease from the perspectives of doctors, patients, and their families; the courts; and patient groups. In the concluding section, two scholars reflect on historians’ constructions of the neurological patient. Overall, the collection offers a satisfyingly eclectic, if sometimes fragmented, account of how patients have been diagnosed and treated and how they have experienced health and illness during the last one hundred and fifty years.

There are many fine contributions to this volume, which combines detailed interpretation of textual and visual sources with close attention to the material culture of medicine and a firm awareness of the variable and contested meanings of illness in people’s lives. Indeed, one of the book’s strengths is the plethora of personalities and pathos that emerge from these sustained analyses of professional, personal and collective narratives of disease. While Stephen T. Casper reveals the manner in which the elucidation of certain physical signs was incorporated into the routine neurological examination in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Ellen Dwyer neatly exposes the vulnerability of patients with epilepsy to experimental procedures. Marjorie Perlman Lorch’s discussion of public medico-legal debates about the mental capacity of patients with aphasia is juxtaposed with Katrina Gatley’s more intimate account of the manner in which Jacques Raverat and his wife struggled to cope with the physical and mental effects of his deteriorating multiple sclerosis. If there is a limitation to the impact of these first four chapters it is perhaps that they differ in terms of their chronological and geographical focus, making any comparative appreciation more difficult.

The role of patient advocacy groups is explored in two fine polemical chapters by Jesse F. Ballenger and Howard I. Kushner. Ballenger argues that the recent history of activism in relation to patients with dementia, and in particular their attempt to battle stigma and restore “a sense of self,” serves to challenge “some of the

core values and accepted social arrangements of modernity" (p. 110). Kushner's extended history of Tourette's syndrome from the early nineteenth century to the present reminds us of the continuing need to listen to patients, however disturbing that might be: the hospital and the clinic may have replaced the bedside as the primary locus of care in the Western world, but the sick man or woman remains. In the two final main chapters, the patient is encouraged to speak more directly. L. Stephen Jacyna's chapter examines the relationship between the neurasthenic poet Robert Nichols and his neurologists, first Henry Head and later George Riddoch. Beyond testifying to Nichols's personal obsessions with his health, Jacyna's analysis reveals the continuing reliance of patients on their doctors, at least amongst the European intelligentsia. Paul Foley's chapter on encephalitis lethargica explores another significant point of departure for understanding the history of disease: namely the experiences of the sick doctor, in this instance Gabriel Delater, who described his own illness in a medical journal published in 1920. Here both doctor and patient are united in the same body and mind, providing fresh perspectives on how the neurological patient has been variably constructed.

The final section of the book is arguably the most challenging. Roger Cooter and Max Stadler offer their brief reflections not only on the volume as a whole but also on the feasibility of recovering patient experiences from a historical record that has been mediated by other, perhaps more dominant forces. Cooter is characteristically pessimistic, warning against any naive realist attempt to revive "the patient" and bemoaning the tendency for modern neurosciences to reduce "personhood into brainhood" (p. 219). Stadler's summary is altogether more positive and creative, stressing the historical complexity, but not the impossibility, of understanding the patient's perspective as a means of challenging our own historiographical (and by inference clinical) assumptions. As these concluding chapters suggest and as the editors acknowledge in their introductory remarks, there is a paradox at the heart (or perhaps in the mind) of this book: by focusing meticulously on patient histories, scholars tend on occasion to lose sight of human beings; at the same time, contributors' preoccupations with analyzing the contours of the neurological patient can render the latter's identity more rather than less certain. It is because of, not despite, this apparent contradiction in the historical method that we know more at the end of the book about being a patient and being treated as a patient than we did at the beginning.

MARK JACKSON
University of Exeter

JÖRG FISCH. *Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker: Die Domestizierung einer Illusion*. (Historische Bibliothek der Gerda Neke Stiftung.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 2010. Pp. 384. €24.95.

Is the "right of nations to self-determination" a fundamental part of the regime of contemporary international law—enshrined in such documents as the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966—or an often-dangerous illusion containing an irreconcilable internal contradiction? Or both? The conclusion of this thorough and thought-provoking survey of the concept, both theoretically and in its historical development, tends to the third answer. Jörg Fisch begins with a theoretical discussion of the concept of national self-determination and related and alternative concepts. The term self-determination may have arisen only in the seventeenth century in Europe, but Fisch traces its pedigree back to antiquity, at least as far as the determination of the individual self is concerned. Trouble arises when the concept is applied to the will of a collective entity such as the nation—a term that Fisch treats with a common-sense understanding, without delving too deeply into contemporary ideas in nationalism studies that call the very term "nation" into question as a category of analysis. His account, however, is acutely aware of the ambiguities in deciding just who is a member of the group determining itself. Fisch also considers related concepts such as secession, autonomy, the relationship of self-determination to democracy, and matters of power versus principle. Overall, this opening section provides a useful theoretical survey of the concept and its competitors in the terminology of international law.

The core of the book is a detailed historical account that occupies two-thirds of the work. Fisch discusses earlier precursors to the full-blown right to self-determination, including *ius resistendi* and the right to emigration, but he sees the first application of the concept to international relations in something like its contemporary sense in the American Revolution and the subsequent independence struggles in the Americas that reached into the first decades of the nineteenth century. Though they spoke of a right to independence, not self-determination, the American colonists touched off the first wave of political realizations of a right to self-determination in what Fisch calls the "first decolonization" of world history. Already two elements of the application of self-determination emerged during these decades: the idea that the formation of a self-determined political community can take place only once, and the consequent ban on secession (reaffirmed in blood in the United States between 1861 and 1865), and the principle of *uti possidetis*, or the inviolability of borders. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic era added the plebiscite to the toolbox of determining the national self, but Fisch notes that plebiscites then and later tended to give legitimacy to decisions reached by force. The building of European colonial empires during the same century demonstrated dramatically how differently the principle of self-determination was applied in different continents. Thus the Europeans demonstrated that "self-determination was for them no general principle, much less a right, but a means to an end.

As such it would continue its career in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries" (p. 143).

World War I gave the concept of self-determination a major role on the stage of the twentieth century, but though popular memory may associate it with Woodrow Wilson and the peacemakers of Paris 1919, it was actually V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks who made it a tactical instrument in their arsenal of weapons directed against the imperialist powers. Wilson recognized its usefulness and applied it rhetorically in shaping the peace settlement, in Europe if not in the colonial world, but Fisch argues that it was rather power relationships that were decisive. Power dictated that self-determination would not be applied to the German people, for instance. Ironically, Wilson's grasp of Lenin's propaganda weapon ended up undermining the legitimacy of the Paris settlement itself. Self-determination in the long run gave ammunition to interwar revisionism and provided an initial fig-leaf for Adolf Hitler's expansionism, though Hitler would in the end discredit the concept to the extent that it was not applied by the victors in 1945.

The return of self-determination to the stage of international politics was the work of the Soviet Union and the third world, in the "second decolonization" of the later twentieth century. Even there, Fisch notes, the principles of *uti possidetis* and the rejection of secession remained in force. In the end, the author concludes, self-determination is an illusion, but such a powerful one that it must be continually "domesticated" in international relations.

HUGH L. AGNEW
George Washington University

ASIA

XIUYU WANG. *China's Last Imperial Frontier: Late Qing Expansion in Sichuan's Tibetan Borderlands*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2011. Pp. xv, 291. Cloth \$80.00, e-book \$79.99.

Located between China's Sichuan province and Central Tibet, Tibet's Kham area, or Eastern Tibet, had been a critical place in empire building involving Chinese, Tibetans, Mongols, and Manchus ever since the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century. Politically fragmented and ethnically and culturally diverse, Kham had never been an integral part of any territorial state. Although China's Qing dynasty annexed most of Kham into its Sichuan province early in the eighteenth century, the Qing *laissez-faire* policy had left the area mostly autonomous; indigenous chieftains and Buddhist monasteries remained in power in their chieftaincies. Not until the late nineteenth century—when the Qing dynasty was faced with new frontier exigencies in the midst of the surge of Western imperialism—did a renewed Qing interest in the area emerge. In this thoroughly researched study, Xiuyu Wang presents a captivating account of the Qing endeavors, in the dynasty's

twilight years, to try to integrate the area into the empire administratively, economically, and culturally.

What touched off the new round of Qing frontier activism in Kham was the control of Nyarong, a region in central Kham. In the wake of a local revolt in the 1860s, which was put down jointly by the Sichuan provincial authorities and Lhasa, Lhasa obtained jurisdiction over the area. In the late 1890s, driven by both strategic and economic motivations, the Sichuan authorities pushed in favor of taking back Nyarong from Lhasa, but the attempt was aborted due to the strong resistance of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. In 1905, taking advantage of an incident in which a Qing frontier official was killed in Kham, a punitive campaign was launched and then expanded to target more places in Kham. By force, the Qing troops razed several chieftains' and monasteries' strongholds, and ultimately reclaimed Nyarong in mid-1911. Following the takeover, Zhao Erfeng, the first Sichuan-Yunnan Frontier Affairs Commissioner, a new position created by the Qing central government to lead the integration of Kham, and later the acting governor-general of Sichuan, forced his way to reform the native political, legal, and economic structures, and launched ambitious agricultural, industrial, and educational projects in Kham—until they were interrupted by the Revolution of 1911. Throughout the book, Xiuyu Wang underscores his main argument; namely that interregional competition and personal motivation interfered with and revised the original expansion plan set by the Qing state.

This book is a timely and important contribution to the scholarship on the relationship between China and Tibet. Based upon a full range of sources including archives, unpublished manuscripts, and interviews conducted in Kham, it sheds light on a critical moment in the history of Sino-Tibetan relationship when Western imperialism, particularly the competition between Britain and Russia in Tibet, renewed Qing interest in Tibet and regenerated its frontier activism in Kham. As many previous studies of the Sino-Tibetan relationship have not paid sufficient attention to Kham, Wang's work fills a gap by providing a superb anatomy of the diverse micro-societies in Kham. Not only does Wang clearly delineate the different make-up of local political structure in those chieftaincies—often interlocked with the authority of leading monasteries—he also manages to map out the intricate relationship among them and their skilled diplomacy in dealing with the Qing and Lhasa. This book is an essential read for anyone who wishes to understand the area's recent history and the roots of its role in the larger Tibetan question.

Early on, Wang eloquently states the reason why political elites in China proper were eager to adopt an aggressive policy toward Tibet in general and Kham in particular: "Foreign imperialism, while stirring up nationalism in China proper, did not yet pose any obstacle in Tibet to Qing imperialism. Rather, the principal challenge was how to increase control over the Lhasa government, without which real influence in central Tibet was not possible . . . Practically, controlling Lhasa

meant bringing Sichuan's power to bear on Lhasa through Kham" (p. 71). However, Wang is inclined to move away from this context once he dives into his central story of the 1905 Kham war and its aftermath. Although his main argument that local interests and initiatives had a central role in the development of Qing policy in Kham warrants concentration on the provincial and local levels, it is necessary to keep abreast of the grand backdrop he set so well earlier. Specifically, a more in-depth look at the creation and function of the Sichuan-Yunnan Frontier Affairs Commissioner may be helpful. One could debate whether or not to designate the new agency and Zhao Erfeng's appointment to the position simply as an extension of Sichuan's provincial power (p. 98). In fact, the brevity of the case—the integration campaign in Kham lasted merely several years before the fall of the Qing dynasty—renders it difficult to gauge fully the reception of and reaction to the forced transformation in Kham and its impact on Sichuan. As Wang points out in the conclusion, Qing imperialism in Kham left a lingering legacy; during the next century, Kham would more than once bear the brunt of the larger Tibet question, as more integration campaigns were waged there by the successive states that ruled China. In this vein, the events in the first decade of the twentieth century actually mark the beginning of the making of one of the thorniest frontiers of modern China.

YINGCONG DAI
William Paterson University

JING TSU. *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 306. \$45.00.

At two or three points in *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora*, Jing Tsu's excellent study on the Chinese language and the limits of national identity, one finds a line of text that ends with an incorrect hyphenation of a Chinese word. For instance, *liegenxing* is rendered not as "*lie-genxing*" but rather as "*lieg-enxing*" (p. 88), and *wenyan* becomes not "*wen-yan*" but rather "*we-nyan*" (p. 176). While these infelicities are admittedly the result of a very minor typesetting error, they nevertheless underscore the volume's more general focus on the gaps that open up between sound and script—between the oral and written forms of linguistic expression. That is to say, given that in Chinese there is a strictly one-to-one correspondence between (spoken) syllables and (written) characters, the misplaced hyphens in some of the book's romanized Chinese words also impart a symbolic violence on the characters from which these transliterations are derived. In this small way, therefore, the book performs its own argument.

Even as these occasional irregular word breaks defy current typesetting conventions, however, they nevertheless mirror the popular convention, in many early Chinese dictionaries, of specifying a character's pronunciation by dividing it into its initial consonant and its main vowel—which is to say, breaking up the char-

acter's pronunciation in the middle of the syllable. We also find a variant of this practice in an episode in the early nineteenth-century Chinese novel *Flowers in the Mirror*, in which the protagonists visit a fictional "Country of Forked-Tongued People" whose residents possess an elaborate rhyme scheme that allows them to phonetically transcribe any foreign language. This rhyme scheme—which is inspired by a similar phonetic table that the author Li Ruzhen had drawn up in real life—is one of the most prized possessions of the Forked-Tongued people, precisely because it permits them to easily learn any new language they may come across. By permitting them to deconstruct their own language in order to gain access to languages spoken by others, this rhyme scheme functions both as a symbol of national identity (in that it distinguishes the Forked-Tongued from foreigners) and as a bridge for cosmopolitan communication.

Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora examines the contested processes of standardization and fragmentation that the Chinese language has repeatedly undergone over the course of the long twentieth century. The volume opens with an introduction that lays out the author's critique of how practices of what she calls "literary governance" use problematic notions of "native speaker" and "mother tongue" to promote essentialized notions of political, national, and ethnic identity. The second chapter illustrates some of the implications of this practice of literary governance by looking at early twentieth century language reform movements, and particularly the difficulties presented by the wide range of different dialects and accents that comprise the Chinese language. From these historical analyses, Tsu concludes that language "is never originally native. The native speaker is realizable only as an itinerant carrier of language. What national-language unification accomplished, however, is no less than the belief in a native tongue that belongs to oneself and one's home place" (p. 47).

Chapter three turns to a very practical example of some of the consequences of these processes of linguistic standardization, in the form of Lin Yutang's mid-century design for a Chinese typewriter. Although Lin's clever prototype—which involved the systematic fracturing and reconstitution of Chinese characters—never went into mass production, its design was subsequently appropriated by a U.S. military research project on automatic translation. Chapter four on "bilingual loyalty" examines the conflicted attitudes toward language by authors like Eileen Chang, Ha Jin, and Lin Yutang himself, each of whom writes prolifically in both Chinese and English. Chapter five then turns to another bilingual figure, the francophone Chen Jitong, who in 1898 proposed, in Chinese, the possibility of a "world literature." These cosmopolitan attempts to establish a bridge between Chinese and foreign languages have the effect of further defamiliarizing the Chinese language itself.

The final three chapters turn to Taiwan, and more broadly to the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia.

Chapter five looks at various attempts to carry out script reform in Taiwan, particularly in light of the influence of Min toplect-derived Taiwanese, together with the compulsory adoption of Japanese during the period of Japanese colonial control. The final two chapters of the volume focus on two influential Taiwan-based Chinese Malaysian authors: Kim Chew Ng and Zhang Guixing. Through their imaginative interrogation of the status of the Chinese language, and even Chinese identity itself, within the Southeast Asian Chinese diaspora, Ng and Zhang nicely illustrate the central contention of this work: that Chinese literary studies must engage with the fact that “China’s main dialogue is not only with the West but also with its own internal and diasporic others” (p. 233).

In accordance with standard Harvard University Press practice, this book does not include any in-line Chinese characters in the main body of the text, although it does provide a comprehensive glossary with the original characters for all of the Chinese words, names, and titles cited in the text. Curiously, though, all of the characters in the glossary appear in their “simplified” rather than their “traditional” forms (with exception of a handful of characters for which both variants are listed). While simplified characters have been standard in mainland China since the 1950s, most of the texts discussed in the volume were originally written in traditional characters—either because the texts were composed before the 1950s, or because they are by authors who are based outside of mainland China. While the volume’s focus on literary production from the Chinese diaspora is very welcome, it is ironic that its glossary, in relying primarily on the simplified orthography associated specifically with the People’s Republic of China, implicitly brings these texts back into China’s orbit. It is precisely in the Chinese glossary that we find the spectral shadow of mainland Chinese practices of literary governance and linguistic standardization.

CARLOS ROJAS
Duke University

BILL MIHALOPOULOS. *Sex in Japan’s Globalization, 1870–1930: Prostitutes, Emigration, and Nation-Building*. (Perspectives in Economic and Social History, number 13.) London: Pickering and Chatto Publishers. 2011. Pp. xi, 181. \$99.00.

In parallel with American popular culture’s longstanding fascination with the figures of the geisha and the Japanese prostitute, there is a wealth of scholarship from a number of disciplinary perspectives on prostitution in Japan. Bill Mihalopoulos’s historical study focuses on the years between 1870 and 1930, a period of rapid economic development, with particular attention to Japanese women who performed sex work outside Japan. Mihalopoulos regards sex work as a legitimate economic option for poor women, and he stresses the autonomy and the agency of prostitutes. He writes to rescue sex workers, not from traffickers, but from their fellow countrymen, who have treated these women as

a national disgrace, a “stain on the flag of Japan” (p. 127). Mihalopoulos deplores how now, as in the past, campaigns against overseas prostitution disqualify the poor from respect. He draws parallels between the aims of reformers in developing Japan and the policies supported by the George W. Bush administration, the U.S. Christian right, and radical abolitionist feminists.

In 1972 the book *Sandakan hachiban shokan: teihen joseishi josh* by Yamazaki Tomoko, a feminist independent scholar, drew Japanese attention to the prewar engagement of northern Kyushu women in sex work throughout East and Southeast Asia. Condemning the pioneering feminist for retrospective policing and for reproducing the notion of the women’s passivity, Mihalopoulos endeavors to place overseas sex workers in the context of Japan’s quest for autonomy and national security. He draws on consular records and the public discourses that emerged in Japan around overseas prostitution. His methodology is to read against the grain the archive of government bureaucrats who endeavored to “supervise, monitor, and police” the women (p. 8).

Mihalopoulos convincingly demonstrates the linkages between the sex work of Japanese women abroad and Japan’s participation in the global economy. He shows that the transport of Japanese coal to British imperial outposts such as Hong Kong and Singapore enabled Kyushu women to travel overseas to engage in sex work with the male Asian work force assembled by the British for the construction of imperial projects. His consular sources show that the engagement of Japanese women in sex work threatened the profitability of government-promoted labor emigration to Hawai’i and Australia. Consequently, government authorities, while promoting the export of male labor, tried to restrict the migration of women overseas.

Mihalopoulos argues that whereas in their home villages, the girls who left to earn money for their families were respected as filial daughters, state bureaucrats regarded them as “unsightly women abroad” (pp. 12, 39, 40, 45, 48). He hypothesizes that the consuls believed that “the character of the Japanese poor was preventing new forms of womanhood from emerging to meet the current dictates of nation-building” (p. 46). He implicates the Japanese Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (JWCTU) in the regulation of poor women, asserting that they gained for themselves access to public life “at the expense of lower class women whose sexuality did not conform to their sensibilities” (p. 64). In making this argument, he builds on earlier work by Fujime Yuki and Sheldon Garon. Mihalopoulos illustrates Japanese state regulation of poor women in the interest of Japan’s international standing with an account of the abolition of Japanese prostitution in Singapore and the Federated Malay States.

Mihalopoulos has produced the single best analysis in English of Japanese overseas prostitution in the era from 1870 to 1930. His linkage of highly visible sex work to national prestige is in keeping with Western assumptions about the importance of the treatment of women as the measure of civilization. The primary limitations

of this work are in its exaggeration of its originality and its overstatement of its findings. Mihalopoulos's admirable commitment to radical equality places him in a distinguished company of scholars who have labored to give voice to the poor women of Japan. In contrast to his scrupulous cataloguing of scholars who have treated overseas prostitutes as victims, he leaves unacknowledged research on other types of work in which poor women labored such as manufacturing and mining. Janet Hunter, Regine Mathias, Barbara Molony, W. Donald Smith, and Patricia Tsurumi are just a few of the names absent from his bibliography. He attributes excessive agency to the consular authorities who in fact were never able to stem the overseas migration of women or erase respect for filial daughters sold into prostitution for their families. He links the anti-prostitution work of the JWCTU to the entry of women into the public sphere but ignores the other multiple routes by which women entered it. Finally, although he may be right in associating upper middle-class women with chastity, his emphasis on monogamy flies in the face of the persistence of arranged marriages in Japan into the 1970s and the high level of tolerance for male extra-marital sex, whether with a discretely maintained mistress or in the entertainment district.

SALLY ANN HASTINGS
Purdue University

JUN UCHIDA. *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876–1945*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 337.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2011. Pp. xvi, 481. \$49.95.

This is an impressive and important work that will quickly become required reading for scholars and graduate students in modern Japanese and Korean history; it will also be of great use to historians outside of East Asian studies with an interest in the global phenomenon of settler colonialism. In three detailed parts, which cover the period prior to formal colonialism through the end of the Asia Pacific War, Jun Uchida critically examines the history of Japanese colonialism in Korea, and to some extent in Manchuria, by focusing on the complex and multiply positioned location of Japan's settler colonials. These "brokers of empire," as she names them, were "entrepreneurs, essayists, political fixers, educators, social reformers, religious leaders, and other non-governmental actors" (p. 5).

Uchida offers a very clear, sophisticated, and yet jargon-free narrative in which she demonstrates how these settler elites occupied an ambiguous zone between the Korean people and the colonial state. She shows that at times, particularly in the period before the establishment of formal colonialism, they laid the foundations for empire and in some ways continued to do so later—for example, when they became agents of empire in Manchuria. But Uchida argues that the interests of the settler colonial elite did not always cleanly align with state policies. In some cases, they sided with the Korean elite to agitate for more local autonomy and subsidies

for local industry. In this sense, she builds off and complements the work of Carter J. Eckert, who showed that shared class interests between Korean and Japanese entrepreneurs sometimes trumped ethnic differences. Uchida argues that in some respects the elite Japanese settlers were politically disadvantaged in relation to their fellow nationals in the metropole: for example, as a result of living in the colony, they lost their legal right to vote in Japanese national elections. Uchida shows that cross-ethnic political alliances were always momentary and fraught with tensions since Japanese settler discrimination against Koreans continued. Moreover, the actual and possible cultural and political blurring of boundaries between the colonizers and the colonized produced settler anxieties concerning the security of their own privileged status. Furthermore, Uchida maintains that by the last phase of colonialism—which followed the Japanese seizure of Manchuria in 1931 and coincided with the period of total war mobilization—almost no gap between the aspirations of the settler elite and the state remained.

Space limitations preclude a more detailed summary of the book, but several of its many strengths should be mentioned. First, this is a work of remarkably deep and broad research. Not only does Uchida utilize Korean-, Japanese-, and English-language sources from the period; she engages with a wide range of secondary scholarship in these languages. The quality and quantity of research in unpublished materials (most importantly, the Saitō Makoto papers) and hard to find published materials from the colonial period is equaled by few of the books that have recently appeared on Korea during the colonial period. Moreover, Uchida has compiled a large collection of oral histories that she draws upon to supplement the written archival record. Second, the temporal scope of the book is extremely ambitious. Rather than select one historical moment, Uchida has elected to take on the whole colonial period and even the years before formal annexation. Third, while the book does not seek to make a major theoretical intervention into the study of colonialism, the author draws from other theorists and scholars who have written on European colonialism. This should stimulate cross-regional conversations about colonialism.

Although this is a remarkable accomplishment as a work of positivist history, some readers are likely to feel that the author is too reticent to step away from her empirical evidence. For instance, with regard to much debated topics in postcolonial scholarship such as colonial governmentality, colonial modernity, bio-politics, necro-politics, colonial intimacy, colonial violence, and even longer-standing debates around the relationship between capitalism and colonialism, Uchida tends to "stick to the facts" of settler colonialism in Korea or to make general comparative observations from an empiricist historian's point of view. She is clearly aware of the big issues and is interested in the relevant literature, but she generally shies away from dialoguing with or critiquing the present state of postcolonial theory. Readers may also wish that she had spent more time on

the Japanese settlers who were part of the lumpenproletariat.

That said, this is doubtless a major achievement that will spark much debate and stimulate new research. The book's very logical and thoughtful organization as well as Uchida's ability to communicate in such a compelling and yet straightforward manner ensure that it will reach a very wide readership and have a big impact.

TAKASHI FUJITANI

University of Toronto

BHAVANI RAMAN. *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial India*. (South Asia across the Disciplines.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 278. Cloth \$45.00, e-book \$36.00.

Document Raj is a novel and compelling analysis of the role paper played in the formation of the early colonial state in India. Bhavani Raman's work fits within an emergent scholarly literature that examines the Indian scribe. She takes her analysis by affixing it to the process of colonial state formation. Focusing on colonial south India, Raman examines how the early bureaucratic tendrils of governance and administration altered extant practices in writing, memorization, and attestation, which, she argues, was central to the emergence of a "textual polity that represented a new disposition to writing" (p. 193). Raman's main argument is twofold. One is that the creation of a documentary regime was crucial for the early colonial state in south India in establishing its paper mastery and a racialized hierarchy of "trustworthy Europeans" and "mendacious natives." The second is that the transition to what she terms a "document Raj" created new modes of attestation, documentation, and evidence that rendered most precolonial practices obsolete while privileging others, such as chronologically organized records on veritably attested paper. Drawing on Tamil and English sources, Raman describes precolonial written mnemonic traditions of the village *karanam* (scribe) and *kanakkan* (accountant). She diligently describes how these practices were co-opted, transformed, and subordinated during the emergence of British rule across south India.

Chapter one begins with an examination of how the scribes of the *cutcherry* (public office) fit within a gray market of documents, and how the early East India Company's Whiggish efforts to break bonds of patrimonial privilege and sale of office created contradictions in colonial governance. This had the effect of buttressing the privileges of particular caste groups, mainly Vallalars, Deccani and Tamil Brahmins, in terms of recruitment patterns. This in turn shaped an early colonial state nurtured by caste and kin bonds at its lower, subordinate levels. Raman proceeds in chapter two to investigate the genealogy and efficacy of the *kanakkan*'s skills in documenting and attestation. Focusing on perennial British mistrust of the "cunning" scribe, Raman demonstrates that such aversion created a crisis in attestation for the colonial state, where the "science of political economy reframed the *kanakkan*'s epistemic

world" (p. 76). The scribe's traditional skills were deemed no longer useful for a colonial regime obsessed with honesty, attestation, and tangible proof.

In chapters three and four, Raman delves further into how the drive for attestation and legible forms of record keeping engendered a development of "cutcherry Tamil." Here, Raman shows how the world of the scribe and his skills were changed by an increasing focus on writing and grammar in schools with new, alien pedagogic practices. Expectations of subordinate secretarial work became imbued with "proper" conceptualizations and use of the Tamil language. Here, grammatical and legible prose were privileged at the expense of extant skills of memorization and fluid language practices.

The colonial state's anxieties about writing within the fabric of legal procedure are analyzed in chapter five. Here Raman demonstrates that concerns about forgery, perjury, and attestation manifested themselves in the increasingly paper-driven colonial administration of south India. Lastly, in chapter six, Raman tackles the colonial petitioner, demonstrating how the value and meaning of the petition (*arzi*) changed markedly under the early Company. She analyzes how sincerity and propriety, as cultural values, changed the tradition of petition writing by creating categories of proper and improper appeals to the sovereign, and how the British sought to regulate and make petitions the "only legitimate mode of expressing grievance" (p. 163).

Raman presents a persuasive and engaging study of the materiality of paper and its instrumentality in the formulation of early colonial rule in India. The most convincing parts of the book are her discussions of the changing nature of attestation and juridical verification, which were bound up with racial conceptions of "honest British officers" and "fibbing, litigious Indians." Raman paints a vibrant picture of the changing nature of textuality and its links to state formation. Her work, however, overlooks some crucial aspects worthy of more discussion. For one, Raman seems to privilege the processes of change in documentation at the expense of their resultant outcomes. How were such documents increasingly linked to the expansive net of revenue collection and regulation through the *raiyyatwari* system after Thomas Munro? It is one thing to describe how authority became more paper-oriented and regularized, but how did this make revenue extraction—the paramount aim of colonial administration—possible? She could have also drawn more comparisons with north India. The administrative-cultural world of the Tamil penman was somewhat different from that of the subordinate Hindu scribes in the Mughal heartland, where paper, regularity, and proto-bureaucracy were more entrenched and less mnemonic. One noticeable shortcoming revolves around agency. Raman treats the scribe as a passive recipient of change, unable to contest or contribute to the processes she describes. In a colonial regime that was obsessed with efficient revenue collection, penmen who possessed crucial information on rents and taxation were far from powerless historical actors.

In the main, these minor quibbles are outweighed by the book's insightful analysis of the origins of modern, paper-oriented bureaucracy in colonial India. Raman makes an original contribution to the emergent literature on the scribe in Indian history.

HAYDEN J. BELLENOIT
U.S. Naval Academy

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

LINDSAY PROUDFOOT and DIANNE HALL. *Imperial Spaces: Placing the Irish and the Scots in Colonial Australia*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 248. £60.00.

History's "spatial turn" has compelled scholars from a wide range of historical subdisciplines to rethink their approaches to the study of the past. Sweeping assertions about human behavior and historical processes are now much more likely to be circumscribed by explicit consideration of place and space. Landscapes once seen as empty stages upon which human encounters occurred are seen as contingent places inscribed with specific meanings for the men and women of the past as well as for historians of the present. In this book, Lindsay Proudfoot and Dianne Hall offer a new and innovative account of nineteenth-century Australia's immigrant past that is attentive to the importance of place and the ways Irish and Scottish newcomers imbued the colonial landscape with meaning.

Imperial Spaces marks a significant departure from conventional narratives of the Irish and Scots experience in Australia. The authors, one a geographer and the other a historian, challenge the limitations of traditional historical works that have been "empirically framed and little concerned with the semiotic issues of place and landscape" (p. 69). To address the weakness of older scholarship, Proudfoot and Hall propose the adoption of a newer style of place-centered analysis of immigrant experience that prioritizes the local and pays special attention to the meanings newcomers gave to place. Specifically, the authors contend that "settler experience needs to be understood in terms of the 'local worlds' settlers created, inhabited, and imagined" (p. 3).

To initiate this reorientation, Proudfoot and Hall have organized their book in two parts, the first consisting of two historiographically and theoretically oriented chapters, the second consisting of five chapters comprising detailed local studies. It is in the second part that this book makes its mark. Its inventive chapters explore in multifaceted ways Australian immigrants' engagement with place and space. The authors commence with an examination of the long-distance oceanic voyage and its role in transforming newcomers en route to colonial Australia. Building on the work of scholars including Don Charlwood and Andrew Hassam, Proudfoot and Hall analyze the ways life on board ship constituted a zone of connection between old and new, prior experience and imagined future. Subsequent

chapters explore immigrants' relationships with land and space once they disembarked in the colonies. The colonization of the Australian continent required the appropriation, measurement, and regulation of land, processes that proved critical in shaping all new migrants' interactions with their environment. Yet, as the authors show convincingly, the immigrants' engagements with the land, both real and imagined, were both deeply personal and intensely local. Irish and Scots alike "enacted and inscribed their lives [in] loosely bounded local worlds" (p. 128). Foremost among these were the extensive pastoral landscapes of rural Australia to which many newcomers gravitated in the first half of the nineteenth century. Colonial homestead architecture, for example, was one part of the process of performance by which nascent local communities constructed their meanings of place. Away from the pastoral spaces, town life in rural Australia offered its own distinctive enactments of immigrant life. This book focuses on four small Victorian and New South Wales towns and observes the ways immigrant groups and their national celebrations shaped urban geography in distinctive ways. Churches and the sounds emanating from churches, and graveyards and gravestones, likewise made specific contributions to the way nineteenth-century communities defined themselves in time and space.

Given the thought-provoking content of this series of chapters, it is puzzling that it is preceded by two densely written ones that mainly describe the state of current scholarship on imperial history's relationship with geography and recent contributions to diaspora studies. The purpose of these two chapters and the audience to which they are directed are not altogether clear. For specialist readers, a briefer synthesis of current scholarship, especially if integrated effectively with the case studies, would prove more illuminating. One suspects that for general readers the vast array of scholarly opinions might prove a formidable barrier to engagement with the book's informative case studies.

Imperial Spaces wisely makes no claim for universalism and explicitly eschews any grand narrative of immigrant experience. Instead, its authors make a successful case that historians should show greater attentiveness to the centrality of space in the construction of immigrant lives. By its innovative approach this book sets the scene for exciting new work on the history of migration, not only in Australia but across the nineteenth-century settler world.

MALCOLM CAMPBELL
University of Auckland

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

MARK CRONLUND ANDERSON and CARMEN L. ROBERTSON. *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. 2011. Pp. 362. \$27.95.

The myth that Canadians are less racist and more benevolent toward indigenous peoples than Americans undoubtedly endures, although scholars have been challenging it for decades. Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson intend to debunk it thoroughly once and for all. They take 150 years of journalism, analyze the reporting of twelve key events in the history of indigenous-settler relations, and conclude that the Canadian identity depends upon the ceaseless recitation of three tropes: that indigenous people are depraved, that they are inferior, and that they are resistant to progress. *Seeing Red* argues that Canadians have little hope of ever truly seeing aboriginal people, much less reconciling with them, as long as the nation's media continue to construct them in demeaning uni-dimensional ways.

Anderson and Robertson's book relies on recent scholarship, like that of Elizabeth Furniss and Bonita Laurence, which argues that the Canadian psyche has been forged in narrations of settlement that dismiss aboriginal land rights and refuse to see the violence in Canada's "benevolent" Indian policy. Eight of the twelve chapters relate to specific moments when indigenous-settler relations were either formed or reformed. The Canadian press, despite its partisan differences, has consistently remained united in its support of Indian policy, depicting it as politically astute and morally right. Their refrain: indigenous people should be dealt with fairly (preferably but not necessarily without gunplay), but they must not be allowed to stand in the way of Canadian development. Moreover the nineteenth-century press argued that a benevolent Indian policy demonstrated Canadian superiority over their violent American neighbors and resistant indigenous peoples on both sides of the border.

Anderson and Robertson see the press as a totalizing force, one that puts limits around what Canadians can know and think about themselves, about their government, and about indigenous peoples. *Seeing Red* is most convincing when it describes the coverage of major political events, demonstrating how indigenous voices were excluded or distorted by the press. But it is less successful when Anderson and Robertson try to convey how indigenous people have complicated dominant national narratives. Recent Canadian scholarship has treated the Mohawk poet Pauline Johnson and the imposter Grey Owl (Archie Belaney) in much more complicated ways. Anderson and Robertson dismiss both Johnson's and Belaney's attempts to intervene in modernizing Canadian culture and declare the mainstream press successful in co-opting, controlling, and trivializing them.

That the press ignored a "real" indigenous leader (Cree politician and activist John Tootoosis) while listening to Belaney is telling, but Anderson and Robertson's own construction of real and imaginary is problematic. As Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson argue, Johnson's public persona was strategic but by no means a charade. Similarly, Belaney's indigenous masculine masquerade deserves more than an essentialist

reading of Belaney as a fake. Anderson and Robertson's argument that there has been little change in Canadian press portrayals of indigenous people over 150 years means that they afford scant interpretive energy to the moments of rupture or the spaces where other voices entered the discussion.

The result is that indigenous and oppositional voices in the press are left out of the analysis. Pauline Johnson's own intervention into mainstream media culture, along with those of Mike Mountain-Horse, Dan George, Ellen Gabriel, George Erasmus, Duncan McCue, and Mary-Ellen Turpel-Lafonde (among many others), is absent. Also unanalyzed are the collective interventions of the indigenous press, like the *Native Voice* and *Kainai News*, which since the mid-twentieth century have spoken for and to indigenous peoples. As Ian McKay notes, racialization was always the most resistant to leftist analyses, and a broader-based interpretation that included examples from the oppositional press would have afforded a more nuanced and contentious book. So would an examination of the contexts of press production and reception. The authors focus on mainstream newspapers, but they say nothing of the effects of increasing ownership concentration over the course of the twentieth century among Canadian newspapers or of the globalizing effects of transnational media conglomerates. Anderson and Robertson limit their exploration of readers' responses to an analysis of letters to the editor. The authors do not read against the grain, nor do they imagine that press readers may have done so themselves.

But the authors do not intend to conduct a media history of indigenous peoples. Their goal is to demonstrate the role the press played in the frontier culture complex, wherein Canadians understand themselves as conquerors of an empty land cleansed of colonial guilt through the benevolence of treaties and assimilative Indian policy. This they do quite ably and in a style that will attract mainstream readers. Inasmuch as Canadians still believe that they have been less racist, less colonialist than their American neighbors, or that they are less racist than they used to be, *Seeing Red* ought to challenge their complacency.

MARY-ELLEN KELM
Simon Fraser University

MICHAEL P. WINSHIP. *Godly Republicanism: Puritans, Pilgrims, and a City on a Hill*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 339. \$49.95.

Every reader will gain important new knowledge of New England's religious and political origins from Michael P. Winship's lively, ambitious, and impressively scholarly book. Winship provides a fresh reading of the emergence of Congregational church polity out of English Presbyterianism between 1580 and 1620. Challenging Perry Miller, Winship forcefully argues that, through the spiritual as well as medical advice of Samuel Fuller, the Plymouth Colony exerted great influence in persuading the Salem settlers of 1629, and thence the

Massachusetts Bay settlements of 1630, toward an ever-unadmitted *de facto* separation from the Anglican Church. English proto-Congregationalists such as Henry Barrow, William Bradshaw, and Henry Jacob are given their deserved place in the contentious practice of forming presumably pure but nearly independent churches by covenantal agreement. Winship's accounts of the transcontinental reach of the Leiden Congregation, and of the notorious Lyford affair in Plymouth, transform traditional interpretations that have formerly isolated these churches from the larger narrative of the Protestant diaspora.

Winship's insights never obscure the fact that at no time was there any tidy, agreed-upon distinction between Presbyterian and Congregationalist, Separatist and non-Separatist. Instead he describes an ever-shifting spectrum of religious and political beliefs that responded to the changing exigencies of personal circumstance, Stuart policies, and New World conditions. Friction between Puritans who remained in England and unadmitted Separatists who crossed the waters could not abate no matter how similar their theologies. There simply was no fixed mark by which English Protestants could determine whether the Anglican Church more closely resembled a depraved Egyptian tyranny or a corrupt but reformable New Israel. The stakes in trying to settle these questions were high: the legality as well as the justice of church separation, the formation of a virtually independent government, and, ultimately, the necks of the king, of regicides, and of select "Independents."

Winship's masterful book will surely be read by everyone interested in New England's or America's origins. Nonetheless, a word of caution, even demurral, is needed about the implication of its title. Just as Winship—again challenging Miller—emphasizes that New England Puritans were closet Separatists who understood the advantage of protesting their undying loyalty to king and church, so he sees them as adherents of republican political thought. As Winship acknowledges, the term by which John Winthrop's Puritan contemporaries defined their desired polity, however, was not a "Republic" but a "Free State," a "Popular State," or, most tellingly, a "Commonwealth" (p. 14). The word *republic* thus begs for a definition that, in Winship's view, can never quite arrive. In 1630, could any Englishman possibly have defined what a republic might be in the context of a monarchy that lacked a written constitution but still had bishops sitting in the House of Lords? Admittedly, the slipperiness of the word *republic* causes no trouble within Winship's deft recounting of the immediate (and also slippery) historical context. To the extent that the "godly republicanism" of Massachusetts Bay is to be regarded as planting the seeds of 1776 or 1787, however, the phrase remains misleading. Winship ends his book with a reading of Algernon Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government* (ca. 1683) as a Calvinist, republican text that influenced America's founding fathers. A transition is thereby suggested but not demonstrated.

If the word *republic* now connotes to Americans the 1787 national government characterized by Montesquieu's separation of powers, a bicameral legislature, checks and balances, separation of church and state, and wide if not universal manhood suffrage, then the 1630 Commonwealth of Massachusetts hardly fits the model, even as a prototype. The Massachusetts General Court long served as the Commonwealth's one supreme executive, legislative, and judicial body—a concentration rather than a separation of powers. For at least four decades after 1631, the freemen who elected members to the General Court were restricted to the Visible Saints of the Congregational churches. "Godly" and even "independent" Massachusetts Bay may have been, but it had rather promptly established the rule of the Saints and was not a "popular state." A minister may have been legally barred from holding civil office, but he could indirectly determine the candidacy of those who did. If the phrases "popular state" and "free state" are meant to refer to a polity somehow resembling a democratic republic, it is worth remembering that neither John Cotton nor John Winthrop had any faith in what they called "democracy." The very real progressive reforms of Massachusetts Bay required the rule of the godly: the godly knew that, as Christ had said, "many are called, but few are chosen" (Matthew 22:14).

JOHN MCWILLIAMS
Middlebury College

MICHAEL HOBERMAN, *New Israel/New England: Jews and Puritans in Early America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 280. \$28.95.

The merits of Michael Hoberman's book depend upon the expectation of the reader. Those looking for substantial insight into Puritanism or Reformed Hebraism as theological or social movements will likely be disappointed. Those looking for a narrative about the interaction of *particular* Puritan leaders with Jews in New England will likely be pleased. When Hoberman attempts insight into Puritan theology or culture itself (as is especially the case in chapter one), weaknesses become apparent. When Hoberman uses primary sources to explore the relationships of famous Puritans and Jews, he is on firmer ground.

Hoberman is not trying simply to retell the stories of prominent Jews in New England. He rightly acknowledges that other historians have already told those stories. Instead, Hoberman hopes to demonstrate that Jews had a "centralizing influence" upon Puritan theology and identity (p. 3). This reviewer was not persuaded that Hoberman's study had the scope necessary to provide insight into something so unwieldy as Puritan theology and identity. His command of Puritan social thought lacks confidence and insight and is largely dependent on the summaries and interpretations of others. But if one restricts Hoberman's ambition to the theological opinions of particular Puritans such as Cotton Mather or Ezra Stiles (two prominent case studies

in his book), his study is more persuasive and his narrative more valuable.

Hoberman's approach for most of his chapters is akin to that taken by Mark Valeri in *Heavenly Merchandize: How Religion Shaped Commerce in Puritan America* (2010). Chapters two through six progress us through notable episodes in New England's history. Hoberman leverages these encounters to attempt insight into Puritanism. Some of these chapters are stronger than others, depending on whether Hoberman is content to focus on a particular Puritan patriarch or whether he attempts broader insight into Puritanism itself. In chapter two, for example, we discover what Puritans Samuel Sewall and Cotton Mather thought about Jews Samuel and Joseph Frazon. Not surprisingly, we learn that Mather desired to convert them and that Puritans thought the conversion of Jews had eschatological significance. Chapter three retells the career of Judah Mornis (a Jewish convert who taught Hebrew at Harvard) and raises questions about Puritan views of identity. Chapters four and five, arguably the most worthwhile chapters, provide insight into Ezra Stiles and his interaction with Jews, especially his friendship with Haim Carigal. When Hoberman is working from the Ezra Stiles Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, he is at his best. After chapter six discusses the career of Moses Michael Hays, the book concludes by briefly summarizing the legacy of Jews in nineteenth-century New England. But while chapter six and the conclusion have their virtues, one must ask how they fit into the overall argument. After all, what was left of Puritanism by the late eighteenth or nineteenth centuries such that Jews could have influence on its development?

Hoberman wants us to ask why Puritans were so interested in Jews but never gives us a precise answer. Perhaps he should not be expected to; the legacy of Puritan Hebraism is more complicated than Hoberman acknowledges. Puritan interest in Jews did not begin because of contacts in Amsterdam during the mid-seventeenth century, as Hoberman suggests. In addition to not researching the sixteenth-century background of his subject, Hoberman occasionally leans on popular tropes about Puritans: predestination was a chilling source of existential terror; commerce was a constant but vexing consideration in Puritan decision-making. Hoberman's failure to provide insight into the general intersection of Judaism and Puritanism is hardly fatal, however. When he can move beyond these caricatures and try to understand his subjects as they speak for themselves, he is doing valuable research. Characters like Stiles and Mather are legitimate subjects in their own right, and the experience of Jews in early America is likewise a narrative worth revisiting. Hence, the merits of the book are neither its insights into Puritan theology nor its retelling of the experiences of pioneering Jews in New England. Rather, the merits of the book lie in its presentation of the *interaction* of particular Jews and particular Puritans and how that interaction was interpreted and recounted by those particular Puritans. Although we do not learn as much as we would

like about Puritanism, we certainly learn more about America.

GLENN A. MOOTS
Northwood University

MICHAEL WITGEN. *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. vi, 450. \$45.00.

Michael Witgen's splendid and detailed book shifts our understanding of colonial American history by focusing on the western Great Lakes, where European and American empires struggled to make sense of a complicated Native world known to its inhabitants as Anishinaabewaki. Witgen's goal is not merely to displace an ethnocentric view of history by focusing on Anishinaabewaki, but to replace a west-facing interpretation of human history in North America. This book, in the author's words, "attempts to tell the story of the parallel development and eventual convergence of these two emergent social worlds—the Atlantic New World and the Native New World" (p. 21). Ultimately, *An Infinity of Nations* challenges its reader to recognize a sovereign and separate Native New World, shaped by interactions with outsiders but neither replaced nor destroyed by them.

Divided into four parts, Witgen's story begins in the early seventeenth century, as French officials and the people of Anishinaabewaki constructed imagined worlds for each other. In these early years of encounter, the western Great Lakes became a "place of mutual discovery that forced human beings to imagine themselves and their place in the world anew" (p. 26). To highlight the flexibility of Great Lakes indigenous identity and community, Witgen emphasizes the restructuring of the Anishinaabeg through the celebration of the Feast of the Dead (borrowed from the Wendat). Through ritual reburial, the Anishinaabeg transformed *myaagizid* (foreigners) into *inawemaagun* (relatives). Witgen argues that French officials and missionaries never quite understood the fluidity of Anishinaabe identity and instead reimagined Anishinaabewaki as a physical place, rather than a fluid extension of kinship community. The author aptly demonstrates how categorizing indigenous peoples as members of "tribes" and "nations" enabled Europeans to imagine Native communities as extensions of empire but ultimately failed to produce the paternalistic relationships that they desired. French religious leaders ironically recognized these limits, describing Anishinaabewaki as a "New World Babylon."

In the second part of *An Infinity of Nations*, Witgen discards the standard narrative of colonial empire by focusing on "a story about the creation of a Native New World in the heartland of North America" (p. 116). He argues that scholars must reject a language of empire that focuses on discovery and conquest and replace it with concepts central to Anishinaabewaki. Here is the great strength of Witgen's work, as he employs Anishi-

naabemowin, French, and English descriptors to remind readers that the interior of North America was a polyglot world often decentered from the Atlantic New World. Instead of being crafted by outsiders, "this Native New World," Witgen argues, "[was] created by indigenous social formations in response to the emergence of a global market economy, and the expansion of the Atlantic New World empires onto North American soil" (p. 118). In this way, neither the French, nor later the English or Americans, could impose their will upon Anishinaabewaki. In fact, Witgen concludes, "the mobility and flexibility inherent in social relationships designed to facilitate migration made it difficult, if not impossible, to impose the hierarchy of empire and national identity onto the western interior" (p. 178).

In subsequent parts of the book, Witgen strongly suggests that scholars need to understand the indigenous history of the interior exclusive of the history of the Atlantic New World. For example, as French officials transferred colonial control to England, what mattered most to the Anishinaabeg was not the entanglements of European empires but the Anishinaabeg's own deteriorating alliance with the people of the Dakota. Instead of looking east from Indian Country, the Anishinaabeg looked west and south. Ultimately, Witgen concludes that these complicated interior relationships that rarely directly involved European nations forced Europeans to enter the protocol of indigenous diplomacy rather than the other way around.

In the final part of the book, Witgen traces the Anishinaabeg relationship with Americans into the nineteenth century. In the face of a new form of settler colonialism, he argues, "the Native peoples of Anishinaabewaki . . . were not vanishing in the face of American progress. Rather, American progress had stalled in the interminable swamp of the Native New World" (p. 339). As he traces American narratives of discovery and conquest into the nineteenth century, Witgen reminds readers that these histories continue to conceal a counter-narrative of Anishinaabe persistence and sovereignty.

An Infinity of Nations is a powerful example of how scholarship centered on the agency of Native American actors in so-called colonial history reshapes basic understandings of place. Witgen's contributions stretch far beyond the boundaries of Anishinaabewaki by building upon recent scholarship that highlights the significance of indigenous perspectives. Witgen also reminds us that language and place-naming are vitally important in understanding the history of North America.

JAMES JOSEPH BUSS
Salisbury University

LINFORD D. FISHER. *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 296. \$34.95.

This fine book reconstructs Native encounters with Christianity in southeastern New England from 1700 to

1820. In describing those Native people who became Christian, Linford D. Fisher eschews the language of "conversion" because it implies totalistic transformation and spurs nonproductive debates about the authenticity of Natives as Christians. Emphasizing the lived, elastic nature of religious identities, he argues that it is better to speak of Native "affiliation" and "religious engagement" with Christianity and reminds us that Native New Englanders often appropriated Christianity for pragmatic reasons. Among other things, Native men and women cultivated ministers and missionaries as allies, pursued literacy to help the cause of community sovereignty, and appropriated aspects of English culture to gain greater colonial acceptance. "By 1734, almost all of the major remaining unevangelized Native communities in southern New England had requested education in some form" (p. 46). Thus the Great Awakening of the early 1740s did not represent a dramatic rupture so much as a continuation of patterns of adaptation.

Just as different communities participated in the Awakening at different rates (with Mohegans gaining notoriety for their interest), the reasons that drew individuals to the movement also varied. Fisher cautions us not to generalize from the testimonies of literate individual Christians like Samson Occom (p. 66). Whether drawn to the Awakening's egalitarian ethos, captivated by the new forms of testimony it endorsed, or motivated by other considerations, most Native men and women expected their participation in Christianity "to do something for them" (p. 101, emphasis in original). When they found themselves marginalized within churches, they pulled back. Overall, the Awakening involved fewer Native people and for less time than has been assumed, Fisher concludes.

After the Awakening, Native communities in New England continued to demonstrate creativity in how they engaged with Christianity. A sizeable minority of Native people pursued "Indian Separatism" and developed religious services "run by and primarily for Indians" on their own lands (p. 108). Post-Awakening Native communities also took educational matters into their own hands. By focusing on these autonomous developments, Fisher seeks to introduce a more Native-centered approach and redirect our attention away from the usual suspects. To wit, he notes that Eleazar Wheelock's school drew "only 29 total (Native youth) from New England" (p. 163), and he calculates that the intertribal communities of Brothertown and New Stockbridge in New York involved "less than 10 percent of the Native population in and near the Indian reservation communities in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and the eastern end of Long Island" (p. 183).

Whether they migrated or stayed home, all late colonial Native communities in New England grappled with the reality of increasing intermarriage with non-Natives. Different communities responded differently. As Fisher notes, Brothertown people seemed much more anxious about intermarriage than did contemporary Narragansetts (p. 198). This is a rich topic and ger-

mane to his overall argument, but, unfortunately, Fisher does not examine how views on and practices of intermarriage evolved across the generations and through the eighteenth century. Thus, he leaves unanswered the question of how Native peoples' long engagement with Christianity and Christians shaped and did not shape their relations with non-Native peoples. This represents a missed opportunity, one we hope this most able historian will tackle in a future "separate study" (p. 228, n. 25).

With its focus on the resilience and agency of Native Christians, its sensitivity to the various ways they sought to defend their sovereignty (for example, by seeking education), and its eschewal of dismissive interpretative frameworks that envisage totalistic "conversions," this book joins an already rich body of scholarship reappraising the histories of Native Christianities. Scholars from multiple disciplines have produced many excellent works on this topic, with Native Christians in New England receiving especially rich attention, viz., Hilary E. Wyss, *Writing Indians: Literacy, Christianity, and Native Community in Early America* (2000); Rachel M. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (2008); Joanna Brooks, *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native American Literatures* (2003); Daniel R. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts* (1996); David Silverman, *Red Brethren: The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians and the Problem of Race in Early America* (2010); and Joel W. Martin and Mark A. Nicholas, editors, *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape* (2010).

In sum, Fisher's book does not appear in a historiographic vacuum. Rather like the Indian Great Awakening itself, decades of important, pathfinding, and innovative work have preceded it, shaped it, and made it possible. A worthy and admirable contribution to that scholarship, this book also deserves a wide readership.

JOEL W. MARTIN

University of Massachusetts Amherst

HILARY E. WYSS. *English Letters and Indian Literacies: Reading, Writing, and New England Missionary Schools, 1750–1830*. (Haney Foundation Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 251. \$59.95.

In *English Letters and Indian Literacies*, Hilary E. Wyss asserts that there is much more to the history of literacy in Indian Country than the infamous Carlisle Indian Industrial School, an institution founded in 1879 on Captain Richard Pratt's motto, "Kill the Indian . . . and save the man." Before Carlisle, there were the New England Protestant missionary schools supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospels, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which sponsored John Sergeant's Stockbridge Indian school (1739), Eleazar Wheelock's Moor's Charity School (1754), and the Cornwall, Connecticut, and Brainerd

Mission schools of the 1820s. It was from within this earlier and ever-expanding New England Christian educational network, Wyss maintains, that the foundational cultural logics of Native American literacy found lasting enunciation—for Native and non-Native participants alike—down through the nineteenth century.

At the heart of this important new interpretation of the origin and nature of Native literacy practices are two significant recalibrations of earlier readings of missionary education. The first builds on Laura Stevens's *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility* (2004) and traces the implications of Indian literacy for Euro-American self-fashioning in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As the book demonstrates, Native literacy provided non-Indians with a comfortable fantasy of English colonial order, linguistic supremacy, and paternal benevolence, epitomized by Wheelock's self-aggrandizing fund-raising tracts and the martyrology surrounding David Brainerd, erstwhile missionary to the Delaware.

Wyss instructively divides these missionary representations of submissive Native peoples into two basic types, "Readerly" and "Writerly" Indians. Readerly Indians appear in missionary publications as the passive practitioners of devotional reading. Writerly Indians inhabit these works as more active participants in the production of English-language alphabetic script, their literacy serving as a performance of civility, usually taking the form of letters detailing their conversion or acquiescence to missionary authority.

English Letters' most important contribution to the scholarship on Native literacy, however, lies in its demonstration that the same missionary institutions that forced alphabetic literacy on Native peoples as an essential element of Christian conversion simultaneously (and, paradoxically) fostered a set of material and social practices that enabled them to become ever more firmly committed to the preservation of their own Native communities. Wyss makes her case for the New England missionary schools' pivotal roles in Native revitalization (especially among the Cherokee) by ingeniously juxtaposing Native and non-Native texts and material objects produced within these school systems to create what she calls "counterpoint[s]" that enable us to re-imagine the social agency enjoyed by literate Indian students. In the process, we see more clearly than ever before the lived world of literacy early Native writers actually inhabited. In sifting through mission letters and inventories, Wyss exposes the duplicitous nature of the missionaries' representations of passive Native students, vividly recreating complex social worlds in which students got into fistfights, bought pocket watches (both to enhance their social standing and to meet the missionary schools' demanding schedules), and copied English poetry into their commonplace books—verses that seemed to echo their own hopes and dreams for a life beyond the mission system.

Much of the pleasure of reading this book comes from Wyss's eye for material cultural detail and her creative reading of its possible meanings. On the back of

a 1773 letter from Joseph Johnson, for example, Wyss discovers a mini-autobiography, penned “upside down” (p. 99) and detailing its author’s defiant personal feelings, submerged in the obverse of the letter’s “official” submissive address to Wheelock. As these literacy counterpoints in *English Letters* unfold, the book tells engaging stories of resistance and revitalization by literate Native people like Mary Occom and Joseph Johnson at Wheelock’s school, and David and Catharine Brown at the Brainerd Mission.

Wyss really hits her stride in the final two chapters, where she trains her interpretive skills on the mission school at Cornwall, Connecticut, and the schools constellated around the Brainerd Mission at Chicamaugua in the Cherokee homeland. Here, her insightful readings of books and memoirs, the letters of Cherokee schoolgirls, the memoirs of John Arch and Catharine Brown, and the Cherokee-language biblical translations of David Brown, blossom into one of the most well-rounded and humane readings of early Native institutional literacy that has been written to date. In these closing pages the reader encounters the most important thing *English Letters* has to teach us: that seemingly arcane fights over biblical translations and so-called Red English were as much about Native sovereignty as they were about linguistic accuracy. This is especially true of the Cherokee, whose relationship to New England missionary literacy programs Wyss so carefully details in the book’s afterword, an analysis that will no doubt serve as a model for much productive future work in the field. In the end, Wyss believes, Native students embraced many of the literacy practices they learned in missionary schools simply because their home communities needed them for the preservation of their languages, social structures, and religious beliefs in an increasingly oppressive colonial world.

PHILLIP H. ROUND
University of Iowa

KATE HAULMAN. *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 290. \$39.95.

The story of Americans expressing their opposition to British taxation by wearing homespun remains a popular narrative in tales of the imperial crisis preceding the revolution—perhaps nearly as popular as stories of refusing to drink English tea. Yet no matter its appeal, this story about patriotic consumer protests over clothing is oddly opaque. To be sure, parliament sought to tax imported cloth just as it did tea. But protests over English cloth expanded to encompass *fashion*, a far more inchoate subject. It was one thing to eschew tea, and a far different thing to determine which clothing offended due to its material, and which offended due to its style.

As Kate Haulman demonstrates in her fine new book, by the time the 1764 Revenue (Sugar) Act began to spur colonial protests, fashion had long prompted anxieties

about gender, rank, politics, and power. The revolutionary-era conversation about luxury, feminization, and political loyalty merely shifted the terms—and importance—of a longstanding set of anxieties irreducible to a question of fabric or cut that spans the eighteenth century. Those contests gained particular intensity because of fashion’s association with women, who exercised relative power as consumers, assessors, style-makers, and, at times, businesswomen. Nor was this a one-directional set of associations. Fashion could also help to remake the gender binary, redefining notions of masculinity and femininity as well as the power balance between men and women.

As Haulman shows so usefully, fashion functioned on many levels: as a set of materials and styles, of course, but also as a language, a symbol of wealth or status, a producer of symbolic meaning, a theatrical mode of display, an important aspect of performing one’s gender, and a measure of gender relations more broadly. None of these functions was static; fashion was “a shape-shifting vessel of an idea” (p. 3). Yet insofar as fashionable clothes revealed one’s social rank, they could just as easily disguise a pretender. American colonials enjoyed the play of fashion—the eternal questions about which clothing set the tone, which was outdated, and which went too far and rendered one a fop, coquette, or macaroni. At the same time they found fashion’s multiple associations to be troublingly vague. If leaders only rarely passed sumptuary laws (for example, in 1740 a law in South Carolina sought to fix rules to slave clothing and thereby permanently link status to appearance), a far wider populace frequently expressed concerns—in letters and in print—about how clothing blurred identity.

It is to the author’s great credit that *The Politics of Fashion* unpacks the complex meanings of style within a rich historical narrative that remains specific in both sartorial detail (periwigs, hoops, the “high roll” hairstyle, and the neoclassical Grecian gown are parsed at length) and in geographic locale (Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston). The book pivots on a moment in the history of fashion treated by other scholars, but never with this degree of historical depth: the mid-century trend for elite men to reject ostentatious fashion in favor of a new sartorial simplicity exemplified as a “country” or pastoral style, ultimately codified as the bourgeois man’s suit. No matter how much the new mode of men’s clothing still represented an elegant fashion choice, its comparatively understated appearance permitted contemporaries to recast fashion as ever more the realm of women—and thereby, by the 1760s, to characterize it as contrary to republican virtue. More subtly, this adjustment had the effect of diminishing the power held by elite women and in the long run helped American men to depict their control over politics as natural and fashion as antithetical to political virtue. Indeed, fashion now seemed to be a vice.

That recasting of fashion, gender, and power did not merely throw into question women’s roles in politics.

Revolutionary Americans also vigorously demonized the macaroni: the ridiculously overdressed man who appeared with increasing frequency in American print culture in the early 1770s. In rejecting simplicity in clothing, the macaroni offered such a useful object lesson because he insisted on remaining dependent on European fashion; he was, in short, the opposite of the independent republican eager to evade British tyranny. Creating such a type helped to elaborate a new political identity for men premised on their opposition to the feminization of fashion. A true American took an antifashion stance even as his clothes might have exemplified the very latest in masculine style.

This book makes three important contributions to the field. The history it traces offers a much broader analysis of fashion's relationship to power and politics during the American eighteenth century than we have seen previously. Moreover, Haulman's terrific examination of the gendered implications of fashion is magnificently subtle and detailed, particularly as she insists on linking them to political changes over the course of this era. And finally, her readings of fashion and gender history are models of careful historical analysis; they are rich with a Geertzian attention to symbol and meaning while also tracing the change over time in real-life styles and the rhetorical uses of fashion in print culture. This excellent book should inspire graduate students to consider new sources and subjects of study, and it will be important reading for scholars of gender, revolutionary political culture, and early American studies.

CAROLYN EASTMAN

Virginia Commonwealth University

CAROLINE FRANK. *Objectifying China, Imagining America: Chinese Commodities in Early America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 257. \$25.00.

In *Objectifying China, Imagining America*, historian Caroline Frank presents a new and surprising role that Chinese commodities played in the formation of the United States. At first glance, this is an object study working from particular artifacts—porcelain figurines and dishes, jappanned screens, tea—and tracing them to the wider worlds that gave context to their use, trade, or manufacture. What Frank really does, however, is write a cultural, intellectual, and political biography of Chinese goods in the northern colonies over the course of the late seventeenth century and leading up to the American Revolution.

Frank's first task is to convince the reader that Americans had direct and indirect contact with China through "Red Sea men" and other sailors whose routes regularly took them into contact with Asian people and goods. Through their tales of exotic people and places, as well as the small figurines and other wares they carried back, this maritime activity brought people, goods, and knowledge into American ports. Americans were part of a cosmopolitan exchange and formed ideas about China that were unmediated by official British regulation of trade. In a rich tapestry of voices and ob-

jects that range from Massachusetts to Pennsylvania, Frank portrays Americans developing a distinctly colonial—as opposed to British—association with Chinese objects.

After making her case for America's casual knowledge of China, Frank examines the European and American goods painted or crafted with Asian motifs or fashion known as chinoiserie. Frank tells the story of a house painter named William Gibbs whose work "employed Eastern design motifs as well as medieval European depictions of a geographically imprecise East to make an original contribution to Western chinoiserie styles" (p. 78). Frank's investigation shows how Gibbs's murals in Newport, Rhode Island, reflected Chinese compositions with lush landscapes and animals such as cranes, yet revealed specifically European Christian concepts of punishment and torture, especially impaling. Frank skillfully explains the technique of Gibbs's craft, the intellectual content of the images, as well as the origins of the designs to show how Gibbs's work represented a culturally sophisticated American art. The book is filled with illustrations that Frank capably references and uses to teach; her prose actively engages with the graphic information. Unfortunately, the captions are merely object labels and lack descriptions of color that would make the black-and-white images richer.

Frank offers multiple types of evidence that there was a "shadow economy" and "underground commerce" (p. 104) in Chinese porcelain and other valuable goods, which she sees as a "fundamental part of the colonial economy" (p. 114). Her case for a more dynamic model of how goods move and influence culture challenges authors such as T. H. Breen, who uses the consumerism of manufactured goods to argue how alike Britons and Americans were on the eve of the revolution, and also Richard Bushman, whose model relies on goods moving from metropole to periphery.

Frank's first three chapters suggest that the ways in which Americans encountered China were a universal phenomenon for people poised on the edges of oceans. This reviewer wondered why she did not include accounts and artifacts from Virginia, South Carolina, or Jamaica that would strengthen her compelling study; but in chapter four Frank's geographic boundaries are appropriate. Here she shows that New Englanders had particular ideas about how their maritime past included trinkets from Asia; in this past, the China trade marked a certain type of financial autonomy for seafaring men and their financial backers. Frank introduces the big contradiction in the career of Chinese goods: as china and tea became regular consumer goods, they moved from being exotic items that denoted a man's access to trade to emblems of the perceived feminine weakness for ephemeral markers of fashion. Chinese commodities became a poison that made Americans slaves to Britain.

Frank challenges existing histories that look at the role of trade, goods, and consumption in the American Revolution when she argues that American concepts of

China and Chinese goods guided patriots' choice of tea as the imported good to protest in Boston Harbor in 1773. These protests, Frank asserts, were not made simply because of tea's association with British taxation. By this time, tea had become a specific emblem of the "treachery of Britain's mercantile establishment" (p. 201). Frank's contribution to both the facts and mythology surrounding the role of tea and the American Revolution may be controversial to some readers, but she nonetheless launches a significant volley that new ways of looking at goods will reveal new roles for these goods in the making of a nation.

SUSAN KERN

College of William and Mary

PATRICK M. ERBEN. *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2012. Pp. x, 335. \$45.00.

The historiography on early Pennsylvania is polarized in an interesting way. On the one hand, explains Patrick M. Erben, "the utopianism of Pennsylvania's founding has become such a cliché that its explanatory power has waned" (p. 46). On the other hand, historians seeking to challenge the seemingly mythical depiction of peace and harmony in the colony have often focused on the conflict and acrimony in Quaker politics or other ways the "holy experiment" allegedly failed. Without denying the challenges early inhabitants of Pennsylvania faced, Erben's work uses previously unexploited sources to give a fresh perspective on the founding and early history of Pennsylvania.

Erben explains Pennsylvania's origins as a holy linguistic experiment conducted by several groups—English Quakers, radical German Pietists, Dutch and German Anabaptists—to counteract the legacy of Babel. Bringing with them a background in Neoplatonist and pansophist thought, their aim was not to abolish multilingualism but rather to embrace it as a way to discover a higher, spiritual language that united all people, including Native Americans. This book has the rare quality of being at once revelatory about the past and having an easily identifiable lesson for our times. As Erben explains, his argument "interferes with the cultural and political myth that language diversity poses a fundamental threat to communal coherence—both in colonial America and today" (p. 14). Moreover, he reveals German Pietists to have been not simply followers of Quakers to the new world but very much partners in the founding of Pennsylvania, in some ways even taking the lead in trying to create the utopia that William Penn envisioned.

This is not a work through which one can or should rush. The ideas are complicated but clearly and eloquently described. Erben's meticulous attention to detail will please scholars of many different sorts. Theologians and religious and intellectual historians will

relish his confrontation with the early modern conceptions of the divine spirit in man. Since Erben's subjects reveled in the intellectual joy of manipulating multiple languages, linguists and other admirers of the German language will likewise appreciate the author's attention to the layers of meaning he reveals in the texts. Indeed, one of the great pleasures of reading this book is dwelling on the subtly different connotations between the German expressions and English expressions that Erben emphasizes. For those who do not read German, he deconstructs and compares important passages to highlight the wordplay (or wars of words) in which his subjects engaged. Those scholars who care about precise transmission will appreciate that Erben recognizes and employs the best practices of documentary editing when transcribing from the originals.

We cannot expect a work as rich and detailed as this to cover all aspects of the period and groups in question. Yet there were a few instances in which Erben seems to have missed interesting questions or fruitful overlap with other disciplines. One wonders why he deals with music and hymn-singing among German sects but does not explore how Quakers—who rejected this form of devotional expression—received it. A logical parallel would have been an exploration of Quaker preaching, which was said to have a sing-song quality. Similarly, Erben argues convincingly that early Quaker leaders were proficient in multiple languages and valued these skills for uniting people in God's spirit, yet apart from mentioning that George Fox believed all human languages were essentially corrupt (p. 38), he ignores the fact that many of these same Friends advocated "guarded education" for Quaker youth—which meant avoiding the study of languages. Perhaps this apparent contradiction is easily explained, but we are left to wonder.

A more significant shortcoming, from this reviewer's perspective, is Erben's lack of engagement with the political. It is truly refreshing to read an account of early Pennsylvania that turns our attention to a new area of study, but religion and politics were so closely intertwined during this period that one cannot be considered without the other. Indeed, Erben's central issues of transcription of texts, use of spiritual language, concern with the fallibility of human language, and how to balance communal unity with individual difference have been treated by political historians of Pennsylvania. Occasionally, without reference to political factors, his discussion is slightly off base. For example, Erben does not consider Herman Wellenreuther's persuasive analysis of the mid-century change in the Quakers' peace testimony as having political motives. Also, the 1764 campaign for royal government was not instigated by the Paxton Riots (p. 279); it was about taxation policy as it applied to the proprietors. Moreover, Erben suggests that the Quakers ultimately supported the Charter of Privileges solely because of persuasion by German authors (p. 281) when in fact writings by politicians, some of which were published in German, were also influential.

These quibbles do not negate the novelty of Erben's methodological approach or the importance of his argument. This is a magnificent book that deserves to be widely read and emulated. Although it is probably too scholarly for most undergraduates, it is an exceptional teaching tool for graduate students. Not only will they profit from the intellectual content, Erben's methodology will serve as a model for how to interrogate texts and might just encourage young scholars to brave work in a foreign language.

JANE E. CALVERT
University of Kentucky

ANTHONY M. JOSEPH. *From Liberty to Liberality: The Transformation of the Pennsylvania Legislature, 1776–1820*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2012. Pp. xiv, 201. \$65.00.

Readers intent on identifying the cluster of values, assumptions, practices, and priorities that launched and then gave momentum to the American Revolution, and subsequently transformed communities in the early republic, discover that current scholarship offers essentially two paradigms. The first paradigm—liberalism—identifies a constellation of ideas and habits that produced a middling classless society operating under a broad consensus that acknowledged self-interest. The second—republicanism—emphasizes individual liberty and the means to secure and protect it. The expansion of democratic principles and practices during these years, as described by Gordon S. Wood and others, demonstrates the absorptive potential of republican ideals and forms. Anthony M. Joseph inflates the boundaries of republican thought further, maintaining that Pennsylvanians between 1776 and 1820 “expanded [their] range of republican values to include ‘liberality,’ and in that expanded range liberality came to hold the central place” (p. 4).

To lay the groundwork for “a proper history of American liberalism,” Joseph focuses on the Pennsylvania legislature in the half-century after 1776. As the threat to personal liberty lessened with the elimination of royal government and the diminution of executive power on both state and national levels, the legislature—heretofore the bastion of the people's liberty against encroachments of power and influence—suffered from the lack of a clear agenda. Criticism of its practices, slight productivity, and cost eventually elicited doubts as to the value of legislative sessions generally. It was liberality, the widespread and fair distribution of public authority and public money to increase the public good, which eventually established the legislature's *raison d'être*, according to Joseph.

Joseph's account is not a comprehensive examination of the Pennsylvania legislature. He concentrates on issues that were most prevalent in the early nation, and that contributed most to the transformation of the legislative purpose. An increase in the volume of petitions to legislators marked the early postrevolutionary years and forced legislators to alter their procedures to ac-

commodate the deluge. It also forced them to reassess their objectives. This increase, particularly in equity petitions, stimulated legislative liberality as the heightened competitions among petitioners produced in the legislature a greater regard for a broader distribution of civic authority and funds to achieve the common good. To be “liberal” implied a willingness to weigh a wide range of facts, attitudes, and possible answers. The volume of petitions in the lawmaking process decreased, Joseph argues, only with the acceleration of legislative liberality.

Before internal improvements came to exemplify the growing liberality within the legislature, a financial structure capable of promoting them was essential. Although Pennsylvanians in 1776, and for two subsequent decades, expected to be taxed by their legislature, by 1820 public finance had been fundamentally altered. Acceptance of state taxation eroded in the 1780s when specie was demanded, and more in the 1790s when federal taxes were levied. By the late 1780s taxation had come to be viewed in a political light. Antifederalists, for instance, wanted states to retain their vigor in matters of taxation to ensure their influence and power against the federal government. With the ratification of the federal Constitution and the assumption of Pennsylvania's debt by the federal government, the pressure to tax was lessened. Pennsylvania slipped into a new fiscal stage, that of overseeing a surplus.

Through a rigorous collecting of debt arrearages after 1800, the state managed to forgo taxing its people directly, even during the War of 1812. Although banks were unknown in colonial Pennsylvania, in 1814 the legislature incorporated forty-one banks in a single bill. Bank taxes and dividends allowed the state to finance public improvements, particularly turnpikes, which in turn ushered money into the treasury through dividends and fees. Public authority increasingly was dispersed to private individuals and corporations and the public shared in the profits. Although legislative liberality routinely addressed republican fears and concerns, Joseph argues, it was liberal ideas rather than republican principles and assumptions that turned Pennsylvania's legislature from its emphasis on protecting liberty to envisioning, promoting, and financing the “happiness of the people.”

Joseph's contributions are many. He charts the beginnings of a modern legislature in Pennsylvania, the broadening of citizens' public vision, the changing procedures and purposes of legislative committees, the public's rethinking of the value of economy, and the sharpening of the legislative focus by shedding some responsibilities and conceding others to different branches of government. Equally important, by successfully illustrating how on critical issues the legislature diligently sought to “harmonize” republican and liberal concepts, Joseph offers a fresh challenge to scholarly boundaries between liberalism and republican thought.

G. S. ROWE
Greeley, Colorado

GARY L. McDOWELL. *The Language of Law and the Foundations of American Constitutionalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 409. Cloth \$99.00, paper \$32.99.

Dedications usually do not tell readers very much. Not so in *The Language of the Law*. Gary L. McDowell dedicates his book to, among others, Robert H. Bork, the controversial judge and legal theorist whose nomination to the Supreme Court was rejected by the Senate in 1987. Bork championed "originalism," the belief that the United States Constitution ought to be interpreted to reflect the intent of the framers as revealed in the text of the document. McDowell suggests Bork's defeat was "an unforgivable political and constitutional sin," and his book is an extended, scholarly defense of Bork's favorite cause (p. 1). In McDowell's words, "[t]he thesis of the book is that there is a moral foundation to originalism when it comes to the interpretation of a written constitution, the natural rights legitimacy of which rests upon the consent of the governed" (pp. xi-xii).

To McDowell, the alternative to originalism is the supposedly now prevailing idea of a living document that evolves in accord with "the moral intuition" of judges applying a higher law (p. 9). According to McDowell, "the Founders' Constitution began to disappear" under the influence of late nineteenth-century academics (p. 12). Three professors take much of the blame for its demise. Christopher Columbus Langdell's introduction of the case method of instruction at Harvard Law School fed an assumption that judges made, and could change, the law. Two Princeton University political scientists, Woodrow Wilson and his even more influential successor, Edward Corwin, openly embraced the idea of a Constitution that adapted to changing times.

McDowell's most intriguing argument is as much polemic as history, and involves the role of natural law in the Western legal tradition. He draws on Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, William Blackstone, and others to argue that English and continental philosophers and jurists did not believe in an elaborate system of natural law waiting to be discovered by judges. Men made laws, and because laws were man-made, not innate to the human conscience, they had to be written down. Laws derived their legitimacy from the authority of the sovereign, or ultimately from the consent of the governed. Judicial deviations from the written law challenged that legitimacy.

McDowell moves from philosophy to a seemingly straightforward account of the federal Constitutional Convention and the struggle to ratify the Constitution, but problems begin when he comes to the debate over the creation of the Bank of the United States and the efforts of Chief Justice John Marshall and Associate Justice Joseph Story to put a nationalist stamp on Supreme Court jurisprudence. McDowell appears to accept Marshall and Story's plausible argument that the Constitution should be interpreted "reasonably," not "strictly," in accord with common law rules of interpre-

tation. As Story phrased it, "'intention is to be gathered from the words, the context, the subject matter, the effects and consequences, and the spirit or reason of the law'" (p. 357).

Such elastic guidelines, however, should offer little comfort to anyone interested in curbing judicial discretion in constitutional cases. *The Language of the Law* embraces the theory that judges can use common law interpretive strategies to define terms like "due process" or "equal protection" with little before them but the text of the Constitution. Originalism has scant regard for precedent, an admittedly imperfect tool for corraling judges or, it seems, for the separation of powers; McDowell criticizes Congress for not limiting Supreme Court jurisdiction. Dismissive quotes from Story and others about "conjectures from scattered documents" suggest McDowell has no interest in seriously examining the records to determine the actual intent behind specific constitutional provisions (p. 355).

Much else in the book seems equally detached from reality. After more than twenty years of center-right ascendancy on the high court, McDowell's complaints about the "current world of liberal activism" are dated at best (p. 52). His *bête noire*, decisions based on a judge's "moral intuition," is largely a straw man. Controversial opinions more often reflect the collective wisdom (to use the term loosely) of a national elite, or the efforts of federal authorities to impose national policy on dissident localities. For all the modern court's dubious decisions, McDowell is especially vexed by the idea of a constitutional right to privacy.

If one wanted to craft a philosophy that would allow partisan judges to render political opinions, it might look like originalism. It is no wonder that Bork's nomination failed "by the largest margin of defeat in history" (p. 1).

JEFF BROADWATER
Barton College

AMANDA PORTERFIELD. *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation*. (American Beginnings, 1500–1900.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 252. \$40.00.

Conceived in Doubt offers a fresh, carefully argued, and thought-provoking interpretation of religion, politics, and intellectual life in the early American republic. Amanda Porterfield's argument is that the intensive commitment to libertarian politics and the rapid spread of evangelical religion displayed a "codependency" (p. 11) both in neutral analytical terms and in a negative interpretive sense. She views "mistrust" or "doubt" as pervasive in the postrevolutionary nation due to "the unruliness of American life, especially in the West and South" (p. 181), the degeneration of republican political ideals into strongly factional partisanship, and the forceful advocacy of deism by Tom Paine and other skillful publicists. In this picture, the main historical development that overcame doubt was the expansion of evangelical religion that succeeded in "managing anx-

iety about American freedom,” but only by “muffl[ing] skepticism about biblical revelation and the need for religious authority” (p. 2).

Porterfield acknowledges that other historians have treated aspects of this story but also suggests that they have not shown how directly the religious surge of the early national period was a response to intellectual as well as social challenges. Where, for example, Nathan O. Hatch’s influential *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989) had described early national evangelicalism as a movement of liberation from educated and traditional elites, Porterfield thinks he and others have missed the extent to which aggressive evangelical leaders were preoccupied with attacking and exploiting the challenges to traditional religion, represented best by Paine’s *The Age of Reason* (1794, 1795). In her view, the nation’s founding generation, with Paine and Thomas Jefferson in the lead, stood as much for independence of religious thought as for political independence. She records Federalist opposition to Jefferson’s Democratic-Republicans and Paine’s deism as a religious response to the unsettling rise of party political wrangling; their weapons were apocalyptic fearmongering and paranoid mobilization for their own social authority. Similarly, once the bloodless political revolution of 1800 had occurred, the party of Jefferson also retreated from Paine’s type of reasonable doubt because of the influence of low-church Baptists and Methodists who supported Jefferson as the enemy of their Federalist and high-church Congregational and Presbyterian enemies. As the new nation took shape after 1800, the evangelical churches became strong proponents of national expansion, accepted unrestricted commerce, and in the intellectual sphere gained ascendance through “the demonization of religious skepticism and by the decline of deist celebrants of natural reason” (p. 76). The evangelicals’ “antipathy to open-ended, critical thought” at the maximum supported or at the minimum failed to check “the expansion of a national economy and political system that depended on the exploitation of blacks and consent of white women” (p. 76).

This rapid summary fails to indicate the broad research or the convincing insights that mark Porterfield’s work. Among the most impressive of the latter is the author’s demonstration that developments in the churches were fully and self-consciously political and that the nation’s developing political history was everywhere affected by the response of rising religious movements to theological innovation as well as crises of social order.

Yet questions remain. Porterfield sees an irony when, after joining in the enthusiastic overthrow of George III, evangelicals proclaimed their loyalty to God as absolute monarch. Yet Paine in *Common Sense* (1776) had himself offered traditional scriptural exegesis to contend that only God, but no human, deserved honor as supreme monarch. A sharp category difference, in other words, could underlie the use of a common vocabulary of “kingly rule,” depending on whether God or

a mere mortal was in view. Porterfield also treats evangelical revivals and evangelical voluntary organizations as directed primarily at the skepticism of deists like Paine when such efforts, however much they may have regarded the eclipse of deism as a good thing, are better viewed as primarily concerned about offering hope to otherwise lost sinners and social stability for an otherwise chaotic social landscape. Again, Porterfield ascribes too much evangelical agency to the nation’s continued toleration of slavery and its advocacy of Indian removal. Evangelical complicity in these developments is beyond question, but so is the strong proslavery stance found from its beginning in the Democratic-Republican movement and in Thomas Jefferson’s active subjugation of Natives during his presidency.

The book’s final chapter treats the War of 1812 as resulting from irrational standards of manly honor promoted by western Democrats and bequeathed to the new nation by an evangelical revival. For explaining the war fever of the near-deist Henry Clay and the mob violence of Madisonians against Baltimore Federalists, this understanding is not compelling. Still, with its convincing effort to show that Paine’s *Age of Reason* was almost as significant for the 1790s as his *Common Sense* was for the 1770s, Porterfield’s book joins a small handful of other landmark volumes that have demonstrated the importance of religion for every aspect of early national development.

MARK A. NOLL

University of Notre Dame

RICHARD BELL. *We Shall Be No More: Suicide and Self-Government in the Newly United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 332. \$39.95.

It might seem paradoxical to describe a book about suicide as “lively,” but that is the adjective that best fits Richard Bell’s engagingly written cultural history of suicide in the early American republic. Bell makes a compelling case that debates about suicide, which played out in the new nation’s burgeoning culture of print, offer a previously ignored entry into important discussions about the relationship between self and society.

Suicide is, from one perspective, the ultimate individualistic act. A person decides to take his or her own life and then acts upon that impulse: individual agency, pure and simple. But the reality is not so straightforward. The successful self-murderer leaves behind grieving and bewildered friends and family members, a rent in the social fabric not easily repaired. And in the context of the new republic, Bell argues, suicide represented a challenge to the dominant political culture that stressed the interconnectedness of all members of the body politic. As Benjamin Rush put it in a 1787 essay, “every man in a Republic is public property” (p. 10). To kill oneself was to challenge the integrity of the fragile fledgling political community.

In six well-crafted chapters, Bell demonstrates how debates about suicide resonated in this broader context. The first chapter describes the suicide “panic” that

gripped the United States in the early nineteenth century (p. 34). Newspapers, ever more widely available, reported suicides with alarming frequency. Against this backdrop, the second chapter discusses elites' heated responses to suicides in sentimental fiction. The classic of the genre was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's transatlantic sensation *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774). The novel's titular hero, obsessed with a woman who spurns his advances, kills himself with a pistol. In the United States *Young Werther's* effects could be seen in its legion of imitators: one-third of the first forty-five U.S. novels depict suicide. Parents and ministers feared that this troupe of fictional self-murderers was feeding the nation's seeming epidemic of suicide. In the third chapter, Bell examines humane societies, the charitable groups formed at the end of the eighteenth century with the goal of saving people from drowning. Historians have studied these groups before, but only Bell has noticed the centrality of suicide prevention to their missions. At a time when many elites feared the corrosive effects of unrestrained individualism, humane societies tried to save people from killing themselves in order to demonstrate the ties of community that bound even strangers in a republic.

Death row suicides are the subject of the fourth chapter. To anti-gallows activists, inmate suicide was a powerful argument against the death penalty. That fear of the gallows could drive prisoners to suicide, reformers argued, demonstrated the barbarity of the death sentence. In the next chapter Bell adds an important new dimension to our understanding of antebellum religion. Critics charged Universalists with belonging to a "suicide cult," in Bell's overheated phrase, because some members of the recently formed denomination argued that the souls even of self-murderers went immediately to heaven upon death (pp. 14, 159, 174). But Universalists gave as good as they got and claimed that evangelical preachers, with their vivid descriptions of hell, caused many despairing believers to kill themselves. The final chapter describes how representations of slave suicide changed over time. Through the first decade of the nineteenth century, white writers depicted male slaves imbued with classical virtue taking a principled stand against slavery by killing themselves. From the 1820s through the 1840s, white abolitionists made the female slave a figure of "utter humiliation" and "abject victimhood" as she killed herself when threatened with separation from her children (p. 203). Bell's analysis is intriguing, but he overstates his case when he writes that the trope of female slave suicide, used by slavery's staunchest opponents such as William Lloyd Garrison, served to "strip enslaved people of their dignity" (p. 225).

Indeed, there is a fine line between "lively" and "hyperbolic" prose, a line that Bell crosses too frequently. Hierarchies in the early republic are not just challenged, they are "crumbling"; Calvinists and Federalists are not just worried about their authority, they are "consumed with apocalyptic visions of total cultural collapse" (pp. 14, 248). There is an interpretive cost to this

exaggeration: because most of the book's sources are printed polemics, Bell tends to reproduce their polarized views about suicide while ignoring the larger but quieter revolution in ordinary people's attitudes toward the suicides that were happening in their own communities, among individuals they knew and pitied. Most historians, however, would rather read or assign an engaging, powerfully argued book that occasionally exaggerates for effect than an overly careful, leaden one. For this reason, *We Shall Be No More* will be widely discussed.

ERIK R. SEEMAN

State University of New York at Buffalo

EDWARD CAHILL. *Liberty of the Imagination: Aesthetic Theory, Literary Form, and Politics in the Early United States*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. 318. Cloth \$65.00.

Literary studies has returned to consider anew the relationship between cultural forms and globalizing, or periodizing, political and economic shifts. One way to gauge this turn is through critics' use or avoidance of the keyword *aesthetics*. For some time aesthetics was made a marginal concern in American Studies as a concept contaminated by social elite prejudices or the resting place of scholars who, for whatever reason, did not join the transition from New Criticism to approaches formed by admixtures of European theory, cultural materialism, and "new" historicism. Several generations of literary scholars heard the echoes of racial, ethnic, and sex-gender prejudice when the topic of aesthetics was raised. More recently, though, aesthetics has been recuperated as a viable topic. The focus on evaluating sensory or emotional response has been moving forward in discussions of affect, religiosity, and even media, or network-systems theory, but even these have often held back from pronouncing their concerns as a matter of aesthetics.

Edward Cahill's *Liberty of the Imagination: Aesthetic Theory, Literary Form, and Politics in the Early United States* displays a salutary intellectual honesty for broaching the topic so clearly. Canvassing the multiple ways in which discussions of the imagination and aesthetics shaped the geography of political and cultural production in the early U.S. republic, Cahill's book is at present the conclusive study of the importance of debate about aesthetic positions during the pre-Jacksonian period. The monograph carefully traces the introduction and circulation of aesthetic claims within the writings of figures like Lord Kames, Hugh Blair, Thomas Reid, and Adam Smith and then anchors them within treatments of novels (e.g., Charles Brockden Brown's works), discursive writing (e.g., *The Federalist Papers*), and presentations of idealized landscape. Rather than plump for or against aesthetics, Cahill highlights what used to be called a "problematic," a period's open-ended and often contradictory question that is explored through concurrent mediums and disciplinary fields in search of a negotiated settlement be-

tween social factions, which variously converge and contest each other's positions in hopes of establishing a more stable, consensual social formation.

In Cahill's terms, this problematic is the "dialectic of liberty." Aesthetics is both "a persistent exposition not only of individuality, autonomy, and agency but also their necessary limits" (p. 5). Can aesthetic positions be used to legitimize a larger turn against the old regime and, more specifically, colonial resistance to the British imperium, in ways that are, nonetheless, controllable? For a percolating concern, or exciting possibility, is that the validity of aesthetic positions might consequently enable their democratic extension, one that can either empower plebian and lower-class revolt or, more simply, set off irreversible chaotic fragmentation. For as the mid-eighteenth century's "economic prosperity created a thriving mercantile class and a culture of rising expectations" the interdependence between liberal ideals of individuality and republican ones of commonwealth "expressed itself as a conflict whenever the expanding circle of political participation resisted the unequal distribution of property or the champions of virtuous citizenship monopolized the privileges of relative freedom" (p. 16). One realm in which intellectuals attempted to resolve these tensions was the aesthetic—definitions of which found their way into nearly every other point of discussion and mode of address.

In a larger sense, this conundrum reinstates the conflicts both within and between Enlightenment and Romantic predicates as prior scholars have positioned them. Cahill escapes these older frameworks as he combines careful presentation of historical evidence with elegant exposition and a sober awareness of the multiple outcomes resulting from the debate on aesthetics, which he convincingly shows was never far from any political or cultural conversation. By the end of the first few decades of the nineteenth century, worries about aesthetic differences were temporarily resolved. Herderian nationalism provided one kind of anti-republican cultural glue for tenuous nation-states, and Jean-Baptiste Say's economic claim that producer supply will always create consumer demand suggested that liberal market systems would never face disequilibrium through mismatch crises. Cahill ends by suggesting that the American cult of William Wordsworth in the 1810s can be seen as signaling the arrival of a tenable cultural consensus that would briefly hold before the next round of anxiety marked by Ralph Waldo Emerson's and Edgar Allan Poe's different approaches to artistry and social cohesion. Whatever our present age-of-austerity hesitations about aesthetic matters may be, Cahill reminds us that ignoring the early national period's discussion of the imagination, creative genius, and aesthetic inclinations does violence to any effort to understand the era's overall publications and social concerns.

STEPHEN SHAPIRO
University of Warwick

CHRISTOPHER P. IANNINI. *Fatal Revolutions: Natural History, West Indian Slavery, and the Routes of American Literature*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2012. Pp. ix, 296. \$45.00.

Two of the most important literary figures of the early republic, J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur and John Audubon, were Frenchmen whose sensibilities had been shaped by their experiences in the dynamic plantation world of the circum-Caribbean. Audubon, indeed, was the son of a Saint-Domingue sugar planter who would not have emigrated to the United States if not for the trauma (as he saw it) of the Haitian Revolution. In this short, dense, and rewarding series of essays on writers on nature in the lower South and the West Indies—from Hans Sloane at the start of the eighteenth century through to naturalists Mark Catesby, William Bartram, and Audubon—the plantation world was not some exotic and culturally retrograde region at the edge of a cosmopolitan non-slaveholding world. For Audubon and Crèvecoeur as well as Thomas Jefferson (who is the subject of a very interesting chapter), these were places that were central to the scientific and literary culture of Enlightenment America. But the very novelty of the plantation world and the cruelty it engendered as capitalist social institution and economic engine made this idea difficult to articulate. Both Audubon and Crèvecoeur wanted to efface the Caribbean from their consciousness, to drop a curtain, as Audubon put it, over the dire picture of slave revolt, and to escape as soon as they could from what Crèvecoeur called a "chaos of men, negroes and things" (pp. 143, 255).

Christopher P. Iannini shows that it was impossible for Americans of the early republic to efface the Caribbean plantation, the plantocracy, and West Indian nature from its cultural and literary heritage. His text is not as easy to read as it should be. Iannini is fond of disjunctures and examples of contradictory logic. His complex thoughts are not always expressed clearly, and he makes the reader work hard at unraveling what he is trying to say. In his conclusion, for example, Iannini introduces a new section on Alexander von Humboldt and Havana that confuses rather than clarifies his previous argument. Rather, he might have summarized what was similar about the six case studies of naturalist writings he had already explored. It would have been useful to read at the end of the book a reprise of the points made in the introduction about the centrality of the larger West Indies to the making of an American sensibility and the significance of natural history writing for understanding the problem of slavery in the Americas. Slavery and natural history went together, Iannini asserts, which makes it odd that there is no elaboration on slaves and slavery as part of the enlightened circum-Caribbean world (save glancingly in the chapters on Crèvecoeur and in more detail in a smart comparison of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* [1785] with

similar writings on racial taxonomies in *fin-de-siècle* Saint-Domingue).

What this book does show very well is how rewarding studies of natural history might be for understanding early American literary development. Iannini's careful readings of important but understudied texts exemplify what has been a remarkable recent turn in early American literature, one away from studying canonical and usually New England-centered texts toward studying transnational, cosmopolitan, and less obviously literary works. Iannini argues that writers in the eighteenth-century circum-Caribbean thought of themselves as inhabiting a much bigger literary world than did later writers and, indeed, later critics. By writing about birds and animals and strange things that dwelled in the tropics—including Africans and sometimes Native Americans—the writers Iannini studies participated in a wider Enlightenment discourse in which questions of environmental and economic transformation as a result of the mingling of peoples, plants, languages, and knowledge (in what Abbé Raynal rightly thought was a crucible of modernity) were constantly debated, argued, and, most of all, consumed. The growth of literary nationalism in the early nineteenth century, Iannini strongly implies, did not so much broaden as narrow American writers' field of vision. Subsequent writers enacted strategies of "historical forgetting" (p. 32), in which the West Indies, American slavery, and the natural world were downgraded and gradually effaced. Iannini is to be applauded for showing how these themes were both more central to eighteenth-century discourse than has been usually appreciated and also more useful for understanding how modernity was expressed in the Americas—usually in the harsh and materialistic environment of the slave plantation—than is generally known.

TREVOR BURNARD
University of Melbourne

MICHAEL L. NICHOLLS. *Whispers of Rebellion: Narrating Gabriel's Conspiracy*. (Carter G. Woodson Institute Series.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2012. Pp. x, 248. \$42.50.

In 1801 George Tucker, a gifted young lawyer and intellectual, published a *Letter to a Member of the General Assembly of Virginia on the Subject of the Late Conspiracy of the Slaves*. In August of the previous year, during a pivotal presidential election, two skilled slaves named Tom and Pharaoh had journeyed to Richmond to betray to Tom's part owner the existence of a slave insurrection whose plotters intended to march on Richmond that very night. Governor James Monroe then mobilized forces during one of the worst thunderstorms in living memory. The deluge washed out a crucial bridge that connected the center of the plotting—the Brook—with the city. Investigations into the disrupted march suggested that hundreds of slaves were involved. Judicial proceedings lasted more than two months. Of the seventy-two men, mostly slaves, brought to trial,

twenty-six were hanged, including the alleged prime mover, a blacksmith named Gabriel. To Tucker and other white Virginian notables during an age of revolution, Gabriel and his coadjutors had crossed a momentous divide: they were claiming that God and nature had given them freedom not merely as a good, but as a right.

Michael L. Nicholls's concise account of this plot—one-third of which consists of appendices and notes—provides a carefully researched, tight narrative of Gabriel's conspiracy. He richly describes the geographical locale, showing how the terrain affected its scope, the communication among the rebels, and their mobilization. He adds important details to actors, black and white, who participated in the drama. In two of his six chapters he pores over the documentary record left behind by officials and ably reconstructs the work of the courts. As Nicholls shows, Gabriel and other plotters faced death in stony silence. Court attendees in Richmond noted that much of what was attested to by defendants during the trials was kept from the public; the surviving court record proves maddeningly deficient in answering significant questions about the conspiracy's causes, content, and objectives. And Nicholls finds that Governor Monroe's report on the plot to the Virginia General Assembly was more self-serving than illuminating. That white Virginians turned up during their searches an abundance of grisly looking blades derived from broken scythes and held by custom-made wooden handles that were manufactured by inculpated slave artisans firmly establishes that this slave plot was real and not concocted by the imagination of anxious whites.

Nicholls's book could have benefited from a wider reading on slave resistance in the Americas and, indeed, of the theoretical literature on collective violence. In any number of places where Nicholls puzzles about the contours of the plot, he could have found insights in Eugene Genovese's *From Rebellion to Revolution* (1992), a classic that, astonishingly, is not cited once. On the subject of Gabriel's conspiracy, Nicholls credits two previous books, by James Sidbury and Douglas Egerton—although he has many bones to pick with Egerton in particular. Nicholls, like Sidbury, suggests that religion was more important in informing the plot than Egerton allows. Nicholls balks at Egerton's characterization of Gabriel's youthful master as a hard charger, although testimony exists that he treated his slaves harshly. Unlike Egerton, Nicholls emphasizes the rural rather than the urban origin of the plot in spite of evidence that would suggest the artificiality of such a distinction: the Brook was only a few miles away from the city. Nicholls's reading of documents also downplays evidence of a French connection, which the Federalist press seized on and inflated to discredit Thomas Jefferson and the alleged Jacobins in the Democratic-Republican Party who were spouting extreme notions of liberty and equality. Yet in an endnote Nicholls admits the plotters echoed the liberty-or-death language associated with the slave revolutionaries in Saint-Domingue. Free persons of color were only marginally

involved in the plot, but Nicholls fails to explain why leading whites targeted them as a class in the aftermath of the trials.

Without question, Nicholls advances understanding of Gabriel's sophisticated conspiracy, and discerning the goals of slaves in a pre-empted rising would prove difficult for any scholar. To his credit, Nicholls shows just how vulnerable Richmond was to a coterie of slaves with insurrectionary designs. The city had no night watch. Few of its white inhabitants had working muskets. Stockpiles of arms scattered in and around Richmond were held insecurely. And Gabriel had recruited into the mix one important free person of color—the doorman to the capitol building, in which weapons and money were to be found. In the end, however, Nicholls's reconstruction of Gabriel and his lieutenants leaves an unsatisfactory portrayal of rebellious slaves with more temperament than mind. Indeed, even George Tucker and John Randolph, both in Richmond at the time, thought otherwise.

ROBERT L. PAQUETTE
Alexander Hamilton Institute

J. C. A. STAGG. *The War of 1812: Conflict for a Continent*. (Cambridge Essential Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xvii, 198. \$24.99.

TROY BICKHAM. *The Weight of Vengeance: The United States, the British Empire, and the War of 1812*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 325. \$34.95.

NICOLE EUSTACE. *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. xvii, 315. \$34.95.

J. C. A. Stagg's account of the War of 1812 will satisfy the American audience for which it was written. His book is little more than a study of American wartime politics, a subject of which he is a master. Yet I could find nothing new in his interpretation. There is no equivalent attention devoted to the politics of the war in Britain or in the British North American colonies. Rather, they seem almost peripheral to his account. The book's value is largely found in the introductory chapter, which sketches a historiographical setting beginning with early postwar mythmaking. Strong currents of myth still abound in the historiography, especially when American scholars write of American victory, despite splendid new studies by Richard Buel (2005), Mark Zuehlke (2006), Jon Latimer (2007), and Alan Taylor (2010). And though Stagg provides a sixteen-page essay on sources, he omits important unpublished doctoral dissertations. Among the latter are several by younger scholars that focus on the British Navy in the western Atlantic, including Denver Brunsman's "The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth Century Atlantic" (Princeton, 2004), Mark Drolet's "The North American Squadron of the Royal Navy, 1807–1815" (McGill, 2002), and Martin Hubley's "Desertion, Identity and the Experience of Authority in the North American Squadron, 1745–1812" (Ottawa, 2009).

A more balanced study, and hence much more satisfying, is provided by Troy Bickham, who depended for his account of the war principally on his extensive reading of the press on both sides of the Atlantic. Although he covers the same ground as Stagg, his chapters, spiced with numerous apt quotations from the pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts he cites, are both more detailed and more convincing. No other account, except that of Nicole Eustace, provides more evidence of public opinion during the war, whether in the United States or the British Isles. By way of example, his chapter "The British Empire's Case for War" brings new insights into a familiar account. Whereas James Madison failed to make a compelling case for war (though the idea had wide popularity), Britain's need to respond to America's proclaimed aim to incorporate the British North American colonies through war could not be ignored. But whatever the war's outcome, the lead-up to war brought little credit to either side. Bickham is especially critical of Madison's misreading of a softening in the British position after the assassination of the prime minister in May 1812. Such serious misjudgments of the enemy continued throughout the war. In his chapter on American wartime opposition to the war, the author remarks "That the United States was ill-prepared to go to war in June 1812 seemed obvious to everyone but those who most wanted to prosecute it" (p. 177).

"You never get the war you launch" was the hard lesson the United States soon learned. Utter failure greeted the four attempts at conquering the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, while any thought of attacking the maritime colonies of Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia was soon abandoned. Despite some unexpected successes by American warships in single-ship encounters with British frigates and sloops, the U.S. Navy was incapable of defending either U.S. seaborne commerce or U.S. coastlines, wherever the enemy chose to raid. Even in the privateer war—very much an ineffective sideshow—American trade suffered far more than did the maritime commerce of the British Empire. The one exception was in the West Indies, where British commerce did suffer from the effects of American privateering. An interesting and long-identified feature of the war was the increasing supply of U.S. flour to feed Wellington's army in Spain, even as overall U.S. seaborne trade, both exports and imports, declined and then collapsed in 1814.

Bickham's account of the peace negotiations are the best I have read. He shrewdly notes that "what is absent from the treaty is far more important and indicative of the war experience and the changing Anglo-American relationship than what is in it" (p. 230). For instance, while none of the maritime disagreements with the United States were resolved by the Treaty of Ghent, Britain never again pressed American nationals into the Royal Navy. The initial hard line espoused by Britain during the treaty negotiations withered in the face of America's resolve to yield no territory. More telling was parliamentary pressure over war costs, as well as

criticism from Britain's European allies, then engaged in redrawing the map of Europe at the Congress of Vienna. Widespread jubilation greeted the treaty when the terms reached the United States. The news of Andrew Jackson's success at New Orleans transformed American apprehension and gloom into celebration—while giving birth to many myths.

It was largely myths that stimulated a surge in American nationalism in the era following the end of the war, according to Eustace. If she is right to call the war “a grave American embarrassment” (p. 31), what then fueled the Era of Good Feelings thereafter, a time characterized by diminished partisan demagoguery and heightened patriotism? The desire to extend the boundaries of the United States everywhere on the continent (except in British North America) lay at the root. The ability of Americans to increase sufficiently in numbers to fill the lands that became available to settlement was the boast. Confidence in American fecundity, if we accept the Eustace evidence, was an important part of the political discourse during and after the war. Using poetry, plays, newspapers, sermons, novels, and pamphlets, she also argues that, though much was little more than propaganda to emphasize American ardor, mythmaking allowed nationalists to endure the military disasters that largely defined the war for the United States. In this way “popular enthusiasm for the war never flagged” (p. 39) even when it was misguided and misinformed.

Eustace uses well-known events during the war to elaborate her views. Among these were the surrender of General William Hull at Detroit, Captain Matthew Perry's naval success on Lake Erie, Tecumseh's death at Moravian Town, the destruction of Washington, D.C., and the Battle of New Orleans. Hull was vilified mainly because of the emotional hurt he had done to his army. Perry's success became a love affair with the goddess of victory, emphasizing “the links between love and liberty” (p. 81). And thanks to the gods of war, the American victory at New Orleans was perfectly timed. Although the battle occurred after the war officially ended, it left Americans with a deep sense of vindication while castrating antiwar advocates. In the popular imagination the “virtues of American ardor had won the day over vile British lusts” (p. 215).

Where Americans seemed to agree before, during, and after the war, as has often been pointed out, was in relation to the “Indian.” Then widely considered members of a miserably debased civilization, Native Americans were loathed and thought by many to deserve being shunted aside or exterminated. The removal of their protection by the British was perhaps the principal American achievement in the peace, though not mentioned in the treaty. “The tale of the bloodthirsty savage bent on violating women and children,” Eustace writes, “in the pursuit of a population competition that bordered on genocide usefully projected U.S. goals and tactics onto the nation's enemies” (p. 151). If the United States was at war with the British, the real enemy was the Indian, soon enough to be despoiled. One

of the author's most riveting observations relates to the burning of the White House, when the troops fled and left the capital undefended. “An air of hypocrisy hung in the smoke over Washington. While blaming the British for forcing men to labor for the Royal Navy, U.S. politicians conducted the work of the republic in the shadow of the slave mart” (p. 189). It is hard to see that, during the war, anyone's opinion about slavery changed.

Whereas Bickham used newspapers to establish how events in the war were perceived in the United States and the British Atlantic empire, Eustace uses a much wider body of contemporary sources to establish public opinion. These tell us what was thought by numerous writers, but not necessarily what readers grasped or came to think about the war. Of this she is perfectly aware: “While the current analysis of cultural productions during the War of 1812 cannot establish in detail the tenor of reception, it remains significant that a wide swath of the American public . . . took to print to try to shape collective public opinion” (p. 240, n. 12). Her account of how the war's progression was written about in America is both admirably composed and extremely interesting, but what literate Americans actually thought as disaster followed disaster, leaving the U.S. virtually naked at the peace negotiations, is perhaps unknowable.

JULIAN GWYN

University of Ottawa

WATSON W. JENNISON. *Cultivating Race: The Expansion of Slavery in Georgia, 1750–1860*. (New Directions in Southern History.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2012. Pp. xi, 428. \$50.00.

Cultivating Race uses political, labor, and social history to explore the ways in which Georgia developed from a colony characterized by racially diverse struggles for power to a state dedicated to white supremacy by the time of the Civil War. Watson W. Jennison weaves together the histories of Native Americans, European colonists, and people of African descent in this richly detailed work.

Throughout the volume, Jennison combines familiar stories with fresh insights into the meaning of slavery, race, and power in pre-Civil War Georgia. Knowing that the story ends with Native American expulsion, plantation slavery, and white supremacy often makes it difficult to imagine whites, Natives, and blacks, separately and together, struggling over what Georgia would become. Jennison's detailed coverage of the colonial era illuminates the varied ways in which white colonists, enslaved and free people of African descent, and Native Americans formed multiple and shifting alliances for and against European settlement, Native American retention of land and autonomy, and plantation slavery.

Jennison effectively demonstrates that whites argued among themselves and with Native and African people over the meaning of African slavery and Native Amer-

ican humanity. The limits on African slavery during the trustee period are well known if not fully understood. Less well known and arguably of greater importance were the ways in which some whites continued to contest the rise of African slavery via a large planter class from the royal period through the early national era. Until the eve of the Revolutionary War, the crown unsuccessfully sought to limit slave owners' ability to sell their slaves, fearing the rise of an overly speculative market and thus instability in the Georgia population. But with the admission of slavery in the 1750s, white non-slaveholders in the colony's backcountry also sought to limit the rise of slavery and the powerful low-country planter elite, which they saw as harming their own economic and political opportunities. The Revolutionary War only increased white non-slaveholders' concerns over the meaning of liberty for themselves and, at times, for Native Americans and people of African descent. Jennison's chapter on the short-lived Trans-Oconee Republic reveals the most radical incarnation of this vision of Georgia without African slavery. Although the republic itself lasted only six months, it was rooted in longstanding tensions among whites over the meaning of republican liberty. In addition, frontier conditions enabled the participation of free blacks in the evolving backcountry society in ways that would be nearly impossible in the antebellum era.

Even as whites struggled with the meaning of African slavery for the colony's and state's economy and politics, enslaved people and Native Americans created a variety of shifting alliances to combat the encroachment of white people on their autonomy. Jennison details how Native Americans positioned themselves in racially inflected political alliances as European colonists struggled with the meaning of sharing the land with Natives or excluding them from Georgia. Some Creek factions and Seminoles welcomed blacks escaping slavery into their ranks as they all struggled to retain their independence. Jennison is perhaps most effective at describing the layered and complex ways in which Native Americans, European Americans, and people of African descent negotiated multiple racial and political alliances through the time of Native American expulsion.

Even the familiar story of the rise of the cotton economy is fresh here. With the state of Georgia as the locale, distinctions among lowcountry, upcountry, rural, industrial, and urban slavery emerge with clarity. Jennison details the importance of slavery not only to agricultural production but also to the state's infrastructure, thus demonstrating enslaved people's foundational contributions to Georgia's economy, politics, and society.

Equally compelling is Jennison's final chapter, which demonstrates the ways in which whites in the late antebellum era rewrote the history of Native American removal and early national free black autonomy to justify the white supremacist society and economy they had created. These reinterpretations legitimized past

actions and also supported ongoing white efforts to solidify slavery and restrict free blacks' rights.

Watson Jennison's *Cultivating Race* demonstrates the necessity and the promise in bringing together multi-racial histories to understand the development of racial thought and its impact on U.S. institutions. This readable and engaging history provides a fresh perspective on familiar chronologies. That the work at times seems to be counterintuitive or counterfactual is a testament to the ways in which Jennison challenges assumptions about the meanings of race and the histories we tell ourselves. By showing the many roads not taken, he upsets our teleology of historical change in surprising and profound ways.

LESLIE M. HARRIS
Emory University

LOREN SCHWENINGER. *Families in Crisis in the Old South: Divorce, Slavery, and the Law*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 236. \$49.95.

In this intensively researched book, Loren Schwenger examines the circumstances surrounding the dissolution of southern marriages between the 1780s and 1860s. Using petitions presented to state legislatures and cases in chancery courts, Schwenger details the causes of divorce, the process of pleading divorce cases, and the effects of divorce on families and property. Schwenger pays particular attention to the ways that issues of race and slavery were entangled in marital crises, and it is in this area that his book makes its most noteworthy contribution.

Schwenger begins by explaining the changes in legal processes and grounds for divorce in the South throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. As a result of these changes, by the 1850s divorce procedures and policies within the southern states were essentially similar to those in the rest of the nation. Schwenger dedicates the majority of the book to an exploration of the grounds on which white southern men and women petitioned for divorce and the factors—especially gender and class—which affected the outcomes of these cases. The reader learns that men were far more likely than women to accuse their spouses of adultery with slaves and that non-slave-owning men were the most likely group to cite infidelity as grounds for divorce. In turn, women were more likely than men to cite grounds of insanity, drunkenness, abandonment, and cruelty, as courts treated husbands' adultery more leniently than that of wives. Wives experiencing marriage crises struggled with varying degrees of success to protect property they had brought into marriages and to claim property acquired during their marriages. Interestingly, plaintiffs in lower economic brackets (owning no, or fewer than five, slaves) received favorable decrees more often than more prosperous plaintiffs.

Schwenger describes cases in clear, concise prose and he includes helpful tables summarizing his findings. However, while these descriptions are excellent (and in

some cases poignant and harrowing), Schweninger generally stops short of using his evidence to make striking new arguments. Men were more likely than women to bring charges of interracial adultery because a wife's adultery with a slave devastated a southern man's honor. More prosperous men were less likely to sue for divorce on grounds of adultery because doing so would threaten their families' reputations. While sound, these arguments are familiar. Schweninger explains one of his more intriguing findings—that less prosperous plaintiffs fared better before the courts than their wealthier counterparts—by maintaining that it was not a person's position in the community, but “the effectiveness of lawyers in presenting convincing evidence, including testimony from credible witnesses, and the serious consideration with which judges and juries weighed the evidence,” that determined outcomes (p. 73). Schweninger's contention that the merits of each case outweighed the plaintiffs' economic status is plausible. However, is it possible that lower-class plaintiffs had disproportionately more convincing cases than their wealthier neighbors? In fact, Schweninger's evidence and argument in his final chapter point to an alternate interpretation.

In his final chapter Schweninger presents an excellent analysis of the effects of white couples' marital disputes on slaves. Not only were slaves sold and separated as a result of property settlements in divorce cases, they also were caught in the middle of couples' disputes and could be punished for appearing to support one or the other spouse, or for trying to protect white women from abusive husbands. The marriage conflicts of white couples certainly victimized slaves; however, these moments of crisis also provided slaves with opportunities. Some slaves used the chaos and distraction of these conflicts to escape, but Schweninger reports that the most common response of slaves to marital crises was for slave women (especially those in sexual relationships with their masters) to exert greater authority within the household. These slave women managed their masters' household affairs, disciplined white children, and even gave orders to masters' wives. Schweninger claims that “subordination of a wife to a slave mistress is one of the most consistent and pervasive symptoms of family turmoil described by slave-owning wives suing for divorce or alimony” (p. 112). It is difficult to know what long-term benefits, if any, these slave women received, and Schweninger is careful to note how precarious their positions were. Like so many aspects of slave life, owners' marital conflicts victimized *and* created opportunities for slaves. In either case, Schweninger makes clear that marriage disputes within slave-owning families disrupted traditional gender and racial orders.

It is curious that while he is attuned to this disruption in the context of slaves' lives, Schweninger does not return to the concept in his attempt to explain some of his other findings. This issue seems especially relevant to the question of why wealthier plaintiffs with larger numbers of slaves did not win divorce suits as often as

less prosperous claimants. Perhaps wealthier slave owners' standing in their communities and their importance to maintaining racial and gender hierarchies *did* influence the outcomes of their cases, but in a negative way. Judges and juries knew that southern society could ill afford the disruption to families and to the master-slave relationship that Schweninger so convincingly demonstrates were the results of divorce.

MARY BETH SIEVENS
State University of New York,
Fredonia

AMY S. GREENBERG. *A Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2012. Pp. xix, 344. \$30.00.

There is a certain historical familiarity to the story of the Mexican American War: the United States traded its vaunted republican virtues for the prospect of Manifest Destiny in a war for conquest, initiated on a tenuous legal basis that dragged on for longer than expected and ended with a peace that caused deep division at home. The tale reminds one of the Vietnam War or the ongoing War on Terror. Like the Mexican American War, the latter conflicts are often associated with a single individual, a person considered most responsible for starting or perpetuating it. The Mexican American War has been called “Mr. Polk's War,” not unlike the Vietnam War (“McNamara's War”) or the War of Terror (“Bush's War”). Apportioning responsibility and blame to a single individual distorts the reality that war is an event of multifaceted accountability.

It took more than James K. Polk's ambitions to instigate a confrontation with Mexico; it was the ambitions of an entire nation that indulged the idea of glory and continental expansion. Amy S. Greenberg reminds us of this in the title of her stimulating book. Rather than Mr. Polk's War, she chooses Ulysses S. Grant's description of it as a “wicked war,” and she proposes in her book's subtitle that others—namely Congressman Abraham Lincoln and elder statesman Henry Clay—were equally central characters. Actually, the subtitle understates Greenberg's research, because the book examines a collection of Americans including soldiers like John J. Hardin, Henry Clay, Jr., Zachary Taylor, and Grant, diplomats like Nicholas Trist and John Slidell, and politically powerful women such as Sarah Polk and Ellen Hardin Walworth. These actors receive as much attention as those listed in the subtitle, making Greenberg's Mexican American War a deluge of personalities successfully packaged in a vibrantly descriptive narrative that encompasses the intersections among those most responsible for promoting, executing, and opposing the war.

The level of detail described above extends throughout the book. Greenberg's examination of presidential candidates in 1844 is particularly perceptive and this is where her analysis of key characters begins. The unlikely political rise of President Polk, his failure to achieve a diplomatic solution to the annexation of

Texas, and his decision to move troops past the recognized border at the Nueces River are well-established as the military catalysts of the war. Though some critics may believe that Greenberg is too harsh on Polk, the book's coverage is wholly fair. In fact, Greenberg does much to show that Whig opposition—fully aware of the president's ambitions—was not steamrolled by Polk, but tepid and constrained by public opinion. Greenberg describes the military history and execution of the war through the fluctuating enthusiasms and fears of soldiers, officers, African Americans, politicians, and spectators on the home front.

A Wicked War takes up the formidable job of analyzing the opposition to the war and asserts that activists were inspired by three military incidents: the battle of Buena Vista, the shelling of Veracruz, and the massacre near Agua Nueva. Although Buena Vista was a U.S. victory, the death of Colonels John J. Hardin and Henry Clay, Jr. sparked a greater consciousness of the costs Americans would bear. At Veracruz and Agua Nueva the U.S. Army was at its most wicked. Major General Winfield Scott shelled Veracruz until the opposition submitted to unconditional surrender, leaving the city and population decimated. At Agua Nueva, Arkansas volunteers raped civilians, which led to a Mexican retaliation that left one of the volunteers dead. In response, the Arkansas regiment rounded up the city's population and killed "twenty-five or thirty Mexican men in the presence of their wives and children" (p. 156).

There were opponents of the war from the outset of hostilities, particularly in New England, where activists like William Lloyd Garrison, John Quincy Adams, and Henry David Thoreau protested. Greenberg argues, however, that these activists delivered only "rumblings of protest" (p. 195) before the brutality of the war motivated broader opposition. In a book with such incredibly colorful descriptions of a diverse set of actors, the first wave of opposition to war is noticeably less detailed, but aside from this, the book does well to illustrate the surging anti-imperial panic that came as Americans realized the war's likely effect: expanding slavery. The Whigs—and particularly Lincoln—are central to this account, and the passage of the Wilmot Proviso provides evidence of their determination.

Accessible and considerate of the numerous elements at play within the expanding nation, *A Wicked War* delivers a concise and dynamic account of an understudied conflict that set precedents for U.S. foreign policy. Greenberg's book will have utility in the classroom and appeal to general audiences.

MICHAEL PATRICK CULLINANE
Northumbria University

STACY PRATT McDERMOTT. *The Jury in Lincoln's America*. (Ohio University Press Series on Law, Society, and Politics in the Midwest.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 258. \$54.95.

Stacy Pratt McDermott draws on county court records, appellate rulings, and the legal papers of Abraham Lincoln to assess the law, composition, and performance of juries in antebellum Illinois. Focusing particularly on Sangamon County, a location shaped by northern and southern cultural influences and encompassing the town of Springfield, McDermott shows that juries were sometimes controversial and jurors were mostly comprised of social elites and rarely representative of the wider community. The jury was, nonetheless, recognized in Illinois as an important link between the people and the law and, in McDermott's analysis, juries were invariably competent and their decisions mostly fair.

The book contains an introduction that outlines national debates about the institution of the jury in the antebellum era, and four thematic chapters. Chapter one examines the development of jury law. The jury was enshrined in the constitution or bill of rights of all mid-western states. It was understood as a central element of American democracy, but before the Civil War the priority for legislators was to ensure that juries were competent rather than inclusive. As a result, there were always significant limits on jury service, including race, age, gender, citizenship, and property ownership qualifications. In practice, the discretion exercised by court officials in selecting jurors and the difficulty of securing the attendance in court of many rural residents narrowed the jury pool still further. As McDermott illustrates in chapter two, in Sangamon County only sixteen percent of the population were even potential jurors once qualification rules were enforced. Drawing on census and county tax records to present a composite biography of 1,410 jurors who served in the county in the years 1850 and 1860 and a further 2,680 jurors in cases involving Abraham Lincoln's legal practice, McDermott shows that grand jurors in particular were drawn from elite society, were considerably older and wealthier than average Illinoisans, and had surprisingly deep roots in the local area given the transience of western populations at this time. Jury service was therefore a means by which propertied white men displayed and reaffirmed their social status. But McDermott notes, too, that many also had experience of law from the other side of the dock (particularly in civil cases) and commonly had personal ties to the litigants who appeared before them.

Illinois jurors sat in judgment on a wide range of cases. In chapter three, McDermott argues that their verdicts were both just and compassionate, challenging the interpretation of historians such as Peter W. Bardaglio, Laura F. Edwards, and Morton J. Horwitz who argue that American law primarily served elite interests. McDermott highlights, for example, cases of divorce and slander in which juries showed a concern to protect the reputation of women and support their right to remarry. She also examines criminal cases and finds that despite the "economic and social chasms" (p. 104) between jurors and defendants, jurors were reluctant to impress the full weight of the law on convicted offend-

ers. To this end, it was significant that jury influence in the courtroom remained strong throughout the antebellum period. In contrast to the late-nineteenth century, when jury power was greatly constrained, McDermott argues in her final chapter that jurors in 1850s Illinois more than held their own with judges and lawyers in an “ongoing negotiation” for legal influence. This reflected both the shared social and economic backgrounds of the three groups and the competence that jurors acquired through regular service which balanced the growing professionalism of the bench and the bar.

The Jury in Lincoln’s America presents an analysis of an extensive body of intriguing evidence, but there are several areas that might have been more fully explored. First, the comparative angle of the study is underdeveloped. In part this reflects the paucity of scholarship on juries in other jurisdictions, but even so McDermott might have offered further analysis of issues such as why Illinois amended its juror qualification laws more often than other midwestern states (p. 27). Second, McDermott might have engaged more with the wider historiography on American law. In particular, the claim that wealthy, white male jurors in Illinois were both paternalistic and independent of elite control deserves additional examination. Finally, for a book that bears his name and draws on so much of his legal archive, Lincoln is a curiously marginal figure in large parts of the study. In the preface, McDermott notes that Lincoln’s “development as a man and a national leader took place in the courthouses of antebellum Illinois” (p. ix), but the dynamics of this process are not addressed in the main body of the text. Future scholars who do explore how Lincoln’s experiences of Illinois’s courtrooms and legal culture shaped his role on the national stage will, however, find McDermott’s analysis of Illinois’s jury system a valuable point of reference.

JAMES CAMPBELL
University of Leicester

DAVID S. CECELSKI. *The Fire of Freedom: Abraham Galloway and the Slaves’ Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2012. Pp. xx, 326. \$30.00.

Despite being mentioned often in studies of the African American experience during the Civil War era, Abraham H. Galloway has nonetheless remained a peripheral figure in the historiography—one of those black leaders whose contribution was acknowledged but largely undocumented. As David S. Cecelski explains, however, Galloway was a major figure in the African American community during the late 1850s and 1860s. This meticulously detailed biography depicts Galloway’s life as both representative of the torment of slavery and racism as it was experienced by millions of African Americans and exceptional in that he was one of the relatively few black southerners to establish a national reputation for his leadership of the African American community.

Born into slavery in 1837, Galloway’s first-hand ex-

periences of the South’s “peculiar institution” were instrumental in forging his radical opposition to both slavery and the racism that transcended the Mason-Dixon line. After escaping from slavery in 1857, Galloway was almost immediately embroiled in the cut-and-thrust of abolitionism and other forms of activism. Blessed with apparently boundless energy, and traveling widely across the United States and Canada, he quickly achieved a reputation as one of the feistiest advocates of African American freedom. Galloway’s form of antislavery was uncompromising. Amid the increasing sectional, racial, and political tensions of the late antebellum period, Galloway’s militant abolitionism led him to help ex-slaves find sanctuary in Canada and drew him to the cause of Haitian emigration, which not only appeared to offer hope to African Americans seeking to make their future in a nation untainted by white racism but also sought to enhance Haiti’s status as an independent black republic and an international bulwark against slavery.

It was during the Civil War, however, that Galloway confirmed his reputation for militant, confrontational abolitionism. In admirable detail, Cecelski traces Galloway’s peregrinations during the war. Working at a frenetic pace in concert with Henry Highland Garnett and other black leaders, Galloway was seemingly everywhere: journeying into the Confederacy to help liberate other slaves and to spy on behalf of the Union Army; traveling throughout the North, galvanizing support for the Union cause and insisting that the war must lead to more than simply emancipation for African Americans; and, most famously, meeting with Abraham Lincoln. As Cecelski notes, Lincoln’s April 1864 meeting with Galloway and other black southerners was laden with symbolic significance and was an opportunity for Galloway to press his claims for African American voting rights. Unwilling to see black men fighting on behalf of freedom without equal rights as soldiers, Galloway insisted that the Union Army should abide by egalitarian principles.

For Galloway, the defeat of the Confederacy was no moment to relax. Certain that economic and social equality could only be achieved through political action, he was a vigorous advocate of African American political rights. Younger than many other black leaders—he was just twenty-eight years old when the Civil War ended—Galloway played a key role in establishing the Republican Party in his native state of North Carolina. In 1868 Galloway won a seat in the state legislature. Although his tenure there was brief—he died suddenly in 1870—and while Reconstruction fell short of achieving the goals that Galloway and others had articulated, his contribution to the cause of African American freedom was well understood by his contemporaries. The neglect of Galloway’s reputation after his death reflected, in part, the determination of the postbellum white South to expunge heroic black figures from popular memory.

Cecelski has restored Galloway to his rightful place in the historiography. Perhaps inevitably, his focus is

largely on Galloway as a public figure. We learn relatively little, for instance, about Galloway's personal relationships or motivations. But this is no criticism of Cecelski's endeavor. He is constrained by the nature of the sources at his disposal, and by the fact of Galloway's illiteracy. Yet if the sources preclude an intimate analysis of Galloway's private life, they nonetheless enable Cecelski to paint a vivid picture of Galloway and the African American community during the tumultuous years of the Civil War and Reconstruction. In rescuing Galloway from historical obscurity, Cecelski has done a remarkable job of tracing his subject's multifarious contribution to the cause of black freedom and equality.

CHRIS DIXON
University of Queensland

GLENN DAVID BRASHER. *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation: African Americans and the Fight for Freedom*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2012. Pp. 288. \$39.95.

In early April 1862, a massive Union army under Major General George B. McClellan sailed from Washington, D.C., landed at the tip of the historic Virginia Peninsula between the James and York Rivers, and began operations aimed at the capture of Richmond and the destruction of the Confederacy in a single stroke. For the next two months, McClellan's troops pressed forward cautiously but inexorably, until by the end of May, when some of them could literally see the spires of the Confederate capitol, just five miles distant. The end of the rebellion seemed equally in sight.

In desperation, the Confederate army burst forth in a failed counterattack whose main significance lay in the wounding of its commander, General Joseph E. Johnston, and his replacement by General Robert E. Lee. Within a month, Lee planned and executed a second counterstroke, this one brilliantly successful. McClellan's army withdrew to a fortified base along the James River estuary and within a few weeks was evacuated back to Washington. The Union's once promising campaign had become a national embarrassment and a victory that had been so close was transformed into a stalemate whose duration no one could predict.

The above recitation of the Peninsula Campaign will be familiar even to casual students of the Civil War. Glenn David Brasher, however, has found a side of the campaign that few historians have considered, much less explored: the role of African Americans in shaping it. In documenting this role, Brasher makes a compelling case that the Peninsula Campaign was the chief engine that drove the North toward embracing the destruction of slavery as a war measure. Although Abraham Lincoln did not issue the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation until after the battle of Antietam, he made the decision to issue it in the immediate aftermath of the Peninsula Campaign.

Brasher has two main points to make. First, "African

Americans influenced the strategy and tactics of both the Union and Confederate armies before and during the campaign and helped shape its results" (p. 5). Second, the Union experience on the peninsula profoundly shaped northern political debate regarding the destruction of slavery. The willing or unwilling involvement of African Americans in both the Union and Confederate war efforts was a major element of this debate.

With regard to the first point, while most Civil War historians are aware that African Americans aided Union operations by providing military intelligence, serving as guides, and so on, no one has come as close to documenting this fact as Brasher who provides illustration upon illustration. For instance, during the battle of Williamsburg early in the campaign, a slave informed Union commanders of a weakness in the Confederate position that the Federals exploited to win the engagement. Slaves played an important—if unwilling—role in Confederate operations as well. It was slaves who primarily dug Confederate fortifications, most importantly the belt of fieldworks that shielded Richmond, enabling Lee to use most of his army to counterattack McClellan's forces and thereby defeat them in the Seven Days' battles. Also, it was slaves who functioned as laundresses, cooks, and nurses in Richmond's hospitals, roles so critical that doctors who staffed the hospitals considered them indispensable.

Concerning the second point, the military employment of slaves on the peninsula went a long way toward convincing Federal congressmen and opinion-makers that emancipation was a military necessity. It was particularly central to the debate that led to the passage of the Second Confiscation Act. Ironically, it was the Confederate use of slaves that most impressed northerners; the rebels themselves inadvertently paved the way for emancipation.

The book is appropriately chronological in structure. The first four chapters address the nature of slavery on the historic Virginia Peninsula and the response of the region's slaves to developments in the war's first year. This part of the book follows terrain already well mapped by other historians. The last four deal with the Peninsula Campaign itself. It is at this point that the book really takes off, and in addition to documenting African American involvement in noncombatant roles, Brasher discusses their participation in combat as well. In one instance, slaves were forced at gunpoint to man a Confederate cannon while under heavy fire from Union troops. In another, an African American served as a sharpshooter for the rebels. The latter case—and others like it—mark the book's contribution to the controversial debate on "black Confederates." Accordingly, it is the only part of the book that may provoke readers' skepticism. All in all, this is a fascinating, impressively researched, and lucidly written addition to the literature on emancipation.

MARK GRIMSLEY
Ohio State University

LIBRA R. HILDE. *Worth a Dozen Men: Women and Nursing in the Civil War South*. (A Nation Divided: Studies in the Civil War Era.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 317. \$39.50.

In this study of Confederate nursing, Libra R. Hilde persuasively contends that the middle- and upper-class white women who healed the sick and comforted the dying contributed meaningfully to the Confederacy's unrelenting demand for medical care. Because these women set out to perform nursing in the name of domesticity and Confederate nationalism, surgeons and soldiers eventually welcomed their life-saving work.

The book focuses on Confederate "matrons," the middle- and upper-class white women who served as administrators, coordinating the labor of convalescing soldiers, slaves, and other white women in areas that often included cooking, laundry, nursing supplies, and the overall care of the ailing soldier's body and mind. Hilde uses pay scales and budget lines to estimate that well over one thousand women served in such positions across the South at the height of the war. Like other studies of Civil War nursing in the North and South, Hilde reaffirms the profile of the idealized female caregiver: matronly, middle aged, unmarried, and childless. Widows were especially prized.

This study breaks new ground in profiling the determination of elite white women to enter into the work of nursing. Women repeatedly filled the breach for the Confederacy's medical needs, whether early in the war when the Confederacy simply lacked the human resources to staff hospitals, at the war's height when large hospitals emerged, or, late in the war, when battles erupted in remote locations that required the creation of makeshift, or "wayside" hospitals, often staffed by local volunteers.

Simply put, these matrons succeeded in their aims, saving lives and comforting the dying. Hilde argues that surgeons, politicians, generals, and soldiers all praised the matrons' life-saving work. Using statistics drawn from Confederate doctors, soldiers' letters, and matrons' accounts, Hilde shows how matrons' efforts to humanize the inhumanity of war improved morale and mortality rates among Confederate troops. Thanks to their success in the name of nation and duty—something Hilde considers part of a larger notion of "female nationalism"—these women overcame the challenges of nursing strangers (p. 83). Unlike some northern nurses who sought professional status through their wartime work, the humble claims of southern matrons, combined with the Matron Act of 1862, created an effective hierarchy in the medical ward.

Confederate matrons faced all the challenges and conflicts characteristic of Civil War nursing: carnage, supply shortages, long hours, and work among strangers—including slaves and convalescing soldiers. These temperate women often struggled with surgeons and soldiers alike over control of the hospital's liquor cabinet. But the sharpest conflict, most likely emerged between the well-to-do matrons and working-class

women. Their mutual distrust, according to Hilde, led to the fraying of any notion of cross-class female nationalism.

While we have seen glimpses of organized women's nursing in the Civil War South—in LeeAnn Whites's *The Civil War as a Crisis of Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1890* (1995), for example—the more common refrain has been that of Drew Gilpin Faust's landmark study, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (1996). Where Faust portrays the incongruity between elite women's vocal support for the war and their reluctance to work beyond the household, Hilde stresses women's steely resignation and adaptability to nursing, even if shrouded in the language of self-abnegation. According to Hilde, when elite women's support for the Confederacy flagged late in the war, it resulted more from the practical challenges of northern occupation and the immediate concern for one's own family rather than the wholesale collapse of morale, or women's unwillingness to stretch the bounds of female activity beyond the household in the name of the Confederacy.

After the war, these matrons did not go away quietly. Hilde stresses that matrons, among the earliest authors of published wartime work, eagerly transferred their wartime networks and management skills to the Lost Cause. They set in stone the valor of the men they had comforted in illness and death. As they did so, elite women used "oblique terms" to mark their own transformations, perhaps best captured in Hilde's analysis of one such matron: "Men gained better women and truer, less dependent companions" (p. 202). Herein lies one minor problem with the work's sources. Some of the strongest voices, such as those of Fannie Beers and Kate Cumming, emerge from diaries and memoirs that were edited and published in the war's wake. While Hilde takes care to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of these sources in the transition from war to peace in the study's penultimate chapter, I wished for greater clarity on how their postwar aims may have colored women's perspectives on wartime work in the earlier chapters.

Hilde has offered us much more than a history of nursing. By providing insight into the ways in which women shaped the course and outcomes of the war, we not only see women's work beyond the household but also how their labors shaped the postwar South.

SCOTT STEPHAN
Ball State University

GLENNA MATTHEWS. *The Golden State in the Civil War: Thomas Starr King, the Republican Party, and the Birth of Modern California*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 272. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$25.99.

Glenna Matthews has written a rich book about a short life in a young state. Her subject, Thomas Starr King, was born in New York City in 1824 and died in California in 1864. Born to an artisan-turned-minister father, King became one of Massachusetts's brightest lu-

minaries before he was thirty. As a Universalist and then a Unitarian, he traveled New England's lyceum circuit and preached before some of its most respected congregations. He knew and corresponded regularly with people like Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Wendell Phillips. Accepting a call to the Unitarian pulpit in San Francisco, he helped secure California to the Union during the Civil War. In doing so, he worked himself to death.

The central conundrum that Matthews seeks to understand is how California could be dominated by Chivs (pro-Southern Democrats) in the 1850s yet vote overwhelmingly for Abraham Lincoln in 1864. To formulate an answer, she creates a sort of textbook on California in the 1850s and 1860s, with discussions not only of politics but also of race, aesthetics, and actual fighting during the war. King played key roles in all four. He spoke fervently for the Union and against slavery (despite occasional detours into Anglo-Saxon narcissism). He traveled to Yosemite and touted its glories, deploying the rhetorical weaponry of New England Transcendentalists. He helped recruit troops for the Union Army (one is astounded at how many Californians fought for the Union, and how important they were in certain battles). Finally, King tirelessly solicited funds for the U.S. Sanitary Commission.

"It was one of the remarkable facts of history," writes Matthews, "that as the Union was threatened by a split along one axis, it was strengthened so powerfully along another" (p. 101). Above any other single Californian, King accounts for that strengthening, although of course he had a wind at his back in the form of a Union naval presence, a pro-Union merchant fleet, and the promise of new infrastructure. King provided the "spiritual analogue to the new transcontinental telegraph and the proposed railroad line" (p. 153). He Unionized California.

The flaw in Matthews's book is also its strength. The narrative travels far outside the life of King (as the title suggests it will). Sometimes Matthews detours into fresh historical territory. Sometimes she takes us down roads that are all too familiar. The upshot is a wide-ranging exploration of the history, politics, and culture of California in its gold-rush youth, capped by a worthy discussion of California's lurch back to its old prejudiced politics almost immediately after war's end (white Californians disliked both Republican paper money and the 14th Amendment). If you want to understand California in the 1850s and 1860s, this might well be the most approachable, thorough, and interesting book on Amazon's shelves.

DANIEL HERMAN
Central Washington University

AARON ASTOR. *Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation, and the Reconstruction of Kentucky and Missouri*. (Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 332. \$47.50.

The "rebels" to whom Aaron Astor refers in the title of his new book are not, as one might suppose, exclusively Confederate soldiers. Rather they include three distinct groups: Confederate guerrillas, slaves, and white conservative Unionists. Each group, Astor maintains, contributed to a "complex border state rebellion" that shaped national politics for a half century after the Civil War (p. 6). Not that this book surveys every nook and cranny of the border. Astor focuses on two clusters of counties—eight in Kentucky, seven in Missouri—that contained both the highest number of slaves and, interestingly, the highest concentrations of proslavery Unionists in those states. The clashes among the three groups, Astor believes, illustrate how the war turned conservative Unionism into a "belated Confederatism and a new breed of white supremacist militancy." This shift, he submits, was "the great political transformation of Civil War America" (p. 10), and distinguished the border states from the rest of the South.

Using his selected counties as a proving ground, Astor contends that the antebellum political culture and economic interests of Kentucky and Missouri slaveholders made them more moderate than either the slaveocracy of the Deep South or the political extremists of the North, and so caused them to reject both abolitionism and secession. Even when the war came, most Unionists stood by the federal government until it enlisted black soldiers in the border states. That betrayal, as loyal slaveholders deemed it, sparked a campaign of violence against black soldiers and their families that continued through Reconstruction.

Astor blames the collapse of Unionism at least partly on Confederate guerrillas. These ruffians introduced a degree of danger, destruction, and destabilization that no one had anticipated. The effects were worse in Missouri, says Astor, where the guerrilla war "ripped apart the white community" (p. 118), but in both states, the frenzy of this irregular "insurgency" undermined the slave system, brought retribution against rebel noncombatants by the Union army, and broke the spirit of conservative Unionism.

Turning to the slaves, Astor adopts the theme of black agency. Not waiting to be liberated by northern political decrees or the Union army, Kentucky and Missouri slaves, who had relatively more freedom and lived in closer proximity to free territory than slaves in the Deep South, resisted their masters and the slave system openly and successfully. That they enlisted in large numbers in the Union army is well established, and Astor believes that this is the crucial factor for understanding both the relative boldness with which blacks sought equality after the war and the continuing post-war violence aimed at them by both former rebels and white Unionists. Whites in the border states, says Astor, came to view the war not as an issue of union or disunion, but as a "struggle for white dominance in all facets of social, cultural, and political life" (p. 124).

Astor offers a well-constructed and logically developed argument that seems to complement other recent work on the border states, yet he leaves enough loose

ends and makes enough questionable statements to raise doubts about important details. To begin, his sources include very few personal papers and lean heavily toward newspapers. He tries to justify this imbalance in his introduction, but the fact remains that too many of Astor's conclusions about individual motives and actions are based on a partisan press. The amount of attention the book gives to Kentucky and Missouri is similarly out of whack, with far more evidence, especially statistical data, provided for the former state. Nor does Astor appreciate the complexity of the irregular war or what motivated guerrillas. It is not even clear whether the guerrilla conflict was imposed on these counties or grew within them. A claim that Kentucky and Missouri were the first to celebrate the Lost Cause may be easily challenged, and an appealingly paradoxical assertion that significant numbers of slaves and their Unionist masters wound up fighting as soldiers on the same side has no statistical basis and does not consider that early supporters of the Union may well have changed sides after 1863. Likewise, in casting Kentucky and Missouri's white populations as staunchly conservative, Astor fails to account for the fact that the majority of white males in those states served in neither army but often joined local guerrilla bands.

Ultimately, Astor's enthusiasm for his story leads him to claim too much, even for his most persuasive and useful conclusions about postwar political realignment. He not only implies that his analysis of conditions and reactions in a mere fifteen counties holds true for the whole of Kentucky and Missouri, but he frequently makes those two small regions synonymous with the "border states." By the end of the book, Astor's narrowly defined enclaves seemingly speak for "the middle third of the nation," challenge "the dominant sectional narrative of Civil War and Reconstruction" (p. 247), and cast the "entire period in a new light" (p. 244).

DANIEL E. SUTHERLAND
University of Arkansas

BRENDAN C. LINDSAY. *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 436. \$70.00.

Despite the shocking title of Brendan C. Lindsay's book, the basic facts of the case he explores are well known. During the gold rush, California miners and settlers motivated by racism, fear, and greed slaughtered thousands of California Indians. Local, state, and federal governments directly and indirectly abetted these murders. Disease and starvation augmented the death toll. By the end of the nineteenth century the state's Indian population stood at about ten percent of its number before European contact. In the twentieth century, scholars like Sherburne F. Cook took note of these grisly facts. Carey McWilliams compared the decimation of California Indians with the results of Nazi death camps. In the years between 1979 and 1987 at least three books about California Indians included the word *genocide* in their titles. Less controversial words like *de-*

struction and *extermination* were also used to convey the fact that Native Californians were nearly annihilated. More recently scholars have emphasized Indian agency while acknowledging the sorry record outlined above.

If the facts are well known, one must ask what Lindsay's book has to offer that is new? First, he argues that nineteenth-century events in California fit the definition of genocide that was established after World War II. Second, he argues that Americans used democratic institutions and processes to carry out genocide. He vigorously pursues these arguments throughout the book. Lindsay relies on the 1948 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide for a definition of genocide. This broadly conceived definition includes not only homicide but also causing mental harm or new conditions of life that are intended to destroy a population, measures that would prevent births, and the forcible transfer of children to another group. Several acts are punishable under the convention, including conspiracy to, incitement to, complicity in, and attempts to commit genocide. Lindsay believes that nineteenth-century Californians committed all of these acts and provides abundant examples from the sources. Does he make his case? Yes, if one accepts all of his premises, especially his insistence that the UN convention is the appropriate standard to apply. As Lindsay himself suggests, some readers will regard his book as a presentist exercise that applies a modern term and sensibilities to past people and events. He, of course, believes that his use of the term is appropriate in part because there is no legal statute of limitations on genocide—thus his book "is a perfectly useful exercise in the legal sense of the case presented" (p. 17). As Lindsay puts it in the book's final sentence, he hopes that his work will "generate shame and outrage . . . and help in the process of revitalizing, rebuilding, and remunerating Native communities" (p. 359).

Perhaps the most provocative aspect of his book is Lindsay's connection of American democracy to the killing of Indians. In town meetings, miners voted to wipe out Indian communities, elected militia officers, and petitioned the state government for arms and money to carry out their murderous designs. Elected officials responded to the homicidal wishes of their constituents with laws and financial support. The state government passed the costs for Indian killing on to the federal government and California's congressional delegation lobbied so effectively that some of these expenses were eventually paid. If all of this activity had occurred on behalf of building schools, the episode would be heralded as a triumph of American democracy, but these democratic effusions were meant to eradicate human beings.

There is little doubt that readers who are new to California Indian history will be shocked, outraged, and perhaps even ashamed—as Lindsay hopes they will be. For those of us who already are familiar with this sad record, Lindsay's book makes us recall these sentiments afresh. Some readers may be a little put off by his re-

lentless case building. For this reader, the genocide argument gets in the way of coming to grips with the enormity of what was done to California Indians and the very American way in which it was done. Others may agree with Lindsay that it is important to pin this particularly odious label on California Indian history in order to understand a past that was infused with racism and violence.

ALBERT L. HURTADO
University of Oklahoma

JOSHUA PADDISON. *American Heathens: Religion, Race, and Reconstruction in California*. (Western Histories, number 3.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, in association with the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. For the Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West. 2012. Pp. vii, 267. \$44.95.

When Bret Harte published the poem "Plain Language from Truthful James" in 1870, he made the sobriquet "Heathen Chinese" virtually synonymous with Chinese in American popular parlance. Harte drew, with satirical intent, on a raging debate that swirled around the status of Chinese immigrants as unconverted and potentially unconvertible pagans in an imagined Christian nation.

In this slim but deeply illuminating volume, Joshua Paddison focuses our attention on the centrality of religion in the processes of racial formation immediately following the Civil War. Focusing on Reconstruction in California, he shows how debates over the status of Chinese immigrants and Native American Indians were inextricably bound up with those over the citizenship and civil rights of emancipated African Americans and recent European immigrants. Paddison understands the rise and fall of Reconstruction to have been a multi-racial rather than biracial process and the concomitant triumph of white Christian male supremacy as a national rather than regional project.

While earlier scholars have looked to land hunger to explain the genocide of California Indians, and to labor issues to explain the anti-Chinese movement, Paddison shows how religion shaped a discourse of Christian male citizenship as a response to questions of race and national identity reopened by emancipation and the Fourteenth Amendment. He argues persuasively that Protestant evangelicals, who had been at the forefront of emancipation and the extension of suffrage to African American men, were anxious to cleanse the nation by extending citizenship to a universal Christian (Protestant) brotherhood that included converted Chinese immigrants and Native Americans.

Although it is well known that Protestant missionaries were the most vociferous and persistent supporters of Chinese immigration, Paddison closely examines the writings of Augustus Loomis, Ira Condit, and Otis Gibson, in particular, to show how their advocacy on behalf of the Chinese was driven by two distinct evangelical dreams: saving Chinese souls and saving a Prot-

estant republic from Roman Catholicism. Heathen Indians and Chinese were acceptable only in so far as they could be converted and then participate in Christian male citizenship.

Over the course of the 1870s, the faith of these missionaries in a universal Christian brotherhood waned in the face of growing militant opposition from labor, politicians, and newspapers and, perhaps more importantly, in the absence of an enthusiastic embrace by most Chinese Americans. Paddison shows that by the end of the decade, most Protestant denominations had dropped their resistance to restrictions on Chinese immigration and to the dismantling of reservations in favor of individual allotments. A new religious consensus had emerged around Christian male citizenship that sanctioned the exclusion of the Chinese—who were now deemed incapable of assimilation—and forced assimilation for surviving Indians.

Much to his credit, Paddison does not ignore Chinese, Indian, and black voices in this debate. Although they faced common disenfranchisement (and violence on different scales) African Americans, Indians, and Chinese were never able to make common cause in this moment. Paddison shows how black ministers laid claim to legitimate citizenship for African Americans on the grounds of Christian conversion while distancing themselves from "heathen" Chinese and Indians. Indians and Chinese in California never overcame their mutual distrust of each other—a distrust that had developed in the Gold Rush days when Indian leaders resisted forced relocation to reservations while the Chinese enjoyed freedom of movement, and when Chinese merchants objected to their position in the same disenfranchised racial category as Indians, whom the merchants claimed were "savages" and "uncivilized." The complexity of the race debate is shown in Paddison's account of James Bouchard, the virulently anti-Chinese Catholic priest of unannounced Indian ancestry who claimed the privilege of whiteness on behalf of Irish Catholics. Although the archives are not dense with these voices, their addition, even in a minor key, adds an important complexity to the saga.

Paddison argues that the end of Reconstruction came only with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Dawes Act of 1887. His last chapter, however, opens up another possible trajectory. Here, Paddison examines the continuation, however diminished, of universal Christian brotherhood as an ideal embodied in a new generation of American Chinese ministers who broke from the mission tradition, established independent Chinese churches, and continued to struggle for civil rights.

ROBERT G. LEE
Brown University

SUE FAWN CHUNG. *In Pursuit of Gold: Chinese American Miners and Merchants in the American West*. (The Asian American Experience.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2011. Pp. xxxii, 258. \$55.00.

The experience of Chinese in the California mining frontier has been extensively documented in many studies, but that for other regions in the West is less well known. Sue Fawn Chung's book attempts to redress this gap by examining the Chinese who moved into Oregon and Nevada. Using U.S. census data, immigration files, archaeological reports, and regional histories, and drawing from her training as a historian of China, Chung is able to create a rich portrait of different Chinese mining communities in sites as varied as John Day, Oregon; Tuscarora, Nevada; and Island Mountain, Nevada.

Overall, Chung presents a complex and nuanced view of Chinese interactions with others in mining communities. The usual perception of the nineteenth-century Chinese experience in the American West is that they encountered hostility and racism. Chung notes that the anti-Chinese movement did affect the lives of the Chinese in the western states through numerous laws, such as those that prevented them from owning mining claims. This movement culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which virtually ended Chinese immigration to the United States until 1943. But even after exclusion, acts of violence against Chinese Americans, such as the brutal Snake River Massacre in Oregon (1887), still occurred.

Despite this well-known history, Chung finds that examples of amicable relations and interdependence also occurred in locales such as John Day, Tuscarora, and Island Mountain. In some communities, people were bound together for common interest and mutual benefit. Friendships bonded the Chinese with their neighbors, as in the case of herbalist Ing Hay and storekeeper Lung On of John Day. The two men never became return migrants to China. They enjoyed financial success in their occupations and elected to remain residents of eastern Oregon until their deaths. In Tuscarora, Ah Lee Lake valued his friendship with the Antoine Primeaux family and other residents. He was even called "a rare specimen of a 'white' celestial" by the *Tuscarora Times-Review* (p. 107). While national and state laws discriminated against the Chinese and interracial tension was evident, at the local level, there were exceptions to the pattern as some Chinese found acceptance by their peers.

Beyond delving into the intricate and variegated aspects of the discriminatory phase of the Chinese experience, Chung describes in detail the structure of Chinese communities. Merchants and their networks were especially important. Merchants promoted migration, served as labor contractors, acted as cultural brokers, and assumed roles as community leaders. Complementing the merchants were district associations, fraternal organizations, and secret societies. The secret society, Hexingtang, maintained an impressive lodge in Old Tuscarora, while another one, the Zhigongtang, maintained its headquarters in New Tuscarora. The two societies provided mutual aid, activities, and protection for their members. The Zhigongtang lodge even housed an altar to Guan Yu, with flower vases and incense

burners. It may have housed altars for other deities as well, for the Chinese often professed beliefs in Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism simultaneously.

The Chinese shared their ethnic celebrations with the entire community. Fireworks were set off for the Chinese New Year, and food and gifts were presented to all. Another festive occasion, the Bok Kai Festival, was welcomed in western towns such as Marysville, California, and Evanston, Wyoming. Labeled "Bomb Day" by the non-Chinese, it offered fireworks and other treats. Such community-wide events helped to bring people together and fostered favorable impressions of the Chinese.

In adapting to the American West, the Chinese retained culinary and medical practices from their homeland while adjusting to their new environment. Excavation records show that pork, beef, chicken, and fish were often consumed, along with wild game. They cut their meat with a cleaver and also ate duck and quail eggs. Rice and tea, which accompanied their meals, were imported from China. To maintain their health, the Chinese drank soup, tea, and other traditional remedies. But the archaeological evidence shows that they were also willing to use Vaseline, aspirin, and bitters. Most interestingly, Chung finds that opium use was not widespread among the Chinese; when they smoked, it was primarily to alleviate pain.

In recent years, researchers have tapped the methods of archaeology and history to study diasporic Chinese communities. Chung's study fits well with this innovative approach: it offers a rich and multifaceted social history of Chinese mining communities in Oregon and Nevada. Scholars of Chinese America will find the book to be a valuable addition to their libraries.

FRANKLIN NG

California State University, Fresno

GUENTER B. RISSE. *Plague, Fear, and Politics in San Francisco's Chinatown*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 371. \$39.95.

Eminent historian of medicine and public health Guenter B. Risse takes a familiar story—the bubonic plague outbreak in San Francisco between 1900 and 1905—and revises it. Although this event looms large in histories of public health, scholars often describe it in abbreviated form as part of a larger narrative about the intersection of race, ethnicity, citizenship, and the development of public health policies in the United States. (Risse himself engaged similar questions in a piece that appeared in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* on the outbreak of plague in San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake.) While Risse's work is conversant with that of Marilyn Chase, Susan Craddock, Alan M. Kraut, Howard Markel, and Nayan Shah, he alters the narrative in three ways. First, Risse's book is a comprehensive treatment dedicated to this single episode. Second, he places the episode within a transnational context. Third, Risse capitalizes on newly translated texts to better document the Chinese perspective, and

he unearths new sources to provide a more nuanced assessment of federal officials. As a result, Risse's *Plague, Fear, and Politics in San Francisco's Chinatown* should now be considered the authoritative text on the subject.

At the turn of the twentieth century, public health officials often declaimed their actions in the language of warfare. After revisiting Carl von Clausewitz's *On War* (1832), Risse reads this rhetoric as a duel, where each side rationalizes its maneuvers but where luck and emotions also play a role. Risse divides his book into two parts to illuminate the multiple duels between laborers versus merchants within Chinatown; municipal, state, federal, and international politicians; and municipal, state, and federal public health officials. The first section of the book delivers a transnational history of Chinese perspectives on health, medicine, environment, and disease. It begins with life in Chinatown from the view of the first plague victim, Wong Chut King. By choosing a Cantonese translation of King's name—Canton being the region King hailed from before his migration to California—Risse disposes with caricatures. Instead, Risse provides readers a means by which to interpret King's daily life, his medical responses to his illness, and his funerary rites within the resources available to him as well as the customs of Chinatown.

The second part of the book follows the various conflicts over authority that ensued in quelling the outbreak of bubonic plague. Here the book engages a perennial historical question: did this epidemic strengthen public health? Risse acknowledges that the limits of officials' ability to stem the spread of the disease were, at times, the result of their own actions as much as the complicated nature of plague itself. Nonetheless, he finds that the experience of plague ultimately did improve the ability of the state to respond to serious health threats.

Throughout the two parts, Risse engages with questions of racism and policy. He looks at the debates between the authority of clinical experience and the authority of the laboratory. Risse explores how international politics factored into local health policies and also examines the ways in which plague denial gave different groups power in negotiating public health policy. Risse discovers that the only time federal authorities succeeded in identifying possible cases within the community was when they had the help of an insider, Wong Chung, the secretary of the Six Companies, who helped to navigate cultural divides.

While scholars familiar with the basic contours of the story will recognize some of the sources Risse uses, he has sleuthed some new ones. The limited availability of Chinese sources has precluded in-depth analysis of the Chinese perspective on this particular event. (A few scholars have been able to use snippets from Chinatown's main newspaper, the *Chung Sai Yat Pot*.) Risse worked with a group of translators to recover the voices of Chinatown's residents, an undertaking that was made much easier by the recent digitization of the newspaper. In addition, with the help of the National

Library of Medicine, Risse was able to draw upon personal letters of Joseph J. Kinyoun, the federal quarantine officer for San Francisco, and the original log book from the Marine Hospital Service Laboratory for the period. In combination, these sources yield details of the everyday concerns of the Chinese community and of federal officials attempting to stop the spread of bubonic plague. Last, Risse's biographical appendix of the one hundred and nineteen people who lost their lives to bubonic plague confronts the reader with the human costs this epidemic exacted.

Ever mindful that knowledge of the past shapes our present, Risse ends his book by reminding readers that only when public health officials cooperate with the population they are trying to reach can there be success in securing health.

JENNIFER KOSLOW
Florida State University

NAYAN SHAH. *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West*. (American Crossroads, number 31.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 347. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$26.95.

What do we know of the intimate encounters of early twentieth-century South Asian migrants to Canada and the United States other than the public anxieties about sexual degeneracy that fueled campaigns in the Pacific Northwest and California to exclude them? Until Nayan Shah's *Stranger Intimacy* the historiography of South Asian migration during this period focused on the political and economic struggles of these migrants, predominantly men. It has portrayed them as living a life without heterosexual comforts, with a lucky few being able to marry Mexicans and Chicanas to secure their claims to California farmlands after the state passed the 1913 Alien Land Law. In the 1990s, Jennifer Ting's essays and Richard Fung's evocative documentary *Dirty Laundry* (1996) challenged this kind of straight Asian American history. Shah provides the first carefully documented and compellingly narrated historical account of the erotic lives of early twentieth-century South Asian migrants who circulated through the urban and rural spaces of the Canadian and U.S. west coast. His book pays close attention to the first two decades of the twentieth century, tracing the changes in the categorization of racial identities, sexual practices, marital ties, and their accompanying property arrangements. He marks the operation of multiple understandings of masculinity and honor in working-class communities even as the flux provoked the consolidation of heteronormative domesticity. The book's last chapter and conclusion bring readers up to the post-World War II era in which some of the consequences of South Asian migrants' ineligibility for citizenship continue to play out.

Instead of assuming that displacement led male migrants to recreate kinship networks familiar to them, Shah skillfully pieces together how the social and erotic interactions of South Asian migrants with men and boys

of other racial groups produced “stranger intimacy,” a seemingly paradoxical juxtaposition that Michael Warner (*Publics and Counterpublics* [2002]) has argued is fundamental to recovering the corporeality of a public realm created outside of the conventional codes of sociability. Throughout the book, Shah shows how transience facilitated such intimacy even as mobility was produced by capital’s demand for migrancy and by legal developments that tried to protect the white settler societies from the prospect of the permanent presence of South Asians.

The scope of Shah’s archival research reflects the orchestration of labor movements from British-occupied India through other British and U.S. colonies to the United States and Canada. The local complexities in criminal and civil jurisprudence result from this span. Courts had to consider treaties between the United States and Britain; the dominion status of Canada; Canadian and U.S. federal, state, and provincial laws; and local law enforcement practices. The fascinating case studies in each chapter testify to Shah’s brilliant use of legal sources. Shah recovers the intimate and expressive lives of South Asian men from the cracks in a variety of legal documents that hint at “the histories that are lost and fragmented yet embedded within the history of the state” (p. 187).

Two arguments that are central to this work make it pathbreaking. First, Shah establishes the density and textures of the interactions that South Asians established across racial boundaries at a time when public hysteria, vigilantism, and public policy tried to make those boundaries more rigid. Second, in mapping spatial and legal borderlands he shows how South Asian men established physical, sexual, and emotional contact with men (and women) of other races in the course of leisure and work.

The three parts of the book are thematically, not chronologically, organized. Each chapter tracks the local and its collision with macro-level developments. The first part focuses on stranger intimacy among South Asian migrants, European migrants, native-born whites, and Native Americans in cities, lumber towns, and rural areas from 1907 to 1913, as viewed by the watchful eyes of police officers, informers, and neighbors. The second part of the book transitions from spatial to legal borderlands in which the judicial system was called upon to settle questions about consent and age in charges of same-sex, sometimes intergenerational, sexual activities. Shah examines the legal quandaries posed by polygamy, queering what we know from Karen Leonard’s *Making Ethnic Choices: California’s Punjabi Mexican Americans* (1992) about South Asians who married Mexicans and Chicanas. The third part of the book retells the story of South Asian exclusion from entry into Canada and the United States and from citizenship, shedding new light on the efforts to bar South Asian women and children, and the debates they sparked about monogamy, conjugality, and national belonging. In analyzing the sexual politics of the denaturalization of South Asians after 1923, Shah reveals

new histories of working-class South Asians, and their Mexican, black, and Puerto Rican spouses. Ironically, some of these men’s claims to normative families, albeit mixed-race ones, forced the government to make exceptions to race-based restrictions on citizenship. In its attention to sexuality as an organizing principle, Shah’s book joins the works of scholars like Margot Canaday (*The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* [2009]) and Siobhan Somerville (*Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* [2000]) and transforms the central questions in Asian American and immigration history.

MONISHA DAS GUPTA

University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

DOROTHEE SCHNEIDER, *Crossing Borders: Migration and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xi, 316. \$45.00.

In this work of original research and synthetic scholarship, Dorothee Schneider provides an overview of the history of U.S. immigration and naturalization policies over the last century and an analysis of the various ways immigrant/ethnic groups (and their political allies) contended with the web of controls and restrictions imposed upon them. Thematically organized, the book has separate chapters on the social dynamics of immigrant-sending regions of the world, the different contexts of reception immigrants encountered when entering the country, and a chapter exploring the uses of both naturalization and deportation as mechanisms of social control. The final two chapters explore both coercive and more volitional dimensions of formalized “Americanization” programs and the shifting politics of naturalization and citizenship over time.

Although many of these themes have been examined elsewhere, this volume is particularly good in its exploration of the dialectics created as immigrants and their allies constantly pushed back at efforts to constrain their freedom of action. The sections on the formation of ethnic lobbies and advocacy groups are particularly astute and nuanced. Schneider notes that while immigrant aid and advocacy organizations such as the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), and a panoply of other groups developed programs designed to aid co-ethnics as they navigated the transition from natal countries to the bewildering social landscape of the United States, others were not nearly as altruistic. Echoing other scholars’ work, Schneider suggests that immigration has always been something of a *business* as well as a social process, and she provides a vivid glimpse of the seedy, interlocking networks of ships’ agents, labor recruiters and contractors, boarding house and brothel operators, document forgers, and others whose business it was to move mass numbers of people from one place to another, exacting a price at each step.

Schneider’s historical analysis of the complex politics

surrounding ongoing debates over immigration, citizenship, and border enforcement policy is also timely and insightful. Again, paying close attention to the collision of interests between those opposed to lenient immigration and naturalization policies and those of immigrants, she tracks the changing valences of citizenship from the late nineteenth century, when formal citizenship had fairly limited utility in everyday life, to the first decades of the twentieth century, when changes in immigration, naturalization, anti-sedition, conscription, and deportation policies suddenly imbued citizenship status with new significance. As the previously murky distinction between citizens and non-citizens became an increasingly bright line in the period between passage of the first Chinese Exclusion Acts in the 1880s and the landmark Immigration Act of 1924, both resident aliens and newly naturalized citizens faced an uncertain future. The citizenship status and juridical position of women, Asians, and political radicals was arguably most precarious in this era, but as the U.S.-citizen children of Mexican immigrants could attest during the great repatriation campaigns of the 1930s and Japanese American citizens were shocked to discover in the early 1940s, formal possession of U.S. citizenship provided little protection against wholesale violations of their most basic human rights.

In a period in which the intertwined issues of immigration and border control policies, the uncertain status of the estimated ten to eleven million persons currently living in the United States without legal authorization, and the simmering controversy regarding the president's authority to kill U.S. citizens and others without charge or trial have once again climbed to the center of American political debate, Schneider's sweeping historical synthesis provides a cautionary tale about both the effectiveness of unilaterally imposed immigration law and the ultimate value of the rights supposedly inherent in national citizenship status.

DAVID G. GUTIÉRREZ
University of California,
San Diego

PAUL W. HIRT. *The Wired Northwest: The History of Electric Power, 1870s-1970s*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2012. Pp. ix, 461. \$49.95.

Everywhere around us, yet often hidden unobtrusively in the background of our lives, electric power systems have been called the greatest machines ever built by humankind. Paul W. Hirt's ambitious comparative survey presents a historical account of the development of these complex and interconnected systems in the states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho and in the neighboring province of British Columbia in Canada. The survey begins with an account of the first demonstrations in 1879 and 1880 of small-scale arc lighting and incandescent lighting plants in Victoria, British Columbia, and Portland, Oregon, and concludes with a brief discussion of the decade of the 1970s, when a seemingly inexorable trajectory of ever-rising electric utility out-

put at ever-lower real cost finally began to falter in the face of increased environmental concerns and technological obstacles.

Subjects that Hirt addresses include the initial roles that private entrepreneurs played in introducing and expanding fledgling electric utility systems at different locations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; early government ownership and regulatory initiatives; the further growth of the electric utility industry and the beginnings of regional system integration during World War I and thereafter; the rapid rise of electric utility holding company empires during the 1920s; and the even more rapid demise of the highly leveraged holding company enterprises following the stock market crash of 1929. Hirt then turns to events of the 1930s and 1940s, including federal and local rural electrification initiatives and the construction by the federal government of the great Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams on the Columbia River. Subsequent developments addressed include post-World War II intensification of hydropower development in the Pacific Northwest, the increasing role played by the Bonneville Power Authority in integrating private and government-owned utility systems in the region, and British Columbia's sharp turn toward establishment of a provincially owned electric utility during the early 1960s.

Hirt also pays attention to broader contexts of electric utility development. One focus here is on the role played by geography, particularly the presence of great water power resources, in shaping the opportunities available to electric utility developers in the Pacific Northwest and the attributes of the systems constructed. In addition, the book contains interesting discussions of the effects of electrification and utility marketing efforts on factory organization, irrigation, and agriculture, and on the day-to-day domestic life of people in the region.

Hirt's view of this history is unabashedly positive. Indeed he defines the goal of his history of electric power as one of explaining how "we developed and adapted this remarkable technological system over its first century to design success, stability and satisfaction into the power supply; to provide ever more reliable profits; and to meet a variety of social objectives" (p. 2). At the same time, he is not blind to aspects of this history that are contested, and even tragic. He discusses the hard-fought battles waged at times between those who advocated expanded public power development and those who sought to keep control of electric power systems in private hands. Hirt also acknowledges harms to Native American peoples and the Pacific Northwest's iconic salmon fisheries resulting from intensive exploitation of the region's hydropower resources for generating electricity.

Engagingly written and generally sensible in its conclusions, the book's strengths include its broad sweep, its international perspective, and its attention to political, social, and environmental issues associated with electric power system development. At the same time, the account is occasionally (and irritatingly) careless in

its asides: as a minor, but jarring example, the jitneys that took business from trolley car lines in Portland, Oregon, during the early twentieth century were not the "first incarnation of taxicabs!" (p. 79).

There are also more serious nits to pick. In its discussions of the world of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century electric utility politics in the United States, for example, the book falls repeatedly into the trap of speaking of an undefined and undifferentiated "public" concerned about utility issues and does not sufficiently distinguish between the sometimes sharply opposing views of those who advocated strong municipal oversight or ownership of electric utility systems and those who called for more avowedly apolitical forms of state regulation. Additionally, Hirt presents confused (and confusing) accounts of municipal franchising arrangements.

Closer scrutiny of legal and institutional arrangements on both sides of the international border might have paid analytical dividends. Topics deserving more attention include the roles played by the court system in shaping and constraining regulation in the states of the Pacific Northwest and the province of British Columbia; similarities and differences in relationships between national and state and provincial governments in the two countries; and similarities and differences in water rights regimes and rules governing access to hydropower sites.

Withal, *The Wired Northwest* presents an engaging and thoughtful survey of the history of electric utility development in the Pacific Northwest of the United States and British Columbia in Canada.

CHARLES DAVID JACOBSON
Morgan Angel & Associates

TIMOTHY MESSER-KRUSE. *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 236. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$30.00.

The Haymarket affair of 1886 is notorious in the history of the labor movement, the anarchist movement, and the history of civil liberties in the United States. Eight anarchists were convicted and four hanged for conspiracy in a bomb outrage and exchange of gunfire that occurred during a Chicago rally for the eight-hour day. Haymarket marks the origin of the international celebration of May Day (International Workers' Day). Historians have more or less consistently argued that the case against the anarchists was hollow. In fact, the governor of Illinois later commuted two of the anarchists' sentences (two others killed themselves to cheat the hangman).

Timothy Messer-Kruse was teaching a labor history class about the affair in which he suggested routinely that there was no evidence to convict the accused, when a student asked him to clarify what the six days of testimony against the anarchists was about then, if not evidence. This set Messer-Kruse to the task of reviewing

the trial transcript and other primary materials to see if there had been any real evidence offered. His conclusion is that historians have been wrong to accept the defendants' "jailhouse denials" (p. 7) so uncritically. In this thorough investigation, Messer-Kruse calls the proceedings a show trial with anarchist ideology as the real defendant and accepts that the identity of the bomber was not established. Nevertheless, he suggests that the most trusted historical accounts of the affair—those of Dyer Lum, Floyd Dell, Henry David, and Paul Avrich—are distorted and excessively romanticized. They attempt, he thinks, to "defang" (p. 181) the anarchists and their efforts at armed struggle, to brighten up the labor and civil rights issues, and to create a myth of Haymarket "martyrs." Messer-Kruse blames these distortions on the accounts of the time, the Communist Party's telling of the story in the 1930s, and the New Left version of the 1960s.

What is more, Messer-Kruse wants us to see the Haymarket affair as part of the broad trend of anarchist thought and activity in Europe. Here he touches on the problem of a divide in anarchist tactics. In the 1860s Mikhail Bakunin urged his followers not merely to make propaganda for revolution but to organize the labor movement, as they did in Spain. After Bakunin's death in 1876, Peter Kropotkin took the stress off labor and suggested organization according to communities and affinity groups, giving his blessing to the slogan of "Propaganda by the Deed." My book, *Marxism and the Russian Anarchists* (1977), considered whether the anarchists, liberated from their attention to the bread and butter issues of labor, might have turned to terror under the rubric of that new slogan. Caroline Cahm's *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism, 1872–1886* (1989) took me to task in defense of the anarchist prince, stressing, plausibly I thought, that Propaganda by the Deed usually meant skits and lampoons, "street theater" and the like, rather like today's pie-ing. Messer-Kruse doubts that Cahm's case on Kropotkin's behalf erases the ambiguity in the slogan. He thinks it inevitable that Kropotkin's slogan would also serve to incite terror and to support the "ancient ethics of regicide" (p. 39). The book under review takes note of the many terrorist acts by anarchists in Europe and regards the act of the unknown Haymarket bomber as part of an international, ideology-driven turn to armed struggle for revolution. Thus Messer-Kruse can claim the last word in what might be one of the slowest developing and least heated controversies of our time.

The present volume offers a valuable and unsentimental account of a salient episode in labor and leftist history during "the era of dynamite," as it was then called. One can hardly doubt that the issues weighed by Messer-Kruse are being discussed and debated intensely at this very moment by some who will act on their thoughts. Terror persists as a presumed form of armed struggle and men in black march everywhere that there are masses in action, from Vancouver to Cairo.

ANTHONY D'AGOSTINO
San Francisco State University

MICHAELA BANK. *Women of Two Countries: German-American Women, Women's Rights, and Nativism, 1848–1890*. (Transatlantic Perspectives, number 2.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2012. Pp. vii, 192. \$65.00.

Developed from the author's dissertation, *Women of Two Countries* examines the roles of German Americans who joined the American women's rights movement. To Michaela Bank, it is a given that these women navigated a world infused with nativism. Her ideas echo work in women's history about the contradictions in a social movement that claimed universality while giving voice to and practicing discrimination. Nativism, Bank argues, was expressed in actual social relationships, and it is the problem of living through those relationships that she hopes to capture in the historical sources.

The women of two countries referenced in her book's title are three well-known German American suffragists: Mathilde F. Wendt, Mathilde Franziska Anneke, and Clara B. Neymann. All held office at some point in the National Woman Suffrage Association, and all were women of influence in German-language communities. Only for Anneke are there papers—a collection at the Wisconsin Historical Society long valued by historians. Wendt edited a German-language journal in New York for a few years, and English-language papers routinely noted her presence among suffragists. Although also limited to print sources, the historical record detailing Neymann is richer because she became an esteemed lecturer in English and German and also wrote for the suffrage press. Few American historians have tapped the German-language sources on the movement for suffrage in the United States, a fact that heightens hopes for Bank's work.

Bank offers most when her sources actually convey conflict between immigrants and American-born suffragists because then she can talk about how contemporaries responded to the words of a nativist, rather than imagining it, as she more frequently does. In these instances the social relationships come alive. A speech by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in La Crosse, Wisconsin, in 1869 provides her best example. After a local German-language paper published a criticism of Stanton for her disdainful remarks about Germans and Germany, Anneke was called upon to debate the critic. Since Anneke understood Stanton differently and showed little inclination to defend Germany, the incident reveals a complicated debate among immigrants about women's rights, political rhetoric, and American nativism.

This complexity holds little interest for Bank. Failing to contradict Stanton, Bank scolds, Anneke affirmed “nativist stereotypes by agreeing that European systems fostered the subjugation of women and that European culture was inferior to US-American culture” (pp. 86–87). Positioned on opposing sides, her “US-American” suffragists are nativist, racist, religious, and usually advocates of prohibition, while her immigrants are defined by their resistance to those American qualities. German American opposition to women's rights came from offended “ethnic pride” (p. 2); American women,

Bank insists, produced their own opposition with their insults.

Bank's convictions often overwhelm the evidence. At the opening of her last chapter is an analysis of a drawing or engraving made in 1890 that she imagines to express “the relationship between the US-American women's rights movement and ethnic communities” (p. 155). At the top is a woman in an academic robe and mortarboard, above whom floats the phrase “Above the senior wrangler”; at the bottom is a man, an ox, and a woman at work in a field. The robed woman, Bank writes, represents the condescending American, while the farmers represent a nativist expression of the “gender order among Germans” (p. 155). Put together, one above the other, the picture “depicts and makes visible nativism and elitism in the US-American women's rights movement” (p. 155). But this odd juxtaposition of images, drawn by Sarah Rogers Adams, a young deaf student at the Art Students' League in New York, already told a specific story: it celebrated one woman's recent triumph at Britain's University of Cambridge. Under the mortarboard is Philippa Fawcett, daughter of English suffragists, who took the mathematics tests in spring 1890 and scored “above the senior wrangler,” or higher than the top male student of mathematics. Fawcett's was a classic story, celebrated on both sides of the Atlantic—an excluded woman, deemed unqualified by virtue of sex for a university degree, who bested her male contemporaries. This is not a source that makes visible the nativism and condescension of woman suffragists toward immigrants from Germany.

The promise of Bank's topic and sources is not realized. Neymann flattered an audience of English-speaking suffragists in 1882 with her conviction that women could not be free in the monarchies of the Old World where men lacked freedom. Here in the United States, she continued, “[t]he American and German woman must set the noble example, and show the world what a nation of free men and free women can accomplish” (*Omaha Republican*, September 28, 1882). The next day she was urging the same audience to back off their advocacy of prohibition and stick to a campaign for voting rights. Neymann's desire to collaborate with flawed American women and their acceptance of her often critical perspective makes a tale full of ambiguity and contradictions that still needs its historian.

ANN D. GORDON,
Emerita
Rutgers University

NICOLE TONKOVICH. *The Allotment Plot: Alice C. Fletcher, E. Jane Gay, and Nez Perce Survivance*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 418. \$65.00.

Nicole Tonkovich has written a complex narrative that details the conflicting goals of federal policymakers and Nez Perce (Nimiipuu) tribal members during the late nineteenth-century allotment process at the Nez Perce Reservation in Idaho. Allotment was essentially a pol-

icy under which the federal government removed lands from communal-based tribal control and turned a portion of them over to fee patent ownership status for individual tribal members. As a result, for the Nez Perce—as well as for other tribes to whom the policy was applied—“surplus” reservation land was opened for non-Indian ownership.

Tonkovich’s “multivocal counter-narrative” (p. 6) provides new insights into the goals, actions, and results of a one-size-fits-all federal policy as it was resisted and reshaped by local conditions and perspectives that stood in opposition to the “bureaucratic imaginary” that conceived the policy (p. 10). *The Allotment Plot* focuses on the work of Alice Fletcher, who worked with Congress to develop the 1887 Dawes (General Allotment) Act, and who was appointed as Special Indian Agent to oversee the process among the Nez Perce. The use of the word plot in the book’s title refers to its meaning both as a basis for storyline and as a piece of land. Fletcher was accompanied by E. Jane Gay, who in addition to photographically documenting the events also produced written records of her experience that made their way into archival collections.

Tonkovich tells the story in five parts, each with its own introduction and two chapters. The first four parts focus heavily on Fletcher and the machinations of the allotment process, reinterpreting the history of both Nez Perce allotment and her role in it. Fletcher’s work was complicated by the conflicting roles she played; in addition to allotting agent, she was a reformer with strong connections to Presbyterian reform efforts—and therefore prejudiced in favor of the reservation group affiliated with the local Presbyterian mission—and an ethnographer conducting research. (She later became the first woman to hold an endowed chair at Harvard University.)

Tonkovich illuminates divisions among tribal members as well as among white actors in this history—missionaries, agency officials, federal bureaucrats, politicians, illegal squatters intent on acquiring Indian lands, and local officials and businessmen. She presents Fletcher’s work as a monumental failure of federal policy intended to promote assimilation and citizenship for Indians, and a major destructive force with a long-lasting impact on tribal economics, politics, and social and cultural life.

Using a basic precept of environmental history, Tonkovich argues that the application of the allotment act was a deliberate effort to “spatialize” place, to commodify and sever the complex relationship that Nez Perce people had developed in relation to their land and its resources (p. 104). This was complicated by the significant differences between Washington policymakers’ views of what a plot of land could be used for and the reality of a variegated western landscape. Tonkovich does a good job showing how policy initiatives became messy in their application when people—factions among the Nez Perce and within various white communities as well as Fletcher herself—act in their own self-interest.

Part five of this work consists of chapters titled “After-Words” and “After-Images.” Using a series of depositions collected in 1911 and a collection of tribal members’ family photo albums, Tonkovich provides a counter-narrative of a different kind in order to give voice to Nez Perce perceptions of the long-lasting impacts of allotment. From this perspective, the losses associated with allotment are part of a longer story that encompasses past and future white encroachment on reservation lands and resources.

Tonkovich’s analysis is intricately multifaceted, although at times she overstates the status of tribal sovereignty and simplifies white perspectives. The Nez Perce occasionally get lost in the details of Fletcher’s motivations and actions. That means their story is not yet fully told. Nonetheless, *The Allotment Plot* is a refreshing, nuanced, and insightful reinterpretation of a moment in Nez Perce history that illuminates both the blind nature of federal policy and the tribal resilience reflected in post-reservation Indian resistance and self-determination.

DAVID R. M. BECK

University of Montana-Missoula

GREY OSTERUD. *Putting the Barn before the House: Women and Family Farming in Early-Twentieth-Century New York*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 277. \$26.95.

In this delightful sequel to *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (1991), Grey Osterud carries her analysis of family-based agriculture in south-central New York’s Nanticoke Valley into the first half of the twentieth century. She examines women’s relationship to their husbands and their responses to farm consolidation, mechanization, and increased specialization. Along with many rural historians, Osterud finds that urban models of gender roles do not fit the rural experience. Osterud concludes that farm women were “the authors of their own lives” (p. 5). Although they were constrained by poverty and male authority they enjoyed a “remarkable degree of gender equality” and integration within tightly knit social networks (p. 5).

Osterud masterfully plumbs interviews she conducted with twenty-four women born before 1917, drawing upon feminist theory and oral history theory for interpretive insights. Hindsight and lapses in memory can distort the record in retrospective interviews. As a corrective, Osterud interviewed her informants repeatedly over the course of several years and “probed their silences” in order to gain a more finely textured account of their experiences and perspectives than would have been possible in single encounters (p. 7). Her interviews suggest that concepts of separate spheres and autonomy were foreign to the understandings and experiences of rural women in the early twentieth century. Many of the Nanticoke Valley women lived on dairy farms where all family members milked cows and helped to put up hay. By working together and

adapting when necessary to sustain and promote the farm, husbands and wives became interdependent and improved the quality of their relationship. They did not conceive of the barn as “his” and the house as “hers.”

Agency, defined as “a woman’s acknowledging both her constraints and choices and taking responsibility for her actions,” is central to Osterud’s analysis (p. 47). Women’s sense of agency was shaped by their relationship to the farm; some women inherited land from their parents, others married a husband who inherited land, and others developed a new farm with their husbands. Women were constrained by factors such as poverty and their husbands’ authority. But most “negotiated with their husbands over what work they would do and spoke up when decisions were being made about the farm” (p. 169). In most instances women chose to privilege the financial and labor demands of the farm over household conveniences and other desires and needs.

The life stories Osterud recounts support her interpretation of women’s agency, but some also problematize her generalizations about gender equality and mutuality. For instance, one of the women profiled, Josie Kuzma, chose to remain with her domineering husband. She rarely voiced contradictory opinions in order to avoid agitating her husband and provoking a tirade. Osterud argues persuasively that Kuzma did not see herself as a victim. She and her husband shared the objective of paying for their farm, and they worked together to achieve it. Eventually Kuzma passed the farm on to her son. Still, inequality characterized Kuzma’s emotional relationship to her husband.

Osterud documents a fair degree of diversity in the experiences of the women she interviewed; some worked regularly alongside their husbands in the fields and others did not. Some women’s outdoor work enhanced their leverage in negotiations with their husbands; others who labored just as hard on the farm exerted little influence in farm management decisions. Nearly all of the women profiled in the book made their marriages and household situations work.

Despite the diversity in Osterud’s sample, key groups are underrepresented. At least half of the farm families in the Nanticoke Valley abandoned their farms and moved to town in the early twentieth century, but Osterud did not interview women from this group and thus their reasons for moving are unclear. She did interview farm women “who felt bitter about how their lives had turned out” but decided not to conduct follow-up interviews when they expressed concern about releasing the transcripts and dropped those women from her study (p. 258). Osterud’s respect for her informants is commendable, but it skewed her sample and likely led her to exaggerate the functionality, mutuality, and respect in farm households.

Osterud does acknowledge that some women “were in a position they found utterly intolerable [and] fled their families and the countryside entirely” (p. 170). She reconstructs one suggestive, riveting account using recollections from the woman’s brother and two of her daughters. Unhappy stories are more difficult to re-

trieve than valedictory tales, and the silences in them are more difficult to probe. But their presence, along with the better documented record of rural-to-urban migration, raises the possibility that a significant subset of dissatisfied farm women figuratively put the house before the barn.

BRIAN Q. CANNON
Brigham Young University

JAMES M. BEEBY, editor. *Populism in the South Revisited: New Interpretations and New Departures*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2012. Pp. xxi, 234. \$60.00.

This fine volume presents recent scholarship by young historians on populism in the American South. These essays plow well-tilled ground, for American populism stands as one of the most intensively cultivated fields of U.S. history scholarship. Yet the ground remains fertile, as it has given rise to a wealth of national, regional, and local studies as well as substantial scholarly disagreement and debate. Charles Postel’s recent study of populist thought, for instance, demonstrates the field’s capacity for new interpretations. The essays in this edited collection may not add up to the kind of paradigm shift Postel aims for, but they do address several perennial and important questions, flesh out and extend established lines of interpretation in southern history and the history of populism, and suggest some new ways of thinking about populism in the South. Contributors consider the centrality and complexity of race, the legacies of Reconstruction, the structural constraints of southern politics (centering on one-party Democratic domination), the tangled and troubled relationship between labor and populism, aspects of southern populist thought, African American activism, and the legacies of populism in the South. Overall, these essays demonstrate the far-reaching impact of the populist movement, particularly in the realm of politics.

Politics runs through *Populism in the South Revisited*, prompting editor James M. Beeby to characterize populism “as much a political movement as an economic and social movement for change” (p. xii). Populism may have been driven by the distress of southern farmers and the perception that their troubles resulted from a modernizing, globalizing economy increasingly dominated by large economic interests, but southern farmers recognized that organized engagement in the political arena was a necessary complement to collective action in the economic and social realms. Zeroing in on the local level, Joel Sipress and Alicia E. Rodriguez dissect the successes and failures of populist political activity in Grant Parish, Louisiana, and Dallas, Texas, respectively, while Matthew Hild’s study of Georgia uncovers the roots of populist political culture and leadership. Omar H. Ali places black populism within a longer tradition of post-Civil War African American political activism. Lewie Reece locates the movement in the context of white indigenous radical movements, and David Silkenat explains populist political activism in Georgia in terms of a long tradition of southern thinking about

debt. Finally, Reece and Beeby detail battles between populists and Democrats as the latter worked to forestall political realignment through fraud, violence, and disfranchisement.

Although these authors focus on politics broadly defined, their work does not fully fit what has come to be called the new southern political history. On the one hand, with their attention to the central role of white supremacy and the divisive role of race, and by implication the idea of the South as a distinct region, they are part of a long tradition of historical scholarship. On the other hand, they do not really expand the definition of "politics" much beyond the conventional focus on campaigns, elections, parties, and public discourse. Most notably these essays do nothing with gender, either in terms of the role of women in southern populism or in terms of how ideas about femininity and masculinity may have influenced behavior and action. Nevertheless, in their attention to the nitty-gritty of political struggle, detailing how populists tussled amongst themselves and fought with Democrats to build coalitions, these authors demonstrate the potential for—and the significant structural and racial obstacles to—insurgent challenge. The authors (particularly Sipress and Ali) also present African American populists and voters as active agents in their own rights, with findings reminiscent of the work of labor historians exploring biracial unionism in the southern coalfields and New Orleans docks. Reece and Beeby draw attention to moments when white populists worked past the limits of white supremacy to articulate principles of political rights regardless of race for a more humane and just society. More often than not these moments were a matter of political reality and calculation; white and black populists recognized that only pragmatic cooperation could improve their chances at the polls. The fact that it was often the structural constraints of a one-party-dominated, first-past-the-post political system that exacerbated racial tensions within populist coalitions should not take away from the significance of those moments of challenge.

Several authors examine the relationship between populists and labor. Maintaining the focus on politics, they illuminate the dynamic but also difficult connection between urban labor movements and rural insurgency and shed light on relationships between class, race, and politics in the South. In complementary essays, Hild demonstrates the importance of the Knights of Labor to southern populism while Rodriguez carefully uncovers the centrality of Dallas labor activists and their use of labor-organizing techniques for third-party challenge in Texas. Taking a wider frame, Michael Pierce explains the failure of the national People's Party in terms of friction between leader Tom Watson and the labor-oriented Midwest wing of the movement. These essays complement the rest of the volume in their suggestion of the breadth of populism's influence and appeal among southern workingmen, radicals, and political independents just as they illustrate how white populists fit within the emerging white supremacist order and how black populists hewed to and nurtured

their own political cultures. In the final essay, Jarod Roll extends this theme by tracing the legacies of populist producerist thought among early twentieth-century southern white socialists and rural black Garveyites.

It is clear from these essays that southern populists were active agents, well in touch with the political and economic realities that shaped their lives. In this way, without directly saying it, *Populism in the South Revisited* falls largely in line with Postel's argument that populists were not revolting against progress and modernity but in fact understood the changes besetting late nineteenth-century American society and the challenges of concentrated economic and political power. This much is clear from southern populists' actions, but it would be nice to get a firmer handle on what they *thought*. Silkenat and Roll go a good way toward giving us that handle in their insightful explorations of the place of debt in populist thought and the moral logic of producerism, respectively. Roll's essay is especially useful in its tracing of agrarian producerism into the twentieth century as an explicitly religious political vision.

This collection helps flesh out a well-established body of scholarship on southern populism. Although this volume does not intend to be a region-wide study—and like many edited collections these essays do not always come together as a consistent whole—it does suggest some ways of thinking about populism in the South that may lead to a regional synthesis.

PAUL MICHEL TAILLON
University of Auckland

ERIN D. CHAPMAN. *Prove It on Me: New Negroes, Sex, and Popular Culture in the 1920s*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 189. \$21.95.

Erin D. Chapman's *Prove It on Me* is an excellent and important contribution to several overlapping fields, including twentieth-century U.S. history, gender history, African American history, sexuality studies, and the history of popular culture. This well-researched and clearly argued study explores the tensions between black women's social history and popular culture's spectacle of black femininity in the context of New Negro modernity. The project bridges several historiographic divides, especially those concerning cultural history and the history of the market, while offering several analytical gems that make this book recommended reading for historians, graduate students, and upper-level undergraduates as well.

Chapman's book examines how black women, participating in the social and cultural transformations reshaping American culture in the wake of the great migration, sought social change and self-transformation in the context of twin, competing discourses of black female modernity. One of these discourses was what Chapman calls the "sex-race marketplace": both a commercial site that offered goods for sale, such as films, records, and personal care products, as well as a discursive space that tied spectacular representations of

black femininity to both sex and the market. Chapman argues that the goods themselves, and the fantasies that sold them, were steeped in densely racialized and sexual language that offered possibilities for self-transformation but remained overdetermined by both black masculinism and white racism.

In addition to the productive analytic possibilities of the “sex-race marketplace,” Chapman offers a second tool for thinking through black femininity: the New Negro’s investment in what she calls the discourse of “race motherhood.” A new ideal of black femininity that emerged in the wake of World War I, race motherhood tied black women’s modernity to her role as guardian of the patriarchal black family. Chapman argues that the discourse of race motherhood was a response to the disruptions of urbanization and mass culture, a counternarrative to the marketplace’s imagery of sexy vamps and black divas.

Chapman traces the history of these two formations in four carefully argued case studies. The first chapter, on Oscar Micheaux’s *Within Our Gates* (1920), analyzes this controversial protest film as a key document in announcing a New Negro determination to counter white supremacist assumptions with new assertions of black character, oppression, and destiny. Evelyn Preer’s role as Sylvia Landry required her to advance the race through her maternal dedication and through fostering black patriarchy. The arrival of the New Negro, implicitly male, coexisted with the “race mother,” whose selfless devotion to black patriarchy was understood as central to race advancement. Preer, in her life off-screen as glamorous icon of the sex-race marketplace as well as her life on-screen as exemplary race mother, represents the twin discourses of black female modernity.

Chapter two more closely examines the formation of race motherhood, while a third chapter explores the sex-race marketplace with further specificity. In “Mothering the Race,” Chapman shows how black race advocates at the forefront of Progressivism, such as E. Franklin Frazier and Charles S. Johnson, nonetheless crafted an approach that placed “a premium on women’s maternal roles in ideally patriarchal black families . . . and obfuscated the need for the redress of black women’s particular oppression” (p. 55). Chapter three, “Consuming the New Negro,” explores the representation of black womanhood within the commercialized sphere of the sex-race marketplace, with particular focus on advertisements for personal care products (Madam C. J. Walker, Pluko) and blues recordings (Bessie Smith, Ethel Waters). She argues that although black women’s engagement with this marketplace was both “complex and multifaceted . . . simultaneously liberating and constricting” (p. 83), ultimately these representations “contorted the humanity of their living counterparts” (p. 103).

The book’s final chapter explores how historical New Negro women negotiated the tensions of race motherhood and the sex-race marketplace in their actual lives. Frances Mary Albrier, Melnea Cass, Jessie Fauset, and Nella Larsen were all New Negro women who crafted

a black female modernity that critiqued the era’s masculinism while asserting a subjectivity distinct from both race motherhood and the marketplace. Despite their bold efforts, Chapman concludes that their work represents a “mere trickle against the tide of combined racism and sexism” that marked the period (p. 150).

Chapman’s fine work is an excellent contribution to a conversation underway about the relationship between the market and black modernity, a discussion unfolding in the works of Davarian L. Baldwin’s *Chicago’s New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (2007); Jayna Brown’s *Babylon Girls: Black Women Performers and the Shaping of the Modern* (2008); and Jason Chambers’s *Madison Avenue and the Color Line: African Americans in the Advertising Industry* (2008), among others. It is an exemplary work of cultural history that provides new readings of important historical texts and figures, while offering new analytic frameworks that will influence emerging scholarship in several fields.

ELSPETH H. BROWN
University of Toronto

PABLO MITCHELL. *West of Sex: Making Mexican America, 1900–1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 151. \$22.50.

If one wants to start a conversation with random strangers, I recommend carrying a copy of *West of Sex: Making Mexican America, 1900–1930*; the title is as provocative as the subject matter. Pablo Mitchell mines often ignored legal records to explore the intersections of Mexican American sexuality, law, ethnic identity, and ideas of citizenship. On the surface, his approach is straightforward; each chapter of the book deals with a specific legal case whereby “Mexicans convicted of sex crimes who appealed their convictions produced an archive of sexual knowledge and sexual practices in Mexican communities that is unmatched by more traditional sources on sex” (p. 7). Rather than being a legal history, however, this work expands on how Mexican Americans, especially working-class Mexican Americans, contested and challenged their social, political, and economic inequalities in “the enduring reality of colonial rule in the West” (p. 12). Mitchell weaves an engaging and thought-provoking narrative using these “Mexican sexual discourses” to exemplify “the contorted civic status” most Mexican Americans occupied in a “hazy area between full acceptance and complete exclusion” (p. 13). In short, by “highlighting the central place of sexual knowledge in the constitution of American citizenship and colonial order,” and by intertwining the categories of race and sexuality, Mitchell’s ultimate endeavor is to examine “the structuring and contestation of social inequality in American history” (p. 16).

The themes and issues Mitchell attempts to meld and mold are expansive and complex, but by anchoring each chapter to a particular case, location, and time he clearly advances the idea that these cases “point to a legal culture in the Mexican community that was well

established and widespread" (p. 11). As part of "local law" these cases collectively voice a "legal activism of ordinary Mexicans in the early twentieth century" (p. 13). While it is difficult to think that child rape, prostitution, sodomy, incest, and teen pregnancy might lead to progressive changes, Mitchell's close reading helps the reader to understand the defendants' often heroic insistence on obtaining their civil rights. Mitchell also points out that the legal system was especially difficult for women to navigate. He reveals the often heart-breaking details that made Mexican American homes sites of danger and physical torment for many women and explains that young girls and boys were too often the victims of sex crimes.

By investigating only the cases that were successfully appealed in higher courts and positing complex questions and ideas, Mitchell challenges us to rethink the history of how Mexican Americans fought for civil rights in a more expansive way and to think more deeply about how individuals before the law contribute to a collective defense of their ethnic communities. While the book is ably argued, eloquently written, and thoroughly researched, I am puzzled by the author's failure to include some cases where Mexican American men did not win. They too were defending their civil rights. Were Mexican American men accused, or found guilty, of sexual crimes more in one borderland city than another? Providing local context for how many Mexican American men were charged with sexual crimes, how many went to trial, and what the typical punishment was would allow for a better understanding of how truly unique successful appeals were. This would also strengthen the argument about how "local law" shaped the social, economic, and political identities of specific Mexican American communities. Of course, many unanswered questions result from the very nature of Mitchell's primary sources: the trial transcripts. While they reveal incredible details about individuals—their home lives, ideas of masculinity/femininity, work lives—other critical details are missing. Nevertheless, Mitchell successfully describes and analyzes multiple layers of tension surrounding sexuality, not just between individuals but between ethnic groups and their ideas of normalcy and deviance. In all, *West of Sex* is an innovative study that will enhance and influence the field of Mexican American history and encourage important conversations between scholars and students.

MARIA RAQUEL CASAS
University of Nevada,
Las Vegas

DAVID R. ROEDIGER and ELIZABETH D. ESCH. *The Production of Difference: Race and the Management of Labor in U.S. History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 286. \$34.95.

The subject of David R. Roediger and Elizabeth D. Esch's book is the "long, destructive, and broad [racial] practices that helped to produce the miracle of U.S. economic ascendancy between 1830 and 1930" (p. 204).

The Production of Difference is divided into three segments. It examines southern slavery, infrastructure-building and mining in the West during the late nineteenth century, and twentieth-century mass production. In addition to consulting a wide range of documentary sources, the authors invoke contemporary imaginative literature, thus suggesting the degree to which notions of race and ethnicity transcended the workplace and permeated American culture.

A key theme running through the three sections is the enlistment by employers of science in support of racialized patterns of labor exploitation. Indeed, in the antebellum South, theorists such as Dr. Samuel Cartwright—who elaborated complex hierarchies of color and capacity on the basis of his wide reading and clinical experience—were often planters as well as learned authorities. Thus both science and practical experience relegated slaves—and "Negroes" generally—to heavy, dangerous, and disagreeable work for which their innate attributes supposedly fitted them. Far from being a "feudal" throwback, southern slaveholding provided a template that subsequent employers used in efforts to control workers of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds.

In the mountain West of the post-Civil War era, the same union of scientific expertise and employer practice prevailed. In the building of the transcontinental railroads and in the mining and processing of silver, copper, coal, lead, and other minerals, however, the cast of characters differed from that in the cotton South. Along the railroad routes and in the mines, the workers were Chinese, Mexican, and southern European. Though on-site foremen and managers might have had ideas about the distribution of racial and ethnic qualities and liabilities different from those held by distant capitalists and racial theorists, all embraced the basic notion of inherent and immutable racial proclivities and capacities. Indeed, during this era of expanding international capitalism, American engineers and project managers (many of them southerners) freely applied racist notions initially generated in the American West to the workforces they encountered in Australia, South Africa, the Canal Zone, and the Philippines.

In the era of mass production, U.S. employers and their academic allies reiterated familiar patterns of racial hierarchy, now adapted to the country's changing racial and ethnic mix. Roediger and Esch do note that anthropologists like Franz Boas authoritatively challenged pseudo-scientific notions of racial hierarchy. Additionally, they stress that when it came to the technology of production, employers eagerly adopted rigorous empirical standards. But with regard to labor recruitment and job assignments, they endorsed the bogus science associated with racial hierarchy, ethnic stereotyping, and eugenics. Indeed, the authors point out that the emerging fields of industrial psychology and sociology—many of whose academic practitioners casually purveyed prevailing racial stereotypes—owed much to support from corporations, which valued the

divisiveness associated with racial and ethnic hierarchies as an antidote to World War I-era labor militancy.

Although the main narrative in *The Production of Difference* ends at the onset of the Depression, the authors argue that “Race management . . . continues in the present” and, as it was at the turn of the twentieth century, is “part of a global pattern” (p. 207). Thus, for example, contemporary Mexican, Central American, and Asian immigrants compete with rural workers, black and white, in the vast poultry ranches of the U.S. South and in the rural feedlots and meat packaging centers of the Midwest. Across the economy, “race management today more nearly resembles the high tide of new immigration of the European poor in the in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century than it does” the more egalitarian regime that emerged in the 1930s and 1940s (p. 206). Indeed, this book might have paid more attention to the latter period, a time when immigration restriction and multi-ethnic unions lessened the divisiveness that had previously bolstered employers’ workplace control.

The authors make a compelling case for the importance of racial and ethnic stereotyping in the management of labor. Their examination of the symbiotic relationship between racial theorists and employers is subtle and persuasive. At times, however, the book becomes a catalogue of varieties of racial and labor exploitation. Notions of racial hierarchy and of the legitimacy of race-based exploitation were all but universal in the century examined in *The Production of Difference*. That employers, from southern slave owners to corporate managers, exploited racial and ethnic cleavages in their efforts to seize and retain workplace control is clear. Less persuasive is the authors’ belief that “race management” was the dominant factor in the vast expansion of the U.S. economy from 1830 to 1930.

ROBERT H. ZIEGER,
Emeritus
University of Florida

BETH TOMPKINS BATES. *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 343. \$45.00.

How “loyal” were Detroit’s black workers and the black community to Henry Ford and the Ford Motor Company (FMC)? What did that loyalty mean to workers arriving North, hoping for a piece of the American industrial dream?

In *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Ford*, Beth Tompkins Bates examines the complexity of that loyalty and the ease with which African Americans not only lived with contradictory views but also engaged in political and community actions that affirmed conflicting loyalties. “Loyalty to Henry Ford and the FMC,” Bates notes, “was complicated, but it was never as one-dimensional as outsiders suspected” (p. 248). Although black workers and community leaders recognized a debt to Ford for the jobs and income they were able to

get, African Americans were not oblivious to Ford’s multiple agendas. Nor did they see themselves as victims.

Bates documents this practical division in loyalties through the history of the Civic Rights Committee (CRC) and the National Negro Congress (NNC) along with detailed descriptions of shifting loyalties among black ministers. The same minister who delivered loyal employees to Ford—Reverend Robert L. Bradby, pastor of the Second Baptist Church—ignored him when it came to certain political endorsements, supporting, for example, Frank Murphy, a Democrat who was very popular in the black community, for mayor.

Ford needed black workers to make his mass production lines successful. Dissatisfied with the high turnover among immigrants, Ford turned to African Americans. By including them in the “\$5-a-day” promise and offering them places in his trade school and positions throughout the plant, Ford had his choice of black workers. He carefully selected ministers who would deliver “good” workers and, in exchange, donated generously to their churches.

After World War I, Ford hired more blacks than any other mass-production employer. He did not segregate blacks into the worst jobs as other employers did. Through his Sociology Department and through the nefarious work of Harry Bennett, hired in 1919 to head the Service Department, Ford made sure that his black workers lived according to his standards of morality and that none had dealings with unions. African Americans knew they were surrounded by spies at work and under surveillance at home. Yet, they had determined that the benefits of decent jobs outweighed the negatives of Ford’s control. Wages from Ford’s workers built the black community in Detroit, and workers wore his badge as a symbol of prestige in the community.

Ford relied on African Americans to prevent unions from sinking roots in his plants. At the River Rouge plant, where black and white workers labored side by side, Ford called on his black ministers to mediate racial tensions and his Service Department to keep white workers in line. At the same time, he fostered racial hostilities as a hedge against unionism. As competition from General Motors took its toll, Ford eliminated his “\$5” promise, shifted blacks into the worst jobs in the forge, and began instituting differential wage structures. Black workers did not challenge Ford directly at first but rather turned increasingly to community organizations to take their stand for full citizenship and equality.

As other black labor historians have documented, the agency blacks displayed when it came to their own interests is the central thread that runs from the past to the present. Bates uncovers critical links between black industrial workers and the Garvey movement, the Unemployed Councils, the Communist Party, and labor radicalism in general, and she identifies tactics particular to black workers in the North.

The Garvey movement, for example, played a pivotal role in shaping attitudes among black industrial work-

ers. It was not the “back-to-Africa” pitch that attracted workers but rather the message of black pride and self-determination. Many black organizers, including key union organizers, had roots in the Garvey movement. Christopher Alston, one of those union organizers, pointed out that his father was a Garveyite and a Debs Socialist (p. 192). According to Bates, “Valuable networks formed during the twenties provided staging grounds for political action during the thirties” (p. 252).

Founded in 1933, the CRC attracted “New Negroes” committed to “a new style of protest tactics meant to promote a collective response to second-class citizenship” (p. 195). The NNC, launched by the CRC in 1935, acted independently of the national NNC, the United Auto Workers-American Federation of Labor (UAW-AFL), and also the United Auto Workers-Congress of Industrial Organizations (UAW-CIO) in recruiting black workers. Unlike the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) that carried out special work among African Americans, the UAW did not, until the big drive came in 1940. By then, “the mobilization by progressive forces within Black Detroit served as a bridgehead for the UAW’s campaign” (p. 254).

The description of the long and tortuous campaign to unionize the River Rouge plant provides new insights on the relationship between the UAW and black workers. The sectarian battles inside the UAW and the conflicts between AFL and CIO forces served as a backdrop to the effective organizing done by the CRC and NNC. These organizers had already developed their own “labor-oriented civil rights agenda” and had won the support of black Detroit (p. 200).

Black Detroit includes some remarkable and complicated stories. The section on Inkster, Michigan, explores changing attitudes and realities within the city in a masterful manner. Likewise Bates’s coverage of Murphy’s two mayoral campaigns highlights how blacks took one role in their community and another at work. This is not a new narrative, but it is an important addition to the Detroit story.

RUTH NEEDLEMAN,
Emerita
Indiana University,
Northwest

GERALD HORNE. *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawai‘i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press. 2011. Pp. vii, 459. \$28.99.

After spending several years in the archives reading reams of material, the historian faces a natural temptation to include all of this research in the final product. This temptation should be resisted. Beyond a certain point, whatever argument the historian is making (assuming he or she is making one) is simply lost in the mountain of details. The evidence that historians gather should be used to support an argument, not stand as a substitute for one.

To the extent that Gerald Horne’s new book makes

an argument, it is that anticommunist forces the 1940s and 1950s were much less successful in undermining the Communist Party (CP) in Hawai‘i than on the mainland, and that this lack of success was largely due to the racial makeup of the archipelago. The majority of the islands’ population was composed of people of Asian-Pacific ancestry, while whites (or *haoles*, as they were called) made up a small but privileged minority. The International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU)—which is the only union really discussed, and whose leadership comprised the bulk of the CP in the islands—was able to win the loyalty of this non-white majority because of its dual commitment to racial and economic equality. Its success in raising the living standards of its almost entirely non-white membership, and empowering it politically, provided the ILWU with the widespread public support it needed to survive the onslaught of its enemies even as left-led unions on the mainland were destroyed. The ILWU’s centrality to the islands’ politics in turn led to Hawai‘i becoming one of the most progressive states in the Union. This history, Horne argues, may provide some insight into the future of American politics as the white population moves from being the majority to the minority.

Horne also deals with the debate over statehood, where, again, the racial make-up of the islands and the strength of the CP proved to be major issues. Southern politicians were especially concerned that granting Hawai‘i statehood would mean admitting two non-whites to the U.S. Senate. They also worried that because of the ILWU’s political influence, granting statehood would amount to giving Moscow a say in the nation’s policymaking. As the civil rights movement gained ground, less emphasis was placed on the racial composition of the islands, while the prospect of communist representation was given greater weight in arguments opposing statehood. Although Horne provides evidence that apprehensions about loyalty to America and racial anxiety were simply alternate ways of expressing the same concern, he does not explicitly draw this connection.

Somewhat ironically, the Cold War, which had helped inflame anticommunist hysteria, also discredited overt racism, which in turn contributed to the eventual admission of Hawai‘i to the Union. As the Cold War moved from Europe to Asia, the need to gain and maintain non-white allies became a pressing issue. Jim Crow at home complicated America’s relations abroad. Many politicians who might otherwise have objected to the admission of Hawai‘i to the Union on racial grounds now came to believe that if they did *not* admit the islands it would damage U.S. interests in Asia; such a rejection would be perceived as a racially motivated snub to those of Asian-Pacific ancestry.

Unfortunately for the reader, these arguments are buried in a blizzard of poorly organized minutia. That “the CP headquarters [in San Francisco] . . . faced sideways on a sloping street in a building that used to serve the Young Men’s Hebrew Association,” and that “the

main room was large and formerly a basketball court" (p. 45), or that one opponent of statehood traveled all the way to Washington "from his residence at 1565 Saint Louis Drive in Honolulu" (p. 289), are useless details masquerading as literary pretension. So are almost all the attempts to describe different characters' appearance or the way they gesticulated when making some pronouncement. The book could have benefitted from thorough copyediting, changing or eliminating many poor word choices. Topic sentences are often missing and transitions from paragraph to paragraph are generally absent, causing whiplash as readers are forced to skip from one thought to a seemingly unrelated one. The use of subheadings to arrange the argument of the book would have been useful, as would some restraint of the desire to quote every single source whether relevant or not. The book could have easily been trimmed by forty or fifty pages.

Despite these criticisms, historians of Hawai'i, the CP in the 1940s and 1950s, and the ILWU will find Horne's book to be an important contribution. Scholars concerned with the construction of race may also find it of interest.

LAWRENCE RICHARDS
Miami University

DON MITCHELL. *They Saved the Crops: Labor, Landscape, and the Struggle over Industrial Farming in Bracero-Era California*. (Geographies of Justice and Social Transformation, number 10.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 529. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$26.95.

This clearly written and persuasive book is a historical and geographic account of what the author calls the "infrastructures of landscape and labor markets" (p. 96) in California during the era of the bracero program (1942–1964). Using government documents, newspapers, and multiple archival collections, Don Mitchell puts to rest any notion that the program was a response to wartime labor scarcity in California. Rather, he demonstrates, the state-sponsored contract labor scheme, which eventually imported millions of Mexican workers, was designed to keep California's exploitive, racist, and violent agricultural economy intact. A tightening labor market might have forced growers to improve wages and housing conditions. Instead, state and federal officials gave growers access to contingent and extremely vulnerable men from Mexico, whose presence undermined domestic workers' wages, conditions, and union campaigns, despite contract provisions designed to prevent just that. Thus Mitchell uses the phrase "They Saved the Crops," which comes from Carey McWilliams's early defense of the wartime program, ironically. As Mitchell explains, the braceros "saved more than the crops. They saved the system in all its iniquitous glory" (p. 419).

Much of the story will be familiar to experts, but Mitchell adds a geographer's concern for place and power. The bracero program allowed growers to pre-

serve the gross inequities of wealth and power that made California agriculture so profitable, but he shows it also transformed the landscape and labor markets in significant ways. Land became more consolidated, productive, and profitable in the era of the bracero program. The built landscape—especially farmworker housing—changed even more dramatically. During the war, the growers' lobby wrested control of the federal labor camps that had been built for homeless farmworkers during the Depression, transforming them into camps for Mexican men. California's Farm Production Council (FPC) built additional housing especially for "unattached men" who could be packed efficiently into barracks (p. 68). Having shifted to housing that was inappropriate for families, growers could then argue that they had to keep importing foreign workers despite the war's end. Thus this new landscape helped institutionalize what was supposed to be a temporary labor importation program.

The labor market changes wrought by the program were also profound. Although the bracero program was not supposed to displace domestic workers, Mitchell shows that braceros dominated many industries. The U.S. Department of Labor was supposed to insure that domestic workers were not "adversely affected" by the importation program. But it defined an industry as "dominated" only if the number of domestic workers fell below 200 and their percentage of a particular industry's workforce fell below twenty-five percent. By that grower-friendly definition, Mitchell shows, the San Joaquin County tomato harvest labor force, which was 98.1 percent Mexican nationals by 1960, was not considered "dominated" by braceros (pp. 288–289). And yet at some moments as many as thirty-seven crops were dominated, despite a glut of domestic workers. The bracero program's hold on California agriculture meant that the program's end had dramatic results as well. The loss of the program led some industries to speed up ongoing efforts to mechanize; others moved their operations overseas; and a few even made efforts to stabilize a domestic work force by offering better wages, benefits, and a longer work season.

Missing from Mitchell's combination of fourteen chapters and thirteen remarkably lucid, theoretical mini-essays are the braceros themselves. We learn about the owners of California agribusinesses and the unions that took them on, and even more about the lobbyists and officials who dealt with the bracero program, but almost nothing about the Mexican men who stood at the center of this controversy. The book begins and ends with a vignette about a particular bracero's arrival in the United States, but he appears to be the only bracero named in over 500 pages. Where the braceros came from, what they were like, what they hoped for, how their earnings and their absence changed their home landscapes, what they thought of the whole scheme—Mitchell leaves these questions unanswered. The Bracero History Archive may not have been online when Mitchell was still working on this book, but former braceros were surely available for interviews. The

book is already big, of course, but the author might have condensed the chapters that deal with housing.

Too big and probably too detailed for an undergraduate class, *They Saved the Crops* is also hard to skim because Mitchell eschews introductions and conclusions (the conclusion to the whole book is only three pages long). Nonetheless anyone interested in the bracero program, agricultural history in the United States, and the history of California will find this important and often fascinating book well worth the time.

CINDY HAHAMOVITCH
College of William and Mary

AARON BOBROW-STRAIN. *White Bread: A Social History of the Store-Bought Loaf*. Boston: Beacon Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 257. \$27.95.

White Bread reflects the political science background of the author in its focus on local and global politics. It purports to tell a story—less social than political—of how bread and power have been intertwined. Highlighting the invention and growth of factory-made white bread, the book skips among the decades and briefly roams internationally in an attempt to answer the larger question: “What’s behind our fraught relationship with industrial food and, by extension, how does our relation with industrial food reflect our messy relations with one another?” (p. 8).

White Bread’s substantive chapters are mostly arranged around “eras” of twentieth-century American history: the Progressive period, with its emphasis on cleanliness, purity, nutritional abundance, and Americanization; the Cold War; and the civil rights movement, with its subsequent decades of social shuffling and redefinition. It picks up the story of white bread in the early twentieth century with an industrial history of the Ward Baking Company, already a half-century old in 1900. Starting as a small bakery, Ward added packaged crackers and biscuits to its bread offerings in the late nineteenth century. Its success enabled it to open “‘Pittsburgh’s first modern sanitary bakery’ in 1903” (p. 27) as well as to expand to other cities, buy up other bakeries, and, by 1925, reduce the competition to just two other corporations—the General Baking Company and Continental Baking Company. Bakeries, then, experienced the same kind of modernization using science and technology and corporate restructuring through take-overs and competitive elimination as other industries in the United States. In 1929, Ward changed its name to Wonder Bakeries and the name of its product to Wonder Bread, adding, like other corporations in other industries, another cultural icon to America’s quickly growing pantheon.

To illustrate another theme of the Progressive period—the redefinition of “health” and “healthy” due in large part to the discovery of vitamins—*White Bread* backtracks to the 1840s and the nineteenth-century poster child of the history of American health and welfare, Sylvester Graham. Graham, along with John Harvey Kellogg and others, advocated the use of whole

grains in the American diet. He invented the graham cracker, a whole wheat biscuit that today, like handmade bread, is a pale imitation of the original. While Graham published a good deal and had a following, his impact on American health and the American diet is not clear. *White Bread* uses Graham and his early twentieth-century counterpart, Bernarr MacFadden, to show the rift in American culture between white and whole wheat bread eaters who used the two breads to serve their own agendas, continuing an age-old saga of purity and contamination and good versus bad that inevitably involved social class. For centuries in Western European cultures only the well-to-do could afford to eat whiter, more refined, and more expensive bread. Wealth and white bread became firmly linked. Graham unsuccessfully attempted to invert that custom with his tireless campaign to convince people that the consumption of brown, coarse bread gave eaters all the physical and social benefits associated with white bread.

Nor did MacFadden break that link. But how could he when, in the early part of the twentieth century, the United States was all about modernizing, a movement from the handmade to the machine made? It is no wonder that Wonder Bread, with its hidden but powerful associations of purity and elevated social status, became the sought-after staple. It remained that way throughout the Cold War when its whiteness, pedigreed history, and affordable abundance perfectly foiled “the Communist world’s scarce ‘dark bread’” (p. 141). Only during the civil rights era and after did Americans seeking social change “trash” white bread and the people who ate it, replacing it with more expensive but “healthier” whole wheat loaves, preferably handmade.

Aaron Bobrow-Strain concludes that the history of white bread reveals five “seductive dreams” that “touch a deep chord in consumers’ relation to food” (p. 190): purity, perfect health, scientific control, national security, and naturalness. In fact, the themes are eras in United States history in which not just white bread but many aspects of culture reflected these “dreams.” Someone with an understanding of these general themes could predict the story it tells before reading the book. Had the author refined his research inquiry to look carefully at white bread as a material culture tool, created to facilitate social order, rather than as a reflector or a cultural actor with a relationship to humans, the conclusion would most likely have been more revealing of how Americans have used bread to express and shape power relations in the twentieth century.

TRUDY EDEN
University of Northern Iowa

ERIC SANDWEISS. *The Day in Its Color: Charles Cushman’s Photographic Journey through a Vanishing America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. 237. \$39.95.

In the June 1917 issue of *Camera Work*, the well-known documentary photographer Paul Strand wrote, “Color and photography have nothing in common.” Formed in

reaction to the practice once popular among art photographers to hand-color or otherwise manipulate their images such that they resembled the surface and feel of a painting more than that of a photograph, Strand's assessment of photography's relationship to color was both blunt and definitive. By the early 1920s, his position was also generally accepted by self-identified modernist and high art photographers: retouching the photographic negative or hand-coloring the print represented a retrograde denial of the medium's true realist capabilities. Photographers as diverse as Strand, Alfred Stieglitz, Walker Evans, Edward Weston, Berenice Abbott, Dorothea Lange, and Ansel Adams all came to believe that photography's potential lay in the medium's straight objectivity, or as Adams once wrote, in the "photographic" effect of the photograph.

Of course, in the first quarter of the twentieth century there was no such thing as color photography, and so any evaluation of the medium's inherent qualities—any discussion of the photograph's photographic-ness—necessarily omitted color. Yet even after Kodak introduced Kodachrome color in 1935, the prejudice against color among so-called serious photographers remained. This, combined with the fact that most historians of photography write about art (rather than popular or amateur) photography, has led to a lopsided, largely monochromatic history of the medium (a history of Stieglitzes and Strands, Abbotts and Margaret Bourke-Whites). Not until the 1960s or 1970s, when "art" photographers, such as Stephen Shore, began to utilize color film, did color typically receive attention in the history of photography. As historian Sally Stein has noted, so strong has been the suppression of color in the told histories of photography that at times it seems as if there was no color in the 1930s or 1940s—that it only entered the everyday world in which we live in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Eric Sandweiss's book challenges the contours of this basic monochromatic history by examining the color slide archive of businessman and amateur photographer Charles Cushman. In 1938, Cushman began traveling with his wife, Jean—who was John Steinbeck's cousin—and his Contax camera, snapping slides from Chicago to New York to San Francisco. By 1969, when Cushman stopped taking pictures, he had amassed a collection of 14,500 images. Cushman never printed any of these images, but Sandweiss does, and the 150 reproduced in the book provide a fascinating, colorful look at the United States' built environment and economic landscape over a thirty-year period in the mid-twentieth century.

Sandweiss constructs his narrative around Cushman's life—his birth in small-town in Indiana, his move to Chicago, his marriage to Jean, his relationship with his well-connected in-laws, his attraction to emerging technologies of information and reproduction. The focus on development and growth in Cushman's personal life is meant to mirror the United States' maturing status on the global stage. And though the text contains a few too many biographical bits for my taste (do we re-

ally need to know so many details about Jean's emotional breakdown?), one of the book's real strength's emerges from Sandweiss's ability to intertwine biography—personal stories, relationships, job history—with larger cultural shifts, particularly the role played by the design industry in the United States' transformation from a production economy to a consumption-based one. This is great, and it begins to address an important gap in most histories of photography that tend—in their focus on art—to suppress, or at least downplay, the connection between the commercial marketplace and developments in photographic technologies. This is, in fact, a point I wish Sandweiss had pushed further. For instance, left unaddressed is the manner in which advertising fueled the development of commercial color photography as advertising executives searched for ways to showcase the new colors entering the marketplace in the 1930s on a whole range of commodities.

Some of Sandweiss's refusal to develop or complicate the connection between color and commercial photography results from his emphasis on Cushman the man, as a kind of anti-Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographer. Where Cushman photographed in color, the FSA photographers worked in black and white; where Cushman captured economic growth and urban life, the FSA focused on the unemployed and rural life; where Cushman was financially independent, the FSA photographers were commissioned by and therefore inextricably bound to the federal government. While all of this is more or less true, my complaint is that the construction of Cushman as a sort of lone outlier to the FSA's photographic legacy means that Sandweiss sacrificed a more involved discussion of the causes and cultural logic that led to a very definite bifurcation in systems of photographic representation (color versus black and white) in the mid-twentieth century. This bifurcation has, to again paraphrase Stein, essentially naturalized the absence of color in photographs; and so lost too was the opportunity to confront the contradiction between photography's supposed realism and its traditional suppression of color.

TERRI WEISSMAN

University of Illinois,

Urbana-Champaign [All reviewers of books by Indiana University History Department faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors]

DAWN SPRING. *Advertising in the Age of Persuasion: Building Brand America, 1941–1961*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. x, 235. \$85.00.

In this slim volume, Dawn Spring explores how American advertisers worked with business groups and federal agencies in the 1940s and 1950s to promote their version of "free enterprise" and to make "persuasive information" central to both U.S. politics and diplomacy. She argues that advertising executives in firms like J. Walter Thompson and corporations like Procter & Gamble "envisioned an American-led global consumer order" where "advertising, propaganda, and

public relations were considered the same thing" (p. vii). Working through organizations like the Advertising Council and the Brand Names Foundation, they launched domestic public service campaigns, pioneered the peacetime use of public diplomacy, and created a network for disseminating persuasive information that Spring calls a new version of Adam Smith's "invisible hand" (p. viii).

Advertising in the Age of Persuasion tells this story in eight chapters that explore a wide range of topics: the emergence of the postwar persuasion network, the rise of product branding as a mechanism for selling goods, the use of marketing techniques to promote religion, the growing role of commercial television, and accelerating efforts both to "brand" the nation and to promote "Brand America" overseas. Much of the book focuses on domestic and overseas campaigns orchestrated at least in part by the Advertising Council, including the Freedom Train, the Crusade for Freedom, and campaigns on behalf of the "American Economic System," "Religion in American Life," "Atoms for Peace," and "People's Capitalism." Many of these have already been explored in greater depth by other scholars.

Spring's discussion of the Brand Names Foundation does open interesting new territory. The organization was founded in 1944 by advertising and corporate executives eager to defeat the Office of Price Administration's (OPA) proposed system of labeling products according to their "grade" or quality. Such "grade labeling" offered an alternative to both brand names and descriptive labeling, an alternative that had long been sought by consumer groups. After the OPA was disbanded in 1947, the Brand Names Foundation altered and expanded its mission. By sponsoring industry conferences, community-based campaigns, and educational programs aimed at women and children, it sought to promote brand loyalty, as well as a system of free enterprise built around brands. The foundation argued that an economic system built around national brand-name products like Ivory soap and Aunt Jemima syrup would ensure production, stabilize employment, and offer consumers the freedom of choice that advertisers saw as "democracy incarnate" (p. 55).

Spring's account is intriguing and makes extensive use of primary sources, but she relies heavily and uncritically on the views of those in the advertising industry and frequently overlooks relevant context. Thus, she mentions the Brand Names Foundation's criticism of the OPA and consumer groups—as well as its efforts to encourage storeowners to stock national brands rather than locally produced products—but we learn little more about these confrontations. Spring notes that a celebration featuring the African American spokesperson for Aunt Jemima syrup "reinforced racial stereotypes," but she casts the event as an attempt "to incorporate positive race relations through brand names" (p. 61). In 1947, the debate over the Taft-Hartley Act polarized employers and organized labor, yet in discussing the act Spring quotes only Foundation members who saw the brand-name system as a cure for labor unrest.

This lack of critical analysis and context is also apparent in Spring's account of the Freedom Train, a massive ideological undertaking orchestrated by advertising, business, and movie executives with the support of the Truman administration. Between 1947 and 1949, a red-white-and-blue train carried a traveling exhibit of historical documents through more than 300 cities in all forty-eight states, a tour that was coordinated with carefully planned local celebrations and a nationwide media blitz. Spring is right to argue that organizers "sought to craft a unified American history—a history that framed America as an exceptional nation without gross inequities, labor strife, civil rights problems, or religious intolerance," (p. 33) but her account overlooks the behind-the-scenes controversy that made this possible. For instance, she notes that Freedom Train organizers sought the support of labor leaders and she presents their support for civil rights as strong and uncontested. In fact, organizers kept all documents relating to labor and economic rights off the train and banned the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on the grounds that they were too controversial. The Freedom Train's organizers ultimately took a stance against segregated viewing of the exhibit—but only after they were forced to by black activists in the South.

The book is rife with typos and choppily written: boldface headings frequently separate sections that are only a paragraph long. Spring defines "free enterprise" as American-style consumer capitalism, an equation which leads to the odd pronouncement that "many American companies and politicians did not embrace free enterprise until after World War II" (p. 10). Nevertheless, the book offers useful information to those interested in exploring the interconnections between advertising, domestic politics, and public diplomacy in postwar America.

WENDY WALL
Binghamton University

RICHARD K. POPP. *The Holiday Makers: Magazines, Advertising, and Mass Tourism in Postwar America*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 204. \$39.95.

The Holiday Makers makes a noteworthy contribution to the growing body of literature that demonstrates the top-down construction of American culture by advertisers, corporations, the federal government, and market researchers. Richard K. Popp explores the "cultural phenomenon" of the American holiday, the packaging of mass tourism, the political and social implications of leisure travel, and the rise and fall of the American paid vacation. In the post-World War II era, the tourism industry sought to create an impulse to travel among Americans and generate their share of the postwar prosperity. Tapping into the American imagination by packaging the travel experience around "narratives of American national identity," they attempted to instill in Americans a desire to see the nation and the world (p. 3).

Popp relies on the travel magazine *Holiday* from the Curtis Publishing Company, publisher of *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies' Home Journal*, as a lens through which to view the travel industry. *Holiday* debuted in 1946 and served as a major mediator between the travel industry and the public. The magazine helped the industry create a "popular geography" for American tourism by presenting the public with "narratives, themes, and images of place and mobility" and developing a "tourist pedagogy" that taught people how to think about "place, leisure, and identity" (p. 7). The American tourism industry tapped into the narrative of an America transformed from a land of the Protestant work ethic to a land of fun and leisure. In this nation, the American "wanderlust" that once brought colonists to new lands and fueled the conquest of the frontier propelled Americans to vacation, and American technological innovations conquered "space and time" (p. 4).

No longer just a privilege of the moneyed, leisure class, vacations became part of American consumer entitlement. Amidst the privatization of American life as people abandoned public transportation for automobiles, relocated to the suburbs, socialized behind fences in private backyards, and otherwise moved away from being a culture based on community leisure, the vacation offered a way to connect to the broader community. Even those of modest means could explore the United States and possibly even visit Europe. Tourism signified a level of equality in leisure afforded to all American citizens, and travel at home and abroad could offer opportunities free of the era's Jim Crow segregation.

On the geopolitical stage, mass tourism and paid vacations projected an image of the United States as a classless, egalitarian society, an image the federal government sought to cultivate in the Cold War battle of ideas. Paid worker vacations and the leisure time to travel demonstrated that the fruits of American capitalism benefitted all Americans. The vacation symbolized the egalitarianism and mobility created by the American free enterprise system, and because of the superiority of the system, vacations were no longer only for the wealthier class. Paid vacation time demonstrated the benevolent way that American corporations treated their workers, and the expectation of paid vacation expanded in the postwar era. By the late 1950s, labor contracts increasingly offered senior workers four weeks paid vacation.

As he concludes, Popp takes a brief look at the demise of these paid vacations and the de-emphasis on American tourism as part of national identity. He attempts to explain why contemporary Americans do not participate in the level of global travel enjoyed by their peers in other wealthy nations. By the 1960s, market segmentation led to an emphasis on unique individual experiences over mass tourism, the State Department changed course and decreased incentives for foreign travel, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower declared 1960 "'Visit the United States of America' year" (p.

136). As the American standard of living came to be exclusively equated with commodities and purchasing power, the paid vacation lost its role as part of the American identity. While other nations increasingly codified paid vacations, American corporations conversely slashed the paid vacation time of their workers.

Popp relies primarily on *Holiday* with only a few mentions of other magazines such as *Life*, *Sports Illustrated*, and *Time*. While he makes the case for the importance of Curtis and *Holiday*, which had a circulation of 605,000, the reach of the magazine did not warrant this exclusivity (p. 49). Although Popp effectively constructs his argument, additional evidence from travel advertisements in other magazines and newspapers, and a deeper look at other aspects of the tourism industry would strengthen his case. *The Holiday Makers* could find broader significance if it further explored the use of travel as Cold War cultural diplomacy, the connections between the travel industry and the federal government, and domestic social issues. Topics such as racism and segregation in travel warrant the space devoted to "destination profiles." These issues notwithstanding, Popp weaves a must read that aids our understanding of commercially made American culture, and the rise and fall of the American vacation.

DAWN P. SPRING

American Public University

DOUGLAS M. CHARLES. *The FBI's Obscene File: J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau's Crusade against Smut*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2012. Pp. x, 171. \$24.95.

Good work on the history of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has been appearing quite regularly for a long time now. Douglas M. Charles's book on the FBI's obscenity file is a welcome addition to this literature. It expands our knowledge of the Bureau and therefore contributes to our understanding of twentieth-century U.S. history.

The FBI began accumulating physical specimens of obscenity in 1925, but it did not develop a centralized, formal obscene file until 1942. The objects, in Charles's words, were an "intelligence base of specimens used for comparison and identification purposes to locate and identify the sources of smut and its purveyors" (p. 129). Although periodically weeded, the collection grew substantially; its contents were burned in the early 1990s. In 1943, the FBI created an administrative file to oversee the obscene objects. This file, which was not destroyed, is the primary evidentiary basis for Charles's book. It does not contain the case files on individuals and organizations targeted under federal anti-obscenity law. They number, according to the National Archives, more than 100,000 and are located in other classifications. Pursuing these was not "feasible" (p. 5). Charles makes all this clear in his introduction because he understands that his readers need to know precisely the nature of the FBI records he is using. (Another indication that Charles is a knowledgeable researcher of

Bureau files is that he accurately references individual serials within the administrative file so that others can track down the document.) This book, then, as he tells us, is a “primer” (p. 4).

The story of the FBI’s efforts to check the spread of obscenity is not, Charles argues, simple. There not only were competing bureaucracies at work but also differing legal jurisdictions, and changing juridical definitions of obscenity itself. The FBI, moreover, was subject to a variety of pressures from numerous sources. “Cultural containment” (p. 4), finally, might well have been J. Edgar Hoover’s goal when it came to obscenity, but there is little indication that it was a significant part of his overall organizational agenda.

The FBI did not recognize that it had collected a large amount of obscene objects until the 1930s and did not systematize them until World War II, when fears arose that young men in military services would be morally contaminated. At that point, Bureau officials determined that the collection had considerable practical value. After the end of the war, Field Offices submitted increasing numbers of obscene objects to FBI Headquarters in an effort to figure out their sources and distributors. The Crime Lab’s ability to do so, though, decreased over time. During the 1950s, the Bureau apparently focused a good deal of attention on popular music, particularly as rhythm and blues reached more and more white teenagers. From 1957 on, the FBI coped with continuing changes in presidential attitudes toward obscenity as well as the Supreme Court’s definition of it. The Nixon administration, for example, developed a counterattack on what it considered the growing permissiveness in U.S. society, and Hoover “initiated a parallel effort” to “buttress” the plan (p. 75). During the 1970s and 1980s, the Bureau shifted its focus to the connection between organized crime and pornography. It ran four undercover operations, including three previously unknown: FAST PLAY, PORNEX, and, CLEAN STREETS. Here the focus was more on the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) than on anti-obscenity laws. The FBI stopped using the Obscene File and pursuing Interstate Transportation of Obscene Matter cases (except child pornography) during the Clinton administration. The brief and temporary revival of such efforts in 2004 and 2005 came to naught. In the spring of 2011, the Attorney General shut down the Justice Department’s Obscenity Prosecution Task Force.

Scholars will not find in this book, as the author acknowledges, an analysis of the FBI’s activity in obscenity issues “through the lens of gender or sexuality” (p. 5). Because of the kind of records he was using and the difficulty of getting at those 100,000 case files, Charles has written an “institutional and bureaucratic history” (p. 5). Sex and gender appear from time to time, but only on a limited basis. Some information about gays wound up in the Obscene File, but most probably went into the Sex Deviates File, which was established in 1951 and destroyed in 1977. Charles’s brief discussion of the FBI investigation of the Mattachine Society and

ONE draws upon his journal article; the Bureau’s 100 classification, “Domestic Security,” contained the relevant files. Similarly, the FBI’s investigation of the song “Louie, Louie” was filed in classification 145, “Interstate Transportation of Obscene Matter.”

This is a good introduction to the FBI’s handling of obscenity. It should, as Charles hopes, “spark further scholarship” (p. 5).

STEVE ROSSWURM
Lake Forest College

JOHN SBARDELLATI. *J. Edgar Hoover Goes to the Movies: The FBI and the Origins of Hollywood’s Cold War*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 256. \$27.95.

John Sbardellati’s book explores a well-known historical topic—the red scare and the blacklist in Hollywood—yet his close examination of the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s (FBI) role offers an important new perspective. By following the “archival turn” in film history and delving deeply into FBI records, Sbardellati uncovers the breadth and impact of the agency’s investigative activities in the motion picture industry from 1942 to 1958. He rejects the idea that FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and his agents were motivated solely by political opportunism or the desire for publicity. Instead, he argues “a sincerely held, if ill-founded, fear of Communist propaganda” spurred the investigation (p. 3). Hoover believed that members of the Communist Party in Hollywood, estimated at about 300 people, had inserted pro-communist messages in movies. Given the ideological power of motion pictures—at the time the dominant form of mass entertainment in the United States—the FBI considered this situation a danger to America’s politics, institutions, and way of life. The most well-known consequence of the bureau’s years of investigation was the blacklist, but Sbardellati emphasizes another: the transformation in film content, as socially conscious filmmaking declined. “It turns out that the red scare in Hollywood was about the movies after all,” he notes (p. 3).

This focused study of the FBI in Hollywood expands our historical understanding of the wider red scare. Hoover emerges as the foremost leader and his bureau a crucial means of anticommunist efforts in the 1940s and 1950s. Sbardellati joins Ellen Schrecker in stating that what we now call “McCarthyism”—smearing targeted Americans with accusations of communist sympathies—would be better understood as “Hooverism.” Attention to Hoover’s career and his key contributions to anticommunism reinforces the concept of the “long” red scare. Hoover joined the Bureau of Investigation in 1917, the same year as the Russian Revolution, and he pursued real and suspected leftists from the start. Named director in 1924, he was aware of independent left filmmakers in the New York-based Labor Film Service and had received reports of “Parlor Bolshevik” groups in Los Angeles. Although these early 1920s film-related activities lapsed, the FBI did not wait until the

Cold War to open an official investigation of communist subversion in the motion picture industry; it began in 1942, during World War II. FBI agents cooperated and shared information with private individuals and organizations inside and outside the industry, demonstrating state surveillance as a public-private enterprise.

The FBI's investigation in Hollywood entailed surveillance of filmmakers to identify communists, but what makes Sbardellati's work innovative are his findings of FBI film analyses. With the aim of ascertaining communist propaganda in movies, bureau agents became film reviewers. Posing as regular filmgoers, they went to the movies but found it difficult to take notes in dark theaters. From informants, they obtained scripts for films still in production. Even as Hoover worried his "G-men would never be 'classified as expert witnesses' in the world of film criticism," agents expressed confidence in their discovery of communist propaganda (p. 150). As evidence, they cited World War II films that favorably represented America's wartime ally, the Soviet Union. In *Mission to Moscow* (1943), one agent contended, "the political philosophy" of the communist nation "is made to appear as the finest ever conceived by man" (p. 52). Another suspect genre was the social problem film, which took a problem in American society, such as racism, as its subject and thus presented negative views of the United States that would "do well in Russia" (p. 104). Sbardellati includes brief excerpts from many more FBI film analyses in the book's useful appendix.

Confirming Hoover's worries, however, the FBI's foray into film reviewing proved problematic, and the bureau retreated. The major problem, as Sbardellati points out, is that movies—as is true of other cultural texts—do not have only one message which audiences passively receive; instead, movies have multiple meanings open to interpretation. As a result, the FBI found their evidence of communist propaganda questioned and disputed by industry insiders and others. For the FBI, proving Communist Party membership or affiliations among filmmakers was more straightforward than demonstrating communist propaganda in films. Over time, this task became the bureau's focus in Hollywood, and political beliefs came to define disloyalty and subversion instead of political actions. The FBI provided information to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) for its series of hearings in 1947 and 1951 to 1953 and prepared the way for the blacklist. Hoover also began to see more movies he liked, as anticommunist movies replaced social problem films. As it turned out, American audiences disagreed with Hoover's film preferences, but then film executive Darryl F. Zanuck had already told him, "'Mr. Hoover, you don't know movies'" (p. 183). Fortunately for the history of Hollywood and politics, Sbardellati does, making his *J. Edgar Hoover Goes to the Movies* fascinating reading.

JENNIFER FROST
University of Auckland

WILLIAM D. ROMANOWSKI. *Reforming Hollywood: How American Protestants Fought for Freedom at the Movies*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 298. \$29.95.

Movies have not been kind to Protestants, nor has film studies. Histories of American film often portray Protestants as the representatives of the old Victorian moral order who fought a losing battle against the movies. Yet Protestants remained an important part of the film-going public. So what happened to them, and how did they react to their loss of cultural authority? William D. Romanowski demonstrates that Protestants sustained a complex engagement with Hollywood throughout the twentieth century. This deeply researched book therefore fills an important gap in the history of American cinema and adds to the understanding of religion in movies.

Challenging notions that Protestants were primarily "bluenose censors" (p. 10), Romanowski argues that Protestant leaders balanced concerns about the moral character of movies with commitment to freedom of expression. This proved no easy task. The author identifies two major impulses within mainline Protestant responses to Hollywood, what he calls the "pietist" and the "structural" (p. 9). The pietist approach held movies to a strict model of moral formation and was willing, if necessary, to entertain restrictions on films. The structural approach, by contrast, advocated a broader, more contextual understanding of religion and cinema. Adherents of this approach thought that Christians should encourage filmmakers to use their freedom responsibly for the public good rather than censor their films.

Romanowski weaves his history of Protestant reform of the movies around these two tendencies. In several early chapters, Romanowski shows the centrality of Protestants to the debate over film regulation in the early twentieth century. When conservative, pietist Protestants complained that the National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures (which included Protestants) proved unable to stem the tide of immorality, the Federal Council of Churches (FCC) offered its public counsel. Using their cultural authority as spokesmen for mainline churches, FCC officials sought a voluntary, cooperative relationship with Hollywood. Instead of calling for censorship boards, they appealed to the social responsibility of moviemakers.

For their part, movie producers in the 1920s turned to Will Hays, a Presbyterian and "icon of the Protestant establishment" (p. 46), to head their trade group, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), and lead the battle against censorship. Many Protestants hoped for a mutually beneficial relationship between the movie industry and Protestant values. Yet the need of moviemakers to appeal to popular tastes often interfered with such aspirations. Charges that Hays retained Protestant officials for promotional work further soured the relationship between the Protestant establishment and Hollywood. It did not

help that many Protestant reformers opposed Hollywood's monopolistic practices such as block booking of movies.

Only after failing to resolve the censorship question with the help of Protestants, Romanowski suggests, did Hays turn to Catholics. In 1930 Hays agreed to a Production Code written by two Catholics, Martin Quigley and Jesuit priest Daniel Lord. Then, under threat of boycott by the Catholic Legion of Decency, he supported an enforcement mechanism, the Production Code Administration (PCA).

For the next two decades, Protestants pursued their dual commitments to civil liberties and promotion of the public good through the Protestant Film Commission (PFC). Learning from Catholics and the positive image of Catholicism in movies, the PFC worked with Hollywood to promote better representations of Protestants. Yet the PFC and its postwar incarnation, the Broadcasting and Film Commission (BFC), faced the same tensions between the pietist and structuralist understandings that bedeviled Protestant reformers in the 1920s.

Postwar changes in the film industry created a new context for Protestant reformers. As the authority of the PCA declined by the early 1960s, a younger generation of Protestant critics associated with the BFC promoted a Protestant Film Awards project. Rather than encourage better screen treatment of Protestants, the BFC would recognize movies that explored the human condition from a wider Christian perspective. Further evidence of new times, Protestants also worked with like-minded Catholics to jettison the PCA in favor of a classification system that could allow more religiously sophisticated films.

Romanowski's final chapters are devoted to evangelicals and the recent culture wars that have engulfed Hollywood. The author astutely notes that for all their opposition to movie immorality, conservative Christians in fact function as consummate media consumers, building their own subculture around wholesome entertainment. In the process, "'kid-friendly' became the defining feature of a 'Christian' aesthetic that ultimately prized those movies that entertained the whole 'family'" (p. 209).

Some of the early material covered by *Reforming Hollywood* will be familiar to historians of American cinema. However, other material is new, particularly Romanowski's detailed account of the Protestant Film Commission and debates among Protestants over the proper response to movie immorality. Further, Romanowski brings all his subjects into a coherent, well-organized study of Protestant efforts to remain relevant in debates about movies in America. Balancing previous scholarship on film censorship by Frank Walsh, Thomas Doherty, and others, Romanowski's study makes clear the important role Protestants played in promoting freedom at the box office.

ANTHONY BURKE SMITH
University of Dayton

JASON S. LANTZER. *Mainline Christianity: The Past and Future of America's Majority Faith*. New York: New York University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 188. Cloth \$74.00, paper \$24.00.

The subject of Jason S. Lantzer's new book, the mainline Protestant churches in the United States, occupies an increasingly obscure corner of historical investigation. Lantzer identifies "mainline Christianity" with the Congregational, Episcopal, Evangelical Lutheran, Presbyterian, United Methodist, American Baptist, and Disciples of Christ denominations (without giving much attention to denominationalism as a distinct American expression of Christian institutions). Although these groups still constitute some of the largest Protestant churches in the United States, over the last thirty years they have lost significant portions of their membership. That period coincides with the rise of a segment of politically active evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics (also known as the Religious Right or social conservatives). Mainline decline combined with evangelical and Roman Catholic resurgence has turned the heads of graduate students and senior academics away from the Christians who dominated American public life and elite institutions from the early nineteenth century down until at least 1975. This is an unfortunate historiographical shift if only because academics missed the chance to explore Protestant influence within the United States during the era of Reinhold Niebuhr. By 1980, the influence of the mainline churches was sufficiently in the past that historians could bring to bear a historical perspective. But with the election of Ronald Reagan and the ascendancy of evangelical Protestants, historians turned to provide perspective on the born-again Protestant and fundamentalist ancestors of the Religious Right. Out went projects on John Foster Dulles and in came proposals on Jerry Falwell. To his credit, in a brief and episodic way, Lantzer is trying to remedy this historical oversight.

Mainline Christianity has two main sections. The first covers the colonial and nineteenth-century Protestant churches. Lantzer treats this material too quickly since, during this period, through the revivals and reforms associated with the so-called Second Great Awakening, denominations of British descent established themselves as the Protestant mainline. The ethnic character of these Protestants was especially important for the interdenominational cooperation that flourished after the Civil War. This ecumenical Protestantism fueled a social and progressive Christianity that was responsible for the Federal Council of Churches (renamed in 1951 the National Council of Churches). These Anglo-American Protestants were committed to an understanding of the United States as a Christian nation that outsiders (i.e., immigrants, Roman Catholics, Mormons, and sectarians) threatened. The responsibility that these Protestants felt for defining and defending American norms, combined with their access to elite institutions (e.g., government, education, commerce,

and publishing), established their Christianity as the dominant or mainline variety.

The second part of Lantzer's narrative covers developments since the fundamentalist controversy of the 1920s, an episode that launched mainline decline. He focuses chiefly on social developments after World War II that further weakened the largest Protestant denominations. Political debates over feminism (e.g., women's ordination), civil rights, the Vietnam War, and the ensuing culture wars divided the churches generally between liberal leaders and conservative laity. Demographic and economic developments also created conditions (suburban expansion and mass communication) that tested the mainline churches' capacity to retool. The author's narrative implies that the mainline churches failed this test. To illustrate these changes and failure, Lantzer surprisingly features the Episcopal Church—a surprise because Episcopalians have never been the most representative of the mainline Christians. Even so, this denomination does afford Lantzer the opportunity to cover the recent phenomenon of conservative Episcopal parishes affiliating with African bishops because the latter allegedly represent traditional Christian sexual morality. Such an appeal to foreign oversight for churches in the United States is a further indication of mainline decline.

Lantzer concludes with reflections on the possibility of fashioning a new American mainline Christianity that might pick up the pieces of the old one. The most likely candidates, because they are the most numerous, are Roman Catholics, Southern Baptists, and Pentecostals. Here Lantzer switches to a genre of reflection different from history to comment on cultural factors that contribute to the constant existence of or need for a "mainline" Christianity. He argues that what occurred during the twentieth century will (inevitably?) result in a different mainline now that the Protestant denominations have faded.

As insightful as these thoughts may be, they weaken Lantzer's case for the importance of mainline Protestantism. Historians need to recognize not the conceptual appeal of a mainline religion in American society but the numerical, institutional, and even political significance of the Protestant churches that were the dominant voice (for good and ill) of Christianity in the United States from 1815 until 1970. Lantzer's book makes a stab at that argument but falls short.

D. G. HART
Hillsdale College

PRESTON H. SMITH II. *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis: Housing Policy in Postwar Chicago*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2012. Pp. xix, 433. \$27.50.

Preston H. Smith II accepts conventional wisdom that a white business class and a compliant state created a "second ghetto" in postwar Chicago that restricted African Americans to segregated inner-city neighborhoods. In contrast to earlier studies, however, Smith

downplays the role of white power and examines African American support for class-stratified housing. He argues that privileged African Americans were complicit junior partners in the housing crisis because they shared with whites an assumption that economic inequalities were normal in a capitalist society. This assumption led middle-class blacks to accept the rationale for a private real estate market while rejecting the right to decent housing regardless of the ability to pay.

Smith locates the origins of conservative housing policies in the period after World War II when African American elites endorsed scholarly prescriptions about urban pathologies. These theories claimed that social disorganization in urban communities generated a need for a strong local middle class capable of encouraging better behaviors within their ethnic or racial subgroup. Drawing upon these theories, experts like Robert Taylor argued that racial progress depended upon providing modern accommodations for African Americans that could prepare increasing numbers of poor blacks for first-class citizenship. Taylor recognized that private capital was unlikely to build such housing given prevailing stereotypes about the incompetency of the black population. Consequently, he called upon the federal government to construct public housing run by African American middle-class managers with responsibility for promoting habits that made residents more desirable tenants in the private market. Previously, historians characterized such policies as a civil rights issue pitting the united interests of African Americans against white politicians and property owners who resisted racial integration. While Smith's narrative recognizes the importance of whites, it adopts a different perspective to show that systemic class interests created cleavages among African Americans that prevented consideration of the economic factors that produced housing inequalities for poor and working-class blacks.

According to Smith, the failures derived from a self-interested, middle-class policy of "racial democracy," which reasoned that removing barriers for minorities with adequate finances would result eventually in better housing for the less fortunate. This assumption led African American policy experts like Robert Clifton Weaver to support slum clearance programs to eradicate bad housing and provide the upwardly mobile with better residences in interracial communities. When promoting such communities, elites accepted class stratification out of the belief that breaking the barrier of interracial living was essential for racial progress. Experts like Weaver dismissed opponents as parochial and self-interested. At times, they were. In outlying areas, middle-class black property owners opposed the location of low-income housing projects near their residences by suggesting that the presence of the poor damaged the achievements of the African American middle class. Smith shows these black middle-class homeowners possessed sufficient influence to restrict the activities of civil rights groups who wished to challenge the norms of the private market regarding class, property ownership, and morality. More importantly, Smith

shows that critics of slum clearance like Sidney Williams offered well-considered opposition to redevelopment programs. As director of the Chicago Urban League, Williams understood the anguish of local property owners who objected to neighborhood redevelopment. Williams challenged "Negro clearance" by fighting for government assistance for much smaller rehabilitation projects that preserved existing institutions. In supporting such policies, local leaders supported the rights of the small number of black property owners. But property owners were divided. While some sought to reclaim affluence by removing substandard kitchenettes, others tolerated overcrowding as a means of maintaining political power and supporting black-owned businesses.

The divisions intensified as migrant populations increased and middle-class African Americans continued the arduous process of racial succession into white neighborhoods. Whether middle-class blacks supported the maintenance or the eradication of the ghetto, they accepted a policy of class stratification rather than the provision of decent housing for all. Smith demonstrates this effectively in his account of urban renewal in Hyde Park where middle-class black property owners accepted the renewal policies of white experts who saw managed integration as a means for preserving class homogeneity. Affluent blacks accepted this policy because they desired to stay one step ahead of the ghetto. In the most provocative section of the book, Smith argues that racial violence in Park Manor, Trumbull Park, and Cicero mobilized a more united and militant commitment to integration, but did so only to initiate conflict with white homeowners rather than establishing a need for the provision of decent public housing for all.

The final chapters describe efforts to outlaw restrictive covenants, to integrate neighborhoods, to gain access to mortgages, and to develop a black real estate industry. While these were significant achievements for upwardly mobile African Americans, Smith claims the measures failed to address the problems of the poor and disadvantaged. Ultimately, repeated concessions to middle-class interests established the primacy of private enterprise while discrediting the government responsibility for housing all citizens. Smith concludes that the failure to develop a more radical social democracy ensured class stratification would remain intact. In making this case, his narrative intertwines wide ranging events to show that persistent social cleavages characterized housing policy. Some critics may feel Smith overstates his case and chastises the middle class too forcefully. But his analysis shows clearly how inequalities in housing result from assumptions about class as well as race.

JOSEPH C. BIGOTT
Purdue University Calumet

MATTHEW F. DELMONT. *The Nicest Kids in Town: American Bandstand, Rock 'n' Roll, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in 1950s Philadelphia*. (American Crossroads,

number 32 ; A George Gund Foundation Book in African American Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 294. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$27.95.

Matthew F. Delmont's fine study of the connections between *American Bandstand* and the struggle for civil rights in Philadelphia appeared shortly before the death of Dick Clark, the show's co-architect and erstwhile presenter, in April 2012. Perhaps that was a blessing, as one of the book's main achievements is to discredit Clark's attempts to cast himself as a pioneer of on-air integration and *Bandstand* as a vehicle for progressive racial politics in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Instead, Delmont exposes the show's systematic marginalization of local African American fans, even as black artists and African American-derived music and dance became central to the show's interracial popularity.

A local history at heart, Delmont's book offers a subtle, refreshingly interdisciplinary reading of *Bandstand* as a site of the civil rights struggles in Philadelphia and as a battleground for ongoing attempts to control public memories of the movement. Although the main focus is on the years of *Bandstand*'s greatest national influence from 1957 to 1964, Delmont describes its origins under the aegis of Bob Horn on WFIL-TV in 1952, noting that initially there was no segregated admissions policy. In 1954, however, the emergence of a committee of twelve white teens who held enormous sway over who could attend, together with the introduction of a strict dress code and a requirement that fans hoping to attend the show must first submit a written letter of application, combined to exclude local poorer, mainly African American fans from the show. Delmont argues that this informal discrimination reflected the agenda of the show's producers and sponsors, who coveted a white suburban teen market and were wary of offending white sensibilities with on-screen integration. Far from disappearing in 1957 when Dick Clark took over and the show went national via daily ABC broadcasts, these policies endured until the show moved to Los Angeles in 1964.

One of the strengths of Delmont's book is his account of how *Bandstand* and the media more generally became important targets for local civil rights activism, alongside schools and housing. Television and housing patterns, he explains, offered "overlapping and reinforcing sites of struggle over segregation" (p. 2), while *Bandstand*'s producers and Philadelphia's school authorities adopted strikingly similar tactics to avoid meaningful integration, even while publicly professing their commitment to desegregation. Delmont also offers useful analyses of pioneering local broadcaster activists Floyd Logan and Georgie Woods and Jewish civil rights leader Maurice Fagan, whose short-lived show *They Shall Be Heard* he presents as a progressive "road-not-taken" alternative to *Bandstand*'s racial conservatism. In fact, Delmont provides plenty of evidence as to why it was always unlikely that *Bandstand* would follow

suit. Fagan's show was organized by the local biracial Fellowship Commission and aired as part of WCAU-TV's commitment to devote a portion of its schedule to non-profit community programming. By contrast, *Bandstand* was fundamentally shaped by the perceived commercial priorities of its sponsors and producers as they sought to create a national and biddable youth consumer market that they initially envisaged as white.

That said, Delmont may underestimate the debates among *Bandstand*'s producers and sponsors over whether continued discrimination, ostensibly to cater to the sensibilities of a white teen market, might actually be counterproductive. Advertisers also hoped to reach a burgeoning black consumer market if they could do so without jeopardizing white customers—and by 1964, this may have been less of an issue, certainly among white teens, than Delmont implies. This period witnessed one of the most integrated popular music markets in history, with many white and black teens buying much the same records by much the same artists. By the end of 1963 *Billboard* temporarily suspended its black singles chart, unable to distinguish between black and white purchasing patterns. Racism and discrimination remained rife, to be sure, and there was certainly no necessary correlation between white love of black music and progressive racial attitudes. Nevertheless, *Bandstand*, with its integrated playlists—if seldom studio audiences—was crucial to a fleeting moment of musical integration that was as much a function of consumer choice as of producer policy.

Delmont tends to underplay this symbolic, unplanned, and unanticipated dimension of *Bandstand*'s contribution to the biracial pop scene of the late 1950s and early 1960s. He focuses on correcting the historic record regarding *Bandstand*'s retrogressive racial politics, reinserting the show into the story of Philadelphia's freedom struggle, and counteracting what he sees as a distortive ahistoric nostalgia surrounding popular memories of the show. Promoted in part by Clark's self-serving recollections and to varying degrees by the movie and stage versions of *Hairspray* and the hit television series *American Dreams* (2002–2005), *Bandstand* and its ilk continue to be remembered primarily as bastions of racial enlightenment and harmony, where segregation and racial prejudice were miraculously erased to the sound of "The Twist." In this lively and perceptive book, Delmont reminds us that the reality was far more complex.

BRIAN WARD
Northumbria University

BENJAMIN HOUSTON. *The Nashville Way: Racial Etiquette and the Struggle for Social Justice in a Southern City*. (Politics and Culture in the Twentieth-Century South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 320. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.

In this deeply researched book, Benjamin Houston explores the black and white worlds of Nashville, Tennessee during the tumultuous decades of the civil rights

era. Historians of the movement, particularly during its "classic" stage of mass sit-ins and demonstrations, have long recognized the significant role Nashville activists played. Houston, however, looks at both sides of the racial divide by examining the "Nashville way" of white racial moderation and racial etiquette and black accommodation and resistance. Houston constructs his narrative from several strands: a cultural history of racial etiquette, a community study of movement activism, and an urban history that traces the emergence of color-blind conservatism.

As a result of divisions within the black community and the relative dearth of interracial cooperation, activists made little progress in challenging segregation prior to the 1960s. Houston's description of the "glacial pace" of school desegregation following *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), for example, nicely captures the "feeble" efforts of progressives to counter the forceful voice of segregationists seeking to maintain the racial status quo (p. 60). Houston recounts the emergence of sit-ins in 1960 as part of a larger strategic move toward nonviolence spearheaded by experienced pacifists, most notably James Lawson. Nonviolent direct action interrupted the logic of racial etiquette by challenging the hypocrisy inherent in its acceptance of segregation. Houston provides an excellent narration of the dramatic protests, emphasizing the contingent nature of what have become the iconic scenes of the civil rights movement. He is equally adept at navigating white responses to the protests, from the "bewildered moderates" to the die-hard segregationists (p. 105). Their defeat, particularly in the face of a widely supported economic boycott, was a triumph for the movement, but did not mark the end of segregated Nashville.

After the stirring sit-ins of 1960 the movement had more uneven successes, particularly in its attempts to open up employment opportunities for blacks. Debates about goals and tactics within the movement stymied momentum. Houston assiduously uncovers the messy intraracial politics of black Nashville, with its battling political machines and deep class conflict. A 1962 debate over creating a metropolitan government by annexing surrounding suburbs brought these divisions among black leaders into the open. Responding to the slow pace of desegregation, young African Americans launched new protests in 1964 with less disciplined nonviolence and more police crackdowns. Despite passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, "racial custom" and white resistance limited desegregation (p. 163).

The emergence of black power in the city brought whites' calls for law and order to a zenith. Stokely Carmichael's arrival in 1967 highlighted the growing brutality of Nashville's police force as riot police instigated a melee after he delivered a speech. Conservative whites viewed Carmichael as the embodiment of the dangerous black radical, deserving the most extreme police measures. But Houston is careful to note that a retreat from movement activism was also the result of divisions among liberal groups in the black power era. Houston adeptly captures a wide range of attitudes dur-

ing this transitional moment in race relations, as racial etiquette was fading and new ideologies and practices were not fully in place.

Undermining the gains of the civil rights movement were the disastrous policies of urban renewal, particularly the construction of Interstate 40. Houston is to be lauded for linking housing policy to the civil rights movement. Severe housing segregation, for example, problematized efforts to speed up school integration in the late 1960s. White opponents of busing staged large-scale demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience in the early 1970s, mirroring the African American struggle a decade earlier. These whites, argues Houston, had replaced the myth of "pleasant race relations" with the myth of "reverse discrimination and color blindness" (p. 234). This argument fits with the patterns traced by other historians of the South, such as Kevin Kruse, Matthew Lassiter, and Joseph Crespino.

Houston provides a fine-grained view of the everyday lives of black and white Nashville residents, and this level of detail draws a complex picture of both the mass movement for civil rights and the white reaction to it. But Houston's encyclopedic knowledge of Nashville, while providing a richly textured narrative, does not always serve him well. More attention to the broader implications of his research would improve the book's readability. Was racial etiquette, for example, an early model for color-blindness? And despite his thoroughness, the book lacks gender analysis. Such an analysis would flesh out the motivation behind racial etiquette and explain why, for example, swimming pools closed while restaurants remained open. Nonetheless, Houston has effectively revealed the turmoil and struggle behind the veil of racial etiquette and gentility in this southern city.

VICTORIA W. WOLCOTT
University at Buffalo,
State University of New York

SHERRY L. SMITH. *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 265. \$34.95.

In this elegantly written and thoroughly documented book, Sherry L. Smith illuminates the political connections, mutual influences, and mixed successes that grew from the sporadic but important interactions between the Red Power movement and the broader American counterculture during the mid-1960s and early 1970s. Taking a cue from British scholar Sharon Monteith, who has described this era of protests and turbulence in America as a "society of spectacle," Smith surveys a series of "spectacles" in which Red Power and the counterculture overlapped for various reasons and with varied results.

Smith first examines the Indian protests in the Pacific Northwest during the 1960s. Washington State had restricted tribes' access to historic fishing grounds, and local Indians faced down law enforcement officials, vandals, and thugs to assert their treaty rights. Along

the way, they developed sometimes uneasy alliances with counterculture groups and celebrities ranging from Marlon Brando to Dick Gregory. While these allies brought media attention, public sympathy, and even muscle, they also caused problems and alienated many Indians. Smith adroitly dissects these relationships, exposing the divisions they created among tribal members who disagreed about if and how outsiders and/or their tactics should be welcomed.

Smith then turns her focus from Indian protestors to counterculture groups and individuals. During the 1960s, many young Americans were influenced by and attracted to Native peoples and causes, and felt (or imagined) kinship with them in their own anti-establishment struggles. California hippies, New Mexico communarians, and various celebrities were often painfully ignorant and naïve, constructing ahistorical, New Age fantasies about Indians that ranged from pathetically comical to deeply insulting. Nevertheless, as Smith demonstrates, such interactions had important consequences for the Red Power movement by contributing to a heightened awareness of and sympathy for modern Indian issues in popular American culture.

Smith then returns to the burgeoning Red Power movement and explores a number of actions that featured alliances with and support from various counterculture organizations. Highlights from the book include discussions of the Alcatraz occupation, the Pitt River Indians' unsuccessful attempt to reclaim lands in northern California, and the pan-Indian protest and seizure of Fort Lawton near Davis, California, which eventually led to the founding of Deganawida-Quetzlcoatl University.

Smith closes the book by considering the two major episodes in which the American Indian Movement (AIM) played a central role: the Trail of Broken Treaties in 1972 and the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. Through these actions we see the changing nature of both the Red Power movement and its alliances with non-Indians, which broadened to include legal groups, politicians, and black and Chicano organizations. However, AIM's highly confrontational tactics also further alienated many Indians who preferred a more moderate approach.

Despite the book's many strengths, there are some omissions. Smith, a former president of the Western History Association, attempts to ground Red Power alliances in and define them through the American West. To some extent, this feels contrived and possibly incomplete. For example, were such alliances also part of grassroots Indian protests in the East, including the numerous Iroquois actions of the 1950s and 1960s? Although influential Iroquois activists like Wallace "Mad Bear" Anderson and Richard Oakes appear in Smith's narrative, Iroquois direct-action protests (some of which Anderson played a prominent role in) are absent from the book, so we do not know. Also, how might we understand the "spectacle" of a Miccosukee Seminole delegation traveling from Florida to Cuba in 1959 meeting with Fidel Castro and exchanging diplomatic rec-

ognition? This too is missing. While there was certainly a western version of the subject Smith investigates, particularly with regard to the counterculture, partitioning Red Power as a western phenomenon does not help us connect the dots. And finally, given the wide-ranging nature of the book and the tremendous reach of Smith's source material, a bibliography could have proven helpful to scholars, but unfortunately is not included.

However, these concerns should not be held against an all-around outstanding book. Smith has delved deeply into archival sources, some of them previously unexamined, and her engaging and enlightening prose ferries readers across a series of important episodes, some of which are fascinating. For example, her brief account of Vine Deloria's correspondence with Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organizations Executive Director Lucius Walker is a page-turning must-read. In all, Smith does an excellent job of shedding light not only on the complicated relations between Indians and non-Indians but also on the nuances within Indian America, particularly among various Red Power movements, more established organizations like the National Congress of American Indians, and reservation-based tribal governments. *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power* is an important and welcome contribution to the literature.

AKIM D. REINHARDT
Towson University

NANCY BERNKOPF TUCKER. *The China Threat: Memories, Myths, and Realities in the 1950s*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 295. \$39.50.

In this ambitious book, the distinguished diplomatic historian Nancy Bernkopf Tucker takes a new look at Dwight D. Eisenhower and his attitude toward China during his presidency from 1953 to 1961. Tucker argues that personal records demonstrate that Eisenhower was more of a pragmatist, and less of an intransigent Cold warrior, than previously believed. Tucker's findings are premised on material in manuscript collections, such as Eisenhower's presidential papers, personal files of administration officials, oral histories, interviews conducted in Beijing and Washington, and other published documents.

The book opens with a story widely accepted by countless scholars and policymakers: that Eisenhower prevented his successor John F. Kennedy from changing America's China policy. According to Clark Clifford, Kennedy's lawyer, "If Kennedy recognized Communist China, as some liberal Democrats urged, Eisenhower said he would attack the decision and try to rally public opinion against it. Kennedy did not comment, but I had no doubt that Eisenhower's warning had its desired effect" (p. 1). This incident, Tucker asserts, almost certainly never happened (p. 2).

Tucker covers many significant events in U.S.-China policy from 1952 to 1960: the end of the Korean War, crises in the Taiwan Straits, treaty-building with the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the

Republic of China (ROC), U.S. nuclear threats and the trade control regimes against the People's Republic of China (PRC), diplomatic negotiations between Beijing and Washington, the Bandung Conference, and the Sino-Soviet split. She analyzes the contradictions between Eisenhower and his advisors' public and private positions. According to Tucker, Eisenhower was neither passive nor disengaged in his China policy. He "thought diplomatic relations with China inevitable, the trade embargo foolish and self-defeating, and UN admission necessary and unavoidable" (p. 180). Meanwhile, abandoning Taiwan was never a choice. A two-China policy was the best solution that he and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles could come up with.

Tucker believes that "had Eisenhower been willing to act, he might have caught China at an approachable moment when it, too, longed for improved relations" (pp. 184–185). If such an opportunity did exist, this reviewer argues that the loss of it was mainly due to the Eisenhower administration's overall Cold War strategy, which was to "hold the line." U.S. interest in talks with the PRC at Geneva in the mid-1950s was to work out the technical details for the release of American citizens and, if possible, to keep the Chinese in check through negotiations. Believing that communism was "a passing phase" on the Chinese mainland, the Eisenhower administration was only using the talks to subdue Beijing's militancy. In contrast, PRC leaders were eager to improve relations with the United States through serious negotiations in this period. Beijing hoped to lead Washington into serious discussions over significant issues in U.S.-China relations, including recognizing the PRC's legitimacy, resolving the Taiwan issue, and acknowledging China's rightful place in world affairs. Facing an uncompromising U.S. attitude on these issues, by mid-1956, Beijing came to realize that it was hardly possible to improve relations with the United States through the Sino-American ambassadorial talks. Beijing's use of the suspension of the talks as an excuse to launch the second Taiwan Strait crisis in 1958 did bring the United States back to the negotiating table but failed to change the U.S. position on these significant issues.

So why, asks Tucker in conclusion, did Eisenhower never adopt more positive initiatives toward China despite privately stating he wanted to do so? She points out that China in the 1950s was not "a key foreign relations concern," and Eisenhower was afraid of domestic opposition to his policies of improving relations with both Moscow and Beijing simultaneously. Tucker writes that the Eisenhower administration "publicized the harshest aspects of their China policy in the hope that this would protect them against the [China] Lobby and the broader Republican right" (pp. 182–183).

How much credit should we give Eisenhower for views that he never had the courage or chance to put into effect? Tucker credits him with maneuvering around China, manipulating Taiwan, and capturing the Republican right wing and the China Lobby (p. 181), thus restoring and then largely preserving peace in East

Asia. In 1952, China and the Soviet Union were brothers-in-arms. By 1960, the Sino-Soviet alliance was falling apart. In this sense, the “pressure-wedge strategy,” which the Eisenhower administration adopted, may have worked. Thus, the value of the book lies not in its contribution to our understanding of the Eisenhower administration’s China policy. Rather, it is an interesting case study, demonstrating how a leader’s public policy could differ immensely from his private thoughts.

YAFENG XIA

Long Island University

CHRIS TUDDA. *A Cold War Turning Point: Nixon and China, 1969–1972*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 274. \$27.50.

Using newly released documentary evidence from U.S. and international archives, especially the Nixon tapes and Kissinger telephone conversations, Chris Tudda has written an outstanding book on the U.S.-China relationship. This very detailed, well-researched account reflects Tudda’s longtime engagement with the study of U.S.-China relations during the Cold War era. It demonstrates the intricacy of Sino-U.S. relations from 1969 to 1972, illustrating the major forces that shaped Nixon administration policy toward China in what was an especially grave moment for U.S. relations with the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan.

Tudda is correct when he writes that “the president and his national security team—unlike his four predecessors—and the PRC government boldly moved along parallel lines to forge a new relationship that fundamentally altered the cold war” (p. ix). But the question is: were both Washington and Beijing forced to forge a new relationship under the new international and domestic circumstances respectively, or had they intended to change their policies “boldly” toward the other during that time? Many factors were responsible for fostering the U.S. rapprochement with China.

Tudda writes that “Nixon first *publicly* advocated for a change in U.S. policy toward the PRC in an October 1967 article in the influential journal *Foreign Affairs*. The article, entitled ‘Asia after Vietnam,’ identified the PRC’s support for wars of national liberation as Asia’s ‘common danger’” (p. 2). As we know, some congressional legislators began to criticize China policy and called openly for changes before 1967, such as Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who was the first to voice criticism of China policy in 1964. The 1966 Senate hearings on China were possibly the most notable attempt to expand the American public’s knowledge of China, and the most important consequence of the hearings was the beginning of open and free public debate on China policy. More open debates on the issue contributed to public pressure on the administration to modify its approach to China.

According to American historians, as early as 1967 Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield began working on his own to open a passageway to China and notified

President Lyndon B. Johnson of his objective. He had a chance to contact Premier Zhou Enlai of the People’s Republic of China through Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, a good friend of Premier Zhou. He solicited the prince to ask whether Zhou would like to meet an American senator. Beijing did not offer an invitation, however, and Mansfield did not renew his hope of going to China until Richard Nixon became president in 1969. He informed the president of his previous efforts during the Johnson administration and of his aspiration to pursue his goal again. To Mansfield’s surprise, Nixon did not oppose Mansfield’s plan and, in fact, encouraged him to continue his effort and proffered any assistance needed. Beginning in February 1969, Mansfield had several private breakfasts with Nixon, during which the president, identifying the senator as an ally for his new approach to China, promoted and smoothed the progress of the senator’s attempt to visit the People’s Republic of China. In addition, beginning in 1969, congressional legislators increased their pressure on the administration to modify its China policy. Such senators as Fulbright, Edward Kennedy, Jacob Javits, and Mark Hatfield jointly urged the president to start a new China policy. Thus, the Nixon administration was forced to bring about a dramatic shift in U.S. policy toward the PRC, and congressional legislators were active in effecting these changes.

According to Chinese sources, Beijing rejected Mansfield’s initial application in all probability because only one senator had presented the proposition, and the U.S. government was still the number one enemy of Beijing. (Mansfield, however, was one of the first four congressional leaders who were invited to Beijing in 1972.) The clashes that erupted between China and the Soviet Union at Zhenbao Island in March and August 1969 forced Beijing to change its policy toward the United States in an attempt to establish an anti-Soviet alliance. Mao Zedong was compelled to play “barbarians off against each other,” a traditional Chinese military strategy. Without the Sino-Soviet border battles in 1969, Beijing would not have been forced to carry out a new policy toward the United States.

All in all, this book is very well researched, offering the most trustworthy and convincing account of U.S.-China policy from 1969 to 1972 so far. It should be highly recommended for students of U.S.-China relations during that time in general and of U.S.-China policy in particular.

GUANGQIU XU

Friends University

SETH JACOBS. *The Universe Unraveling: American Foreign Policy in Cold War Laos*. (The United States in the World.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 312. \$35.00.

As many scholars have now come to argue, American policy toward Laos during the 1950s formed an essential prelude to the U.S. war in Vietnam that occurred in the following decade. After the Geneva Accords of

1954 ended the first Indochina war, it was in ostensibly neutral Laos that the Eisenhower administration chose to create an anticommunist bastion that might thwart North Vietnam's creeping subversion and protect Washington's key ally—Thailand—from communist encroachment. By the time the Kennedy administration arrived in office, the basis of U.S. policy was revealed as hollow, as the anticommunist forces in the Royal Lao Army the Americans had chosen to sponsor proved incapable of effectively opposing the Pathet Lao communist guerrilla movement or rallying substantial popular support for their cause. Unwilling to expend American blood and treasure in a forlorn attempt to intervene with U.S. forces and chastened by its setback at the Bay of Pigs, the new U.S. administration chose to work for a revamped neutralization solution in Laos, with a coalition government composed of a wider spectrum of Lao political opinion; at the same time, President John F. Kennedy decided that it would be better to make a firm U.S. stand behind the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam, where the prospects for success seemed so much stronger.

In his fascinating, lively, and well-researched study of the failures of U.S. policy in Laos during these crucial years, Seth Jacobs accepts that decision makers in the Kennedy administration viewed Laos as a poor setting in which to mount a vigorous response to the communist menace due to its difficult terrain, overwhelming logistical challenges, and easy accessibility for North Vietnam and China. But going beyond this orthodoxy, Jacobs also makes a sustained case that cultural factors—in particular an ingrained American belief that the Lao people were feckless, indolent, disorganized, cowardly, and inherently pacific—played an even more important role than strategic considerations in convincing American policymakers that the more resilient Vietnamese (as they were viewed through an inverted cultural lens) would offer sturdier resistance to communist insurgency.

The irony, as Jacobs points out in a brief survey of Laotian history, is that a propensity for war, conflict, and struggles for power between internal court factions, and with external enemies, had characterized Laotian life for hundreds of years before the arrival of French colonialism. And during the period covered by the book, there are many examples of Laotian behavior that contradicted the simple stereotypes that held such sway in American images of Laos. At one point, Jacobs offers a graphic description of the fighting for Vientiane in December 1960 between neutralist and rightist forces that undermines notions about the “peaceable” and “docile” Lao people. Indeed, a crucial part of Jacobs's argument is that “not *all* Lao were battle-shy”: the Pathet Lao proved to be formidable opponents to the noncommunist forces, and it was typically those Lao who were “asked to fight for Washington's puppet who threw in the towel” (p. 15). Vapid and inane U.S. observations of the Laotian scene are reproduced again and again by Jacobs, and he lambasts American diplomats and officials for their cultural insularity, and un-

willingness to venture into the countryside to discover the “real” Laos. During the late 1950s, in their own separate “Little America” compounds in Vientiane, the ever-increasing numbers of American aid workers, technicians, military advisers, and clandestine operatives lived together in American “ranch-style homes,” ate their own food, and socialized with each other, all removed from the Lao society around them; or as Jacobs puts it, “Washington had spent millions to create a replica of an American suburb on the other side of the world” (pp. 99–100). Particular criticism is reserved for J. Graham Parsons, who served as Ambassador in Vientiane and then returned to Washington to act as President Dwight D. Eisenhower's final Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. Tone deaf to the complexities of the Laotian political situation, Parsons elevated preserving the diplomatic and social etiquette of the post to a new art form. He also presided over the scandal of the misconceived U.S. aid program to Laos, which was subject to several critical congressional probes during 1958–1959. One of the major strengths of Jacobs's picture of Laos during the late 1950s is the way it shows how counterproductive U.S. aid proved to be. By then, moreover, the near-constant intervention of Americans in governmental affairs had “made a mockery of Lao self-rule,” while the Central Intelligence Agency's and the Pentagon's support for the ambitions of General Phoumi Nosovan (not least through blatantly rigged “elections” in April 1960) precipitated full-blown civil war (pp. 147–154).

Although the book does not draw the direct analogy, it is difficult not to be reminded of America's recent mishaps in Iraq, where fantasy aid projects were pushed forward with no understanding of local realities, the arrival of U.S. dollars corrupted official transactions, and much of the populace came to see U.S. aid as a harmful foreign intrusion into their lives. Not all will accept the interpretations offered by Jacobs—he overlooks, for example, the Vietnamese role in nurturing the Pathet Lao immediately after the Geneva settlement in 1954—but his study represents an insightful and powerfully argued addition to the literature on America's involvement in Southeast Asia and to those works keen to embrace the “cultural turn” in studies of U.S. foreign relations.

MATTHEW JONES
University of Nottingham

MICHAEL H. HUNT and STEVEN I. LEVINE. *Arc of Empire: America's Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam*. (H. Eugene and Lillian Youngs Lehman Series.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2012. Pp. 340. \$35.00.

Arc of Empire links U.S. twentieth-century empire building in Asia with more recent involvement in the Middle East. Thus, William McKinley, who ordered the annexation of the Philippines, would recognize American paternal rhetoric about “advancing the cause of ‘the West’” (p. 276), and Dwight Eisenhower and Lyn-

don Johnson would understand the neocons' hopes that the Iraq war would set "off a cascade of happy consequences in the region and beyond" (p. 277).

To prove their case Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine examine the United States' four Asian wars with the Philippines, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. Each war receives about sixty pages of text. Little that is new emerges, but these are well-written syntheses drawing on many of the best secondary accounts. (The omission of William J. Duiker's *Ho Chi Minh: A Life* [2001] is a notable exception.) They incorporate important information about "the other side," discuss the devastating impact military actions had on civilians, are not hesitant to reveal atrocious behavior, and examine how imperial rule worked out in practice. Popular culture references enliven the accounts.

But the authors' purpose is not primarily to provide capsule accounts of the wars. The wars, they assert, "were not separate and unconnected" events (p. 1). Rather "they were phases in a U.S. attempt to establish and maintain a dominant position in eastern Asia" (p. 1). This is a little too teleological, particularly in the case of the Philippines. The annexation was unquestionably an act of empire building, the imperial result of the war with Spain undertaken in a spasm of popular emotion. It involved a war devastating to Filipinos, the development of a classic imperial structure, an efficient colonial bureaucracy, collaborative relations with the Philippine elite, and efforts to tie the islands to the United States. (Parenthetically, the Philippine-American War is no longer "barely remembered" [p. 1]. Since the 1960s, there have been numerous scholarly and popular accounts of the war and American colonial rule.) But enthusiasm for imperial rule faded rapidly as reports of atrocities and degradation filtered out. Soon Theodore Roosevelt viewed the islands as a liability. The Democratic Party was officially anti-imperialist; Woodrow Wilson's Governor General Filipinized the government and the economy. In 1916 the United States officially made Philippine independence its goal. Had it not been for Filipino delegate Manuel L. Quezon's reluctance, Congress probably would have set a specific independence date. Wilson later declared that the Filipinos had met the requirements for independence and by the 1930s many Americans clamored—for both idealistic and self-interested reasons—to set the islands free. In 1932 and again in 1934, Congress set a specific date for independence. These facts do not support the authors' contention that the annexation "fed an appetite for the further development of the U.S. position in the region" (p. 59), at least not over time.

The authors tie Philippine annexation to American interest in staking out a strong position in China. Indeed, initially the Philippines became the American sphere of influence in Asia and proved to be a convenient base from which to send American troops to suppress the Boxer rebellion. Furthermore, Hunt and Levine show convincingly that the American occupation caused Japanese and Chinese intellectuals to revise their positive images of Americans. But it is not clear

that over time American interests actually advanced very significantly in China. Despite the Open Door policy, Theodore Roosevelt deferred to Japan because so few American interests were at stake. American policy toward China in the coming decades was not particularly forceful (William Howard Taft being an exception) because American interests there were minimal. American sympathies were with the Chinese, but little more. Connecting the annexation of the Philippines so directly to post-World War II empire in Asia is problematic.

Tying the other wars to the establishment of a larger American Asian empire is more persuasive. The United States became involved in the Pacific War after being attacked, and not because it sought a larger empire; but through the occupation of Japan and its later involvement in both Korea and Vietnam, the United States gained an empire. The authors believe that the empire began to unravel as a result of the inconclusive Korean War and ultimately with the defeat in Vietnam. They give Richard Nixon credit for pulling back from Asia, something symbolized by the rapprochement with China. But Nixon's realism did not last, and the authors think that the lessons of the demise of the American Asian empire have not been learned. They argue that the same mistakes are now evident in American policy in the Middle East. "The current Middle Eastern Project demonstrates the persistence of fairy tales," they write (p. 276).

There are two minor errors: the residents of New Mexico would be surprised to learn that the atomic bomb was first tested "in Alamogordo" (p. 106), and when the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia late in 1978, they installed Heng Samrin as the new leader, not Hun Sen (p. 248).

KENTON CLYMER
Northern Illinois University

JEREMY KUZMAROV. *Modernizing Repression: Police Training and Nation-Building in the American Century*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 384. \$29.95.

Jeremy Kuzmarov is a prolific young historian. Just three years after the publication of *The Myth of the Ad-dicted Army: Vietnam and the Modern War on Drugs* (2009), he has produced this ambitious work, which examines U.S. police training programs throughout the developing world over more than a century. He is to be commended for setting his sights high. The result, alas, disappoints, as his book suffers from repetitiveness, sanctimony, and turgid prose.

To be sure, Kuzmarov identifies an important and understudied dimension of American foreign policy. The cultivation of indigenous constabularies in trouble spots like the Philippines, South Korea, South Vietnam—and, more recently, in Iraq and Afghanistan—has attracted less attention than what Kuzmarov terms the "ephemeral pyrotechnics of the battlefield": i.e.,

U.S. military operations carried out chiefly by American forces (p. 13). Yet the consequences of Washington's police training programs were often more enduring. As late as the 1990s, Haitian reformers advocating land redistribution suffered reprisals from the "Gendarmerie" established in 1915 at the direction of Woodrow Wilson, and Iran has yet to escape the legacy of the National Security and Intelligence Unit (SAVAK) set up by the Eisenhower administration at midcentury. Kuzmarov provides valuable information on these and other police programs, and he introduces a range of fascinating figures, notably the peripatetic Byron Engle, who rivaled Edward Lansdale when it came to orchestrating covert skullduggery but who had been lost to history until Kuzmarov began digging into his career as head of the U.S. government agency charged with training law enforcement officers in allied nations. There is grist for a significant monograph here.

That book, however, remains to be written, primarily because Kuzmarov subscribes to the devil theory of U.S. diplomacy, taking as given the premise that Washington is responsible for most of the injustice in the world, that the moral calculus always favors America's rivals, and that, idealistic rhetoric notwithstanding, American policymakers act on the lowest of motives. Scholars tending to confirm this view—Gabriel Kolko, Alfred McCoy, Noam Chomsky, and other apostles of the New Left—receive a respectful hearing; those who refute or complicate it are de-emphasized or ignored. *Modernizing Repression* is not a balanced appraisal of U.S. police training programs from 1901 to 2012; it is a case for the prosecution.

One example will have to suffice to make the larger point. In chapter seven, we learn that by the early 1970s South Vietnam's prison system "harbored 202,000 political prisoners—six times the number Amnesty International estimated were held in the Soviet Union, East Germany, South Africa, and a half-dozen other authoritarian states combined" (p. 156). When I came across this sentence, I did a double take and thought, "That *can't* be correct!" And it isn't. Inspection of Kuzmarov's endnotes reveals his sources to be Chomsky and Edward Herman's 1979 tract *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* and a slender collection of documents published in 1973 by an antiwar organization called National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex. These are dubious authorities, to say the least—and, worse, on neither of the pages referenced does the 202,000-prisoner figure or any mention of Amnesty International appear. Such tendentiousness and dereliction do not inspire confidence.

And the writing! Party-line melodrama abounds, with Kuzmarov inveighing against "the American empire, which has been sustained . . . by violence and coercion" (p. 252). From Haiti to Burundi to Lebanon, Washington "allied with the oppressor rather than the oppressed," as "[t]hose who resisted U.S. intervention were thoroughly dehumanized, and this paved the way for their violent repression" (pp. 183, 234). American technicians, "[c]ogs in the machine of empire," pro-

moted "an aggressive Dirty Harry approach to policing" that "prioritiz[ed] public security over human rights" and "epitomized the bullying character of American foreign policy" (pp. 221, 213, 172, 185). Kuzmarov likes to invoke George Orwell. The Phoenix Program in South Vietnam was "an Orwellian regime of mass surveillance and torture," and by the time American troops occupied Iraq, "Orwell's 1984 nightmare was coming to pass as new technologies allowed for ever greater sophistication in social control techniques all over the world" (pp. 154, 235). No wonder "[l]eftist movements, the backbone of civil society," were in retreat (p. 231). One of Kuzmarov's favorite tactics is to quote a U.S. official saying something foolish and then to observe, "These remarks typify . . ." Kuzmarov jogs the reader's elbow in such fashion on virtually every page, anxious lest the full nefariousness of American imperialism fail to be appreciated. This is bush-league stuff, unacceptable in a graduate seminar.

My concluding thought, as I put *Modernizing Repression* on the shelf, was that it would be a shame if Kuzmarov were to decide he prefers the role of polemicist to that of scholar.

SETH JACOBS
Boston College

ROGER PEACE. *A Call to Conscience: The Anti-Contra War Campaign*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 307. \$28.95.

In his eight-year presidency, Ronald Reagan delivered three nationally televised addresses and twenty-two radio addresses calling on Americans to support military aid to counterrevolutionary "Contras" in their bid to overthrow Nicaragua's Marxist Sandinista government. He devoted more speeches to the subject than to any other issue in his presidency. He also authorized a vigorous public diplomacy effort to cultivate support for the Contras, and for his broader "Reagan Doctrine" of communist rollback. Yet despite such efforts, the Great Communicator failed to convince many in Congress and most Americans. Throughout his presidency, polls showed that more Americans disapproved of his policy than endorsed it, and congressional and grassroots resistance eventually forced a showdown over the Iran-Contra Affair. Today Iran-Contra is recalled mainly for what it revealed about the lengths to which Reagan would go in his anticommunist crusade. But Reagan's memoirs tell another tale, calling his failure to win support for the Contras "one of the greatest frustrations" of his presidency (p. 52).

As Roger Peace reminds us in his valuable book, Reagan's inability to act more forcefully in Nicaragua is remarkable when judged against earlier acts of untrammelled U.S. meddling there and given Reagan's vaunted popularity and the alleged pusillanimity of his opponents. To explain this surprising result, Peace offers a detailed social history of "U.S. citizen opposition to the Contra War," revealing a diffuse but dogged co-

alition of liberal Christians, labor activists, human rights lobbies, Latin American experts, peace groups, and congressional liberals who thwarted Reagan's Contra policy on Capitol Hill and among the voting public (p. 5). His is not an especially analytical study; he provides little overarching argument about how we might rethink the Reagan era in light of his findings, and at times the diversity of his actors and their activities becomes a bit of a muddle. Peace's book, a revised dissertation, could have benefited from further revision to condense repetitious detail and enhance its analytical claims. But what emerges clearly from its welter of detail is the unavoidable fact that Reagan's Contra policy, like much of his foreign policy, faced serious if decentralized opposition from organized, vocal, and influential liberal-left activists with more clout than commonly recognized (p. 3).

How much more is not easily answered. At best, Peace concedes, anti-Contra activists "strengthened public and congressional opposition to Contra aid," limiting Reagan's options and raising their political costs (p. 246). Anti-Contra forces invested great energy in rallying public opinion against the Contras and lobbied Congress to restrict the aid it sent them, but Peace is more successful in showing action than proving its efficacy. Critics often seem to be preaching to the choir rather than changing minds, votes, policies, or presidents. So long as Reagan remained in office, he limited his opponents' options as much as they limited his, and the anti-Contra campaign, like the Contra War itself, was fought to a bloody standstill. But that outcome differs from the one so often emphasized in histories of the recent past, and Peace's book is the best book yet written on Reagan's antagonists in this, his most frustrating stalemate. It is well worth reading for those seeking to rethink the 1980s as something more than the "Reagan era."

MICHAEL J. ALLEN
Northwestern University

AMANDA KAY MCVETY. *Enlightened Aid: U.S. Development as Foreign Policy in Ethiopia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 297. \$74.00.

One wonders if the title of Amanda Kay McVety's book ought not to have ended with a question mark, since the work itself questions if "enlightenment" is indeed the principal ingredient in this affair, and goes on to argue at length that, in fact, it comes a poor second to U.S. foreign policy concerns regarding Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa in general. Nowadays, it would be hard to find any knowledgeable person who would dispute this fact, and one wonders why one would bother to restate it in 2012. A plausible explanation could be that the work started as a doctoral dissertation some years ago, when the thesis it presents was something of a novelty. Ethiopia is not the author's focus. Rather, it is the formulation of U.S. policy through a process of fusing, and often confusing, the national security priorities of the United States and the development priorities in the

so-called Third World—with the latter discounted, more often than not, in favor of the former. The bulk of the book, five chapters out of seven, is devoted to elaborating this issue, beginning with an exposition of the Western philosophy of development that goes back to Adam Smith. This is a well-trodden path.

Two chapters offer a bird's-eye view of the fluctuating U.S.-Ethiopia relationship from the end of World War II to this day. Throughout this half century, the Horn of Africa was the site of a sideshow in the arena of great power rivalries, first in the Cold War, and more recently in the so-called War on Terror. All states in the region have been caught up as clients and proxies of the main contestants. By far the largest state and strategically the most important, Ethiopia had the leading role in the sideshow. Accordingly, it has received much more aid than its neighbors in the region—Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti—not only from the United States but, for some fifteen years, from the then Soviet Union as well. At the time when the two rivals exchanged clients, the Soviet Union took Ethiopia under its wing, and the United States adopted Somalia. When the Soviet Union pulled out of the Horn prior to its own dissolution, the United States resumed its patronage of Ethiopia. Funded by the great powers, the arms race in the Horn led to endless inter- and intrastate conflict that took a heavy toll in lives and property, dislocated the local economies, and blasted any hope for genuine development.

The bulk of U.S. aid poured into Ethiopia is military. Until the mid-1970s it represented fully sixty percent of such aid given to sub-Saharan Africa. This enabled Ethiopia to build the largest army in the region below the Sahara. The country needed such an army, because it faced several challenges to its integrity, particularly from Somali irredentism in the east and Eritrean separatism in the north. The United States committed itself to the defense of Ethiopia's territorial integrity, because it saw Ethiopia as collateral for the preservation of its own hegemonic presence in a region where Islam is dominant and where it has few friends. The author presents the geopolitical context concisely, tracing the process whereby U.S. security priorities trumped genuine development criteria in the discussions held and decisions taken in Washington. However, she does not raise the fundamental contradiction between the goal of socioeconomic development and the reality of endemic war sustained by such generous military aid.

The book's conclusion is that the priority given to U.S. security concerns—for some reason they are referred to as "diplomacy"—distorts and hampers the process of socioeconomic development, which the United States simultaneously seeks to promote. This point is valid and worth making. The lesson to be learned from it is to reverse priorities. "Development does not have to come after diplomacy . . . It can come before it" (p. 212). Amen.

JOHN MARKAKIS
University of Crete

HANNAH GURMAN. *The Dissent Papers: The Voices of Diplomats in the Cold War and Beyond*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 280. \$45.00.

Hannah Gurman's book is a fascinating study of dissenting diplomats in the pre-Watergate era—George F. Kennan, John Paton Davies, John Stewart Service, and George Ball—and of the “Dissent Channel,” a formal mechanism established in 1971 through which diplomats could issue objections to policy. This was not simply a laudable experiment in the encouragement of freethinking, of course. Its principal purpose was to prevent disenchanted employees from leaking information, photocopying and disseminating documents, or simply resigning and going public with their doubts. And, in a similar fashion to Mao Zedong's call to “let a hundred flowers bloom,” dissenters who felt emboldened enough to offer their unvarnished opinions often found it fatal to their careers.

The book pays homage to two things: well-reasoned, elegant writing and the State Department itself. Kennan—who extolled the indispensability of both—would thus have cheered this book, although he certainly did not view himself as a “dissenter” during the Truman administration. Indeed Kennan, from the 1946 “long telegram” to his departure in 1950, was usually quite confident that his counsel would prevail. This made it hard for him to bounce back from his failures.

Gurman praises Kennan's percipience and literary gifts. She also describes him intriguingly as a “courtesan writer,” a reference to the skillful, bespoke way he communicated with two patrons: James Forrestal and George Marshall. This description fits Kennan well. But it is also true that most successful foreign policy advisers adjusted their writing and bearing to match the predilections of their recipient. Those who did this well—Walt Rostow with Lyndon B. Johnson, Henry Kissinger with Richard Nixon, and Condoleezza Rice with George W. Bush—tended to assume close bonds with the presidents they served. Those who failed to connect with their patron—Rostow and John F. Kennedy, McGeorge Bundy and LBJ, Colin Powell and George W. Bush—tended to lose traction. Gurman's descriptor does not attribute a particular distinctiveness to Kennan, therefore, but hints at an intriguing further study of “courtesan writing.”

The middle chapters on Davies, Service, and Ball are deeply researched and beautifully written—as is the whole book—and offer real insight. Gurman's discussion of Ball's dim view of the Kennedy set is particularly effective. As Gurman writes, “The New Frontiersmen, he would later say, were simultaneously a ‘few high priests, who talked a strange sacerdotal language’ and who were prone to neologisms that had a ‘quaintly Madison Avenue ring,’ such as ‘takeoff,’ ‘the big push,’ and the ‘great ascent’” (p. 128). Yet it is difficult for Gurman to stake and sustain claims that are truly revelatory because the dissentient views presented by Davies, Service, and Ball have attracted a fair amount of attention already.

It is during the final two chapters that the book truly comes alive. “Needless to say, in the forty years of its existence,” Gurman writes, “the Dissent Channel has done little to impact U.S. foreign policy. Case closed. Or maybe not. The very failure of the Dissent Channel to affect policy reflects the channel's success at quelling internal dissent in a way that the public could actually support” (p. 172). Gurman shows that the Dissent Channel mainly served to ghettoize dissent through the 1970s and 1980s. Strong objections that were directed at Nixon and Kissinger's strategically and morally deficient response to the 1971 Indo-Pakistan War, for example, were kept in house, while one of the principal dissenters, Archer Blood, was removed from his post in Dacca and relocated. In what by then was a familiar dynamic, the State Department's expertise was essentially frozen out of the policymaking and implementation process, allowing Nixon and Kissinger to pursue their unfettered path.

This essential dynamic continued from the 1970s to the 1990s, though Gurman is also careful to identify certain instances where dissent led to rethinking—indeed there are annual State Department awards for “constructive dissent” (p. 189). Gurman's discussion of the period is impressive, although some threads are left hanging. We are told for example, that dissent declined through the Reagan and George H. W. Bush administrations. This is fascinating, but more on *why* this happened—did some in State abandon hope; had the channel's essential redundancy become apparent; did George Schultz and James Baker inspire uncommon affection and loyalty—would be welcome.

Generally, however, the book is fresh and enlightening. In the run-up to the second Iraq War, State Department employees well understood that the “Dissent Channel” was where reasoned objections generally went to die (and the career of the author sometimes with them). John Brady Kiesling, a counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Athens, resigned through the Dissent Channel in February 2003. Playing hardball, however, Kiesling also sent his letter to the *New York Review of Books*, whose editor published it immediately. From there the letter was emailed around the world and Kiesling's views entered the global commons. “In resigning,” Gurman writes, “Kiesling transformed the channel in a way that entertains few illusions about the current limits of internal dissent” (p. 194).

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright once scolded Colin Powell by saying “What's the point of having this superb military that you're always talking about if we can't use it?” The charge applies to the State Department's expertise with much greater force. Powell witnessed and lamented the marginalization of State up close during George W. Bush's term. Gurman's book is a powerful call for presidents to learn from the nation's principal repository of foreign policy expertise and to resist the usual temptation to concentrate power in the

White House. Fluent and insightful, *The Dissent Papers* is a highly impressive debut.

DAVID MILNE
University of East Anglia

MICHELLE M. NICKERSON. *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. xxvi, 231. \$35.00.

Michelle M. Nickerson's carefully crafted study of grassroots conservative activists in Los Angeles County in the 1950s and early 1960s offers an important contribution to the scholarship on twentieth-century conservatism and women's political activism in the pre-*Feminine Mystique* (1963) "doldrums." Like Lisa McGirr's *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (2001) and Donald Critchlow's *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade* (2005), this study features self-identified housewives who built political careers and shaped national debates from the bottom up. They organized to oust a progressive school district superintendent in Pasadena; launched an attack on an adult enrichment program sponsored by the National Library Association for its "socialist slant"; campaigned to ban United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) literature, which they deemed tools of "internationalist indoctrination," from the public schools; and lobbied against mental health bills out of fear that they would allow the incarceration of political dissenters like themselves. Nickerson draws attention to the religious fervor that these activists brought to their campaigns and to their opposition to racial desegregation. Highlighting the connections between Los Angeles activists and national networks of conservatives, and the widespread media coverage that their battles received, she also effectively shows the national significance of their campaigns.

Like many historians who recognize the sustained, long-term nature of anti-liberal sentiments, Nickerson devotes the first of five chapters to female conservative activism in the earlier decades of the twentieth century. She finds common elements between 1920s "patriotic" women and 1950s conservative activists, namely in their claim to expertise bolstered by "the intense study that dominated their activities" (p. 7) and in their emphasis on protecting the family against state intrusion. Similarly, she traces a key element of their political consciousness—which she characterizes as "housewife populism"—to the revival of populist ideology in the 1930s and 1940s.

In the three chapters that form the core of her case study, the author devotes sustained attention to her subjects' self-identification as political activists. She emphasizes the importance of their home-based study groups, which reveal their views of themselves as educated experts on matters of public policy. That housewives had the time to read, study, and discuss complex issues was an argument that they made, for instance, at

a senate hearing on the Alaska mental health bill: "we feel that we are experts in this . . . you as Senators with all the many commitments and the many requirements, are not able to go into all these things" (p. 127). Especially thought-provoking is the author's examination of her subjects' "self-interpretation" as hard-working, full-time public activists. Although based on a small sample of oral history interviews, the analysis of how these self-identified housewives spoke about the hard work that they performed as political activists "without calling it 'work'" is insightful (p. 55). Their political activism took them outside of the home; it provided them satisfaction, perhaps even filled a personal need for stimulation that their domestic responsibilities did not fulfill; it also allowed them to display the industriousness and ambition valued by their upwardly mobile middle class. Other women of their generation and class would welcome the resurgent feminist movement's claim that a career was essential to women's self-fulfillment and public validation; Nickerson's study suggests that conservative activism provided just that to these women who rejected, indeed actively opposed, the feminist criticism of domesticity.

The women who are at the center of Nickerson's story were not displaced when new conservative organizations, such as the John Birch Society, came on the scene in the late 1950s. Paradoxically they accepted the male leaders' assumption that women would play a supportive and secondary role in the conservative crusade, and they remained self-assured and steadfast in their own continued political effort. Their leading role in what was fast becoming a wider movement continued to be significant, especially with the opening of a network of bookstores, administered and "developed intellectually" (p. 144) by women. These "Americanism Centers" attracted young people in the 1960s and helped create the kind of grassroots enthusiasm that overwhelmed the Barry Goldwater campaign in 1964. Nickerson brings the ongoing influence of these right-wing activists and their political ideology—what she calls the "long durée of housewife populism"—into the present, noting, for instance, women's dominance of the Tea Party (p. 169).

The conclusion calls for women's and feminist history to come to terms with conservative women in their conceptualization of female political identity—even with their claim, as Sarah Palin voiced in 2010, to a "conservative feminist identity." Her reflections here are wide-ranging, including an emphasis on their ideological ambiguity and inconsistencies which, she notes, are not unlike those displayed by 1920s feminists. Her very last paragraph will leave readers unsure of where she stands on the "oxymoronic . . . expression 'conservative feminist'" (p. 174). But, if somewhat inconclusive, Nickerson's musing does point to the importance of revisiting these historiographical and political debates in light of an enriched understanding of the political influence and complex identities of 1950s conservative women.

SYLVIE MURRAY
University of the Fraser Valley

EILEEN BORIS and JENNIFER KLEIN. *Caring for America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xxii, 295. \$35.00.

How is it, Eileen Boris and Jennifer Klein wonder, that the important work needed to care for the sick, the elderly, and the disabled in their own homes is persistently devalued if not ignored? How is it that this particular kind of work—this “intimate labor”—provides the scaffolding for an ersatz long-term care system that would collapse if not for its sustenance by cheap labor? *Caring for America* gives the project that has come to be called home care a history. Situated at the nexus of social policy, the welfare state, embedded assumptions about race and gender, and discourses of dependency and independence, home care emerges as the site of powerful struggles for rights, dignity, and living wages.

Chapter one sets the stage with New Deal policies to employ women in visiting housekeeping programs. The first Works Progress Administration (WPA) programs sent one group of needy women, predominately poor black women, to work in the homes of another needy group, predominately white women with young children. The burden of chronic illnesses and the overflowing wards of urban municipal hospitals soon yielded their own tax-dollar supported home care programs with a more medical focus. These federally supported home care assignments paid more than private domestic employment. But they came with the seeds of seemingly intractable problems. While New Deal work relief created these new positions, New Deal labor law ignored them. It excluded domestic service under its employment rights provisions.

By the end of World War II, local welfare agencies continued some housekeeping services for families with young children, but the rapidly expanding medical and hospital systems now looked to a more professionalized idea of home care that abetted a new battle on chronic diseases and a new challenge of disability. Both welfare and medical personnel shared a language of dependency, but they proposed two competing definitions of care at home. The sharpest example was New York City. Its Department of Welfare sought to professionalize its staff of housekeepers by classifying workers as “mothers’ aides” on its Civil Service Roster. At the same time, the city’s Montefiore Hospital pioneered its own home care program—effectively removing home care from the domain of welfare and bringing it into its own medical orbit. “Teamwork” was the new mantra; yet the team involved nurses and social workers and rendered the hours and hours of work by “housekeeper aides” invisible. As Boris and Klein point out, home care’s “hybrid structure—part domestic, part health care”—persisted for the rest of the century (p. 66). And its workers’ place straddling medical and welfare politics, private and public domains, family needs and state prerogatives shaped their struggles to move forward.

Not even the programs of the Great Society—the War on Poverty, Medicare, or Medicaid—could rescue

home care from its New Deal roots. Home care remained primarily a jobs program that could be run by the welfare and medical agencies relatively cheaply. And the welfare wars of the 1960s and 1970s exacerbated this when governments either sub-contracted home care work to private vendors or designated care workers as “independent contractors” without benefits or job security. The tension was palpable. Whose needs were paramount: the needs of individuals and families for affordable home care or the needs of largely poor black and Latina female home care workers for a living wage?

But by the late 1970s the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) in New York City and community organizers in San Diego began a concerted attempt to organize domestic workers. They found increasingly militant African American, Caribbean, and Latina home caregivers. The 1974 expansion of the Fair Labor Standards Act still exempted home care workers as more akin to “companions” than real workers. Unionization was not a foreordained option: unions knew how to organize by site, not by sectors composed of isolated households. Organizers had to relearn everything they thought they knew: how to identify potential members through the vendors that hired them; how to build coalitions with the elder activists who saw mutual interests at stake; and how to create organizations built on a sense of community rather than a shared workspace. The victories of the 1990s were strong. The work of these women and their allies resulted in policies with real economic gains and galvanized a new union idea built around trust, attentiveness, shared interests, and respect for dignity, autonomy, and security.

Would that the story had ended here. Home care workers still labor outside the Fair Labor Standards Act. The recession that began in 2008 saw enormous fiscal pressures on city and state budgets and resulted in cuts to home care spending. Attacks on public sector unionism darkened the picture. Paying decent wages and benefits for home care work remains a defining battle for yet another generation.

PATRICIA D’ANTONIO
University of Pennsylvania

STEPHEN PEMBERTON. *The Bleeding Disease: Hemophilia and the Unintended Consequences of Medical Progress*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 377. \$50.00.

Modern disease management is replete with what sociologists call “manufactured risks” or “manufactured uncertainties.” Distinct from external “threats” (i.e., natural disasters) and external but calculable “risks” (i.e., sickness, unemployment), manufactured risks are the created “risk environments” that depend on modern social construction, are collectively imposed, and lack much historical precedent in terms of finding solutions. The best examples of manufactured uncertainties in modern medicine come from diseases that physicians have rendered chronically manageable but have

not cured. In his broad and substantive history, Stephen Pemberton brings our attention to one such disease: hemophilia.

Hemophilia is the term given to a group of bleeding disorders wherein the body lacks the proteins essential to blood clotting and consequently the blood takes a long time to clot. Those with the disease can experience severe joint and organ damage, along with the constant threat of death caused by bleeding into vital structures or exsanguination. Hemophilia provides a stark example of manufactured uncertainty because the development of concentrated clotting factors simultaneously rendered hemophilia a manageable disease, but also exposed many hemophiliacs to blood-borne pathogens like Hepatitis B, Hepatitis C, and—most tragically—HIV.

Pemberton has devoted considerable attention to the manufactured uncertainties associated with modern chronic disease management in his previous publications. Moreover, before completing his training as a historian, Pemberton worked for three years in the laboratory of renowned hematologist Dr. Kenneth Brinkhous, who discovered antihemophilic factor (Factor VIII) and oversaw a robust coagulation research program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Much of Pemberton's views on hemophilia and the broader history of medicine stem from questions he began asking while working in Brinkhous's lab.

Because others have recounted the history of hemophilia and hemophiliacs, Pemberton's main task here is to highlight the social construction of modern hemophilia therapeutics and its role in the HIV tragedy of the 1980s and 1990s. Beginning in the 1800s, Pemberton traces the modern concept of hemophilia as it emerged in the United States, matured in Germany, and finally blossomed in the early genetics/eugenics movement as "the most hereditary of all diseases." Pemberton pays particular attention to how assumptions about biology, class, race, ethnicity, gender, and culture constructed and managed the disease in this early period. As medicine became more scientific and technological between the 1890s and 1930s, care for hemophiliacs followed suit. Laboratory research transformed hemophilia into a "blood disease," and the technologicalization of medicine encouraged clinicians to begin believing they could one day manage the disease. Advances in blood clotting science and blood transfusion techniques and the "cross-fertilization of ideas and techniques between clinic and laboratory" held considerable promise that life could become "normal" for people with hemophilia.

Pemberton spends considerable time unpacking what this idea of "normality" meant, both for patients and for their families. As the sciences of hematology and transfusion medicine progressed after World War II, the effectiveness of care improved for people with hemophilia. Initially, that might mean extending life for boys and young men through transfusions, so that masculine normality became an aspirational goal. (Pemberton does a good job describing how, while young women can

have hemophilia and von Willebrand disease, hemophilia and normality were deeply gendered concepts.) By the 1960s, with the rise of new plasma treatments—including cryoprecipitate and clotting factor concentrates—hemophilia became a manageable disease such that families began expecting that their afflicted children could live ostensibly normal lives. Throughout the middle of his book, Pemberton carefully traces the complex factors that combined to create this aspiration of normality: medical advances, physicians' faith in medical progress, Americans' expectations of access to advanced medical technology, and the emergent hemophilia community's masculinized aspirations of normality. By the 1970s, these factors coalesced as hemophiliacs and other stakeholders asked the American public to expand the health system to support their right to live "normal" lives. The establishment of federally funded hemophilia treatment centers, Pemberton concludes, shows just how successful their project was.

But then HIV entered the picture and the downside of manufactured risk materialized. Blood factor concentrates, which had won the market and clinical battle over cryoprecipitate, became the vehicle by which thousands of hemophiliacs became infected with HIV. And here the benefits of concentrated blood factor blinded stakeholders to the substantial risks patients faced. As a consequence, upward of 10,000 hemophiliacs in the United States became infected with HIV, as did many others overseas through contaminated blood products (some of which were distributed by American companies even after controls were implemented in the United States). These choices were not inevitable, Pemberton contends, but the earlier factors did create a reciprocal relationship among the medical community, patient families, and the blood industry that made it difficult for them to abandon practice patterns even in the face of compelling evidence. Pemberton goes on to relate the tragic consequences, as well as the efforts of victims and their families to hold various stakeholders accountable for their negligence. He even engages in some counterfactual speculation about what might have happened had stakeholders switched to cryoprecipitate or some alternative methods of disease management. But alas, these choices were impossible, not because history is predetermined, but because the trajectory of manufactured risk is such that, in Western societies, we tend to seek technological solutions to our manufactured problems, in the process creating a whole new set of manufactured risks.

Pemberton has done an admirable job of showing us the vast potential, and substantial limitations, of medical science to solve health problems. He also reminds us of the need to combine communal caution and introspection with any embrace of medical technology, manufactured risks, and social construction of identities if we are to avoid such tragedies in the future. This book is strongly recommended for those studying the history of medicine, the history of medical technology, and the sociology of medicine. The last chapters will

also make valuable reading for classes on the history of HIV/AIDS.

STEPHEN INRIG
University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center

STEPHEN INRIG. *North Carolina and the Problem of AIDS: Advocacy, Politics, and Race in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 208. \$45.00.

Stephen Inrig's history of the how the AIDS epidemic emerged as it did in North Carolina provides further evidence that AIDS is, in the words of media scholar Paula Treichler, an "epidemic of signification." Inrig's research confirms that AIDS spreads along the lines of racial and sexual inequality, as surely as it does through the exchange of HIV-infected bodily fluids. More specifically, Inrig explains how and why HIV/AIDS in the U.S. South was structured as much by the legacy of white supremacy as by homophobia.

Inrig makes a powerful case for why a study of the American South in general and North Carolina in particular is important for understanding how AIDS evolved as it did in 1980s and 1990s America. With its mobilized gay and lesbian community, which was partly responding to vitriolic discrimination from local politicians such as Senator Jesse Helms, a substantial African American population living in the wake of de jure and de facto racial segregation, and a growing biomedical and sociomedical research corridor between Duke University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina provides this historian of medicine with the perfect venue to study both the epidemiology of AIDS as well as the evolution of medical and social responses to it.

Inrig effectively shows how structural, as opposed to individual, factors shaped the North Carolina AIDS epidemic. For example, he discusses the role of incarceration in the sexual health of black men and women, explaining that being imprisoned had a direct effect on sexual practices and prevented claims to positive state interventions. This analysis helps explain how black rural populations became more "vulnerable" to HIV/AIDS than other North Carolinians (pp. 24–25, 66–67).

As is true of much of the literature on responses to AIDS, Inrig spends the bulk of his book talking about the combined successes and failures of the local AIDS service industry. It is not surprising to learn that white gay men led the effort to develop a network of care in the state in the mid-1980s by forming the Lesbian and Gay Health Project (LGHP). Scholars have consistently suggested that gay organizations of this type were almost always all white and did little to deal effectively with the realities of black men who were same-gender loving. On this point Inrig agrees, but it is not entirely clear what we should make of it. He writes, "While [voluntary and anonymous testing and outreach measures] worked within white gay culture, they proved largely ineffective in black gay culture. Black gays remained

largely impervious to AIDS prevention efforts at the end of the 1980s" (p. 56).

Inrig follows that claim with an extended discussion of how African American health care providers and activists began to see AIDS as a problem that directly affected black men and women, whether because of sexual practices, IV drug use, or a combination of both. Although their efforts were hampered at "structural, institutional, cultural and organizational" levels, Inrig is able to use oral histories to describe the evolution and expansion of the AIDS Clearinghouse, a nongovernmental organization under the leadership of Dr. Howard Fitts, head of health education at the historically black North Carolina Central University. Fitts's clearinghouse, among other community-based organizations, provided some support for North Carolina African Americans seeking AIDS services, usually defined as HIV testing. Here, Inrig explores the limits of this approach, especially when addressing the needs of black women in a system "insufficiently equipped to handle their long-term concerns" (p. 87). The preexisting condition of "disease disparity" was simply too great to overcome with a regimen of testing (p. 95).

While I opened the review by suggesting that Inrig's work belongs within the historiography of AIDS as a social and historical construction, I wish he had done more to engage the larger interdisciplinary field of AIDS, particularly work in black queer studies and black feminism. In other places I have criticized political historians for not considering AIDS or the history of sexuality as part of political history. Here, I am troubled by a medical historian who does not sufficiently consider how queer studies has fundamentally shaped our historical understanding of AIDS as a disease organized by race and sexuality. Inrig's book is in conversation with only a tiny sliver of the queer literature on AIDS. He could easily have laid out a much larger argument about the intersection of race, medicine, sexuality, and southern history had he inhabited the nexus of medical history, political history, the history of sexuality, and the history of race. Even as Inrig raises as many questions as he answers, his book deserves attention by historians working in any of these fields.

JENNIFER BRIER
University of Illinois at Chicago

ELIZABETH POPP BERMAN. *Creating the Market University: How Academic Science Became an Economic Engine*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 265. \$35.00.

The Bayh-Dole Act of 1980, which sanctioned and encouraged the patenting of inventions resulting from federally funded research, is the conventional marker for a host of developments that accelerated the commercialization of academic science. The copious literature on this subject largely traces the subsequent history. However, sociologist Elizabeth Popp Berman has analyzed the events preceding those momentous developments. Her account substantially augments our un-

derstanding of the university research system in that era and the process of commercialization that ensued.

The author predicates the study on a shift in “institutional logic” that occurred in these years—from the logic of science to market logic. The terms may seem facile initially, but this perspective is effective in focusing the analysis on changes in thinking that underpinned new policies, which in turn shaped the behavior of scientists and universities. She argues, “the spread of a new idea, that scientific and technological innovation serve as engines of economic growth . . . transform[ed] first the policy arena and eventually universities’ own understanding of their mission” (p. 2). Two interesting chapters ground this argument by explicating both the presence and the weakness of market logic in the 1950s and 1960s, and hence its failure to affect academic research. The gradual advancement of concern for innovation and economic growth followed in the 1970s. The bulk of the study then analyzes its ascendancy in faculty entrepreneurship in the biosciences, university patenting, and university-industry research centers (UIRCs).

The emergence of academic entrepreneurship at the end of the 1970s depended on much more than the scientific breakthroughs in recombinant DNA. Expertise in this arcane field was concentrated in universities; an abundance of venture capital became available to lure somewhat reluctant academic scientists; and Genentech, funded by venture capital, a corporate partnership, and an initial stock offering, presented a compelling organizational model. Arguments based on market logic (innovation) played a supporting role in federal decisions *not* to regulate rDNA and to stimulate venture capital.

In the case of university patenting, as late as 1978 it appeared that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was about to tighten restrictions on discoveries funded by the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Instead, innovation arguments paved the way for Bayh-Dole in 1980. Patenting became far more attractive due to the rise of biotechnology and the strengthening of intellectual property protection. The latter was facilitated by the creation of a separate court to hear patent cases and the Supreme Court decision to allow patents of living organisms.

Subsidized UIRCs were the direct result of government efforts to promote innovation through technology transfer. A small program was initiated by the National Science Foundation (NSF) in 1978, partly to forestall congressional interest in making private firms eligible for NSF research grants. The program generated interest from industry and universities—and government. A number of states introduced programs of this type, and beginning in 1983, NSF greatly enlarged its programs. Industry funding of university research tripled in real terms in the 1980s with much of this activity lodged in UIRCs.

In the concluding chapter, the author critically scrutinizes these developments to determine the causation behind the ascendancy of market logic. Factors motivating universities, industry, and bioscientists are ac-

corded only secondary importance. The prime movers here were the federal and, to a lesser extent, state governments under the sway of “economic rationalization” (p. 175). By this term the author means the ends that justify political action. Specifically, “the rationale for supporting academic science shifted away from expanding knowledge or meeting national needs and toward strengthening innovation and thus economic productivity” (p. 175). Of course, all three rationales continue to operate in our massive, decentralized research system. However, as if to underline Berman’s point, the latest plea for science support from the National Academy of Sciences, *Research Universities and the Future of America: Ten Breakthrough Actions Vital to Our Nation’s Prosperity and Security* (2012), is predicated on university contributions to innovation and economic competitiveness. Economic rationalization has in fact become a pervasive feature of our political culture.

This volume provides the most thorough and balanced account of the advent of commercialization in academic science and its underlying causes.

ROGER L. GEIGER

Pennsylvania State University

CHRISTOPHER C. SELLERS. *Crabgrass Crucible: Suburban Nature and the Rise of Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2012. Pp. 374. \$42.00.

Environmental historians have always known that suburbanites contributed to environmentalism, but Christopher C. Sellers makes a case for environmentalism as a suburban movement, arguing that it developed in the postwar suburbs out of residents’ experiences with the nature they found around them, and well before Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962) found expression in local political action that redefined ideas about nature. Sellers sees environmentalism as distinct from earlier campaigns because it united what had been separate concerns about natural lands and pollution, emphasized participatory democracy rather than expert guidance, and successfully mobilized millions for political change. After discussing changing concepts of the suburbs—originally seen as a kind of country life without the country’s isolation—he devotes three chapters to the suburbanization of Long Island and three more to Los Angeles, ending with one on the environment as a suburban place. This deepens our understanding of the origins of environmentalism, but for full effect the book needs to be read with, and against, earlier scholarship, in particular Adam Rome’s *Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (2001) and Samuel P. Hays and Barbara D. Hays’s *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (1987).

The book’s greatest value lies in its close study of suburbs and suburbanization and how action there, for local nature, affected public opinion. Long Island, the poster child of postwar suburbanization, often appears as a homogenous mass, and Sellers is at pains to dispel

that impression. He examines the variety of habitats destroyed or rearranged to make room for houses and the variety of people who bought them—black and white, upper and middle down to working class—and their experiences, from children catching frogs in still unchanneled creeks to parents challenging aerial spraying of DDT and fighting for clean water. They worked, Sellers says, to save what was around them, paying much less attention to wild lands, even those close by, than to their backyards and parks. His case for a new suburban vision emerges most clearly in the chapter on the fight for clean water, which he presents not simply as an issue of human health or suburban land values but as part of a new understanding of what was natural. Turning to Los Angeles, Sellers brings out another dimension of the story: if historians saw Long Island's suburbs as part of making a city, critics from the first looked on the spread of Los Angeles as a matter of erasing nature. People on the land, he says, were displaced, but nature was often less erased than rearranged. New grasses replaced the old, and the wildlife changed in composition and visibility. (The recent history of coyotes in cities, and conspicuously in Los Angeles, supports this argument.) As with Long Island, Sellers uses individuals' experiences to show suburban dreams cutting across lines of race and class, but in Los Angeles he carries the narrative beyond building the suburbs to those who grew up in them. Their experiences led to an understanding of nature that moved old-line conservation beyond a concern with wild areas far away to local plants and animals. Sellers includes a chapter on smog, but here it is less as a marker of Los Angeles than a counterpoint to Long Island's concern with water, evidence the new movement went beyond "nature" to look at "the environment."

Highlighting the social complexity of the suburban environmental movement, showing its deeply local character, and illuminating changing ideas of nature, *Crabgrass Crucible* develops a strong argument for environmentalism sprouting in the suburbs. It is less successful in showing how elements from outside fertilized the grassroots. The great crusade against DDT, for example, came out of the suburbs and was often fought for the suburbs, but activists there depended on scientists' global vision to frame their cause and on their testimony to make the case. Populist the activists may have been, but they relied on agencies and programs to turn protests into policy. Here we push past Sellers's contribution—showing the suburban origins and populist flavor of environmentalism—to the task of integrating it with earlier scholarship to extend understanding of the origins of this major social cause and political issue.

THOMAS R. DUNLAP
Texas A&M University

THOMAS ROBERTSON. *The Malthusian Moment: Global Population Growth and the Birth of American Environmentalism*. (Studies in Modern Science, Technology, and the Environment.) New Brunswick: Rutgers Uni-

versity Press. 2012. Pp. xix, 291. Cloth \$72.00, paper \$25.95.

Population would seem to be a political thorn in environmentalism's side. But it is more correct to view "population" and "environment" as grafted. They have long been so, and Thomas Robertson's book shows how and why. An important study, it sits as squarely within the history of U.S. foreign affairs as it does within environmental history. It announces the Malthusian moment to be the Cold War, and the Cold War to be the Malthusian moment.

After a short chapter that looks back to the 1920s and 1930s, Robertson focuses on the post-World War II period. The Malthusian moment "begins" in 1948 with a stunning series of publications on world population growth, in particular William Vogt's *Road to Survival* and Fairfield Osborn's *Our Plundered Planet*. Less well known now than Paul Ehrlich's touchstone, *The Population Bomb* (1968), which appeared two decades later, they advanced a similar message and were comparably popular and influential in the late 1940s.

Robertson's book follows Matthew Connelly's *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population* (2008), which foregrounded international (and U.S.-driven) efforts to regulate fertility. Robertson's study explains more about the food security agenda that was behind population control activity and the trend toward integrating population control into U.S. foreign policy. Connelly's was a positioned book, taking intellectual and political issue with the likes of Vogt, Osborn, and Ehrlich. Thanks to such work, we are all fairly familiar with the critique of population control and Malthusianism—feminist, Marxist, postcolonial. But does the critique best explain the likes of Vogt, historically? Robertson thinks not, and his interpretation accrues real freshness in this respect. He is most bold in the preface: "their main concern was not racial or class composition but slowing a headlong rush for economic growth" (p. xv). Other readers will take issue with this claim. I do not. Yet at the same time, such an argument is only possible, or viable to advance, because of the strength of the preexisting critique.

It takes some skill and commitment to write a measured history of historical figures that held extreme views. By any measure, Vogt was one. The outspoken ornithologist shifted his attention from birds to human population dynamics. His apocalyptic views about the limits to growth were both a thorn in capitalists' collective side and a spur to limit fertility rates locally and globally, especially of the eugenically less "desirable" as he would have put it. Robertson's assessment balances an acknowledgement of Vogt's views on race with an overdue investigation of his anti-growth agenda that will sit rather more comfortably with present-day environmentalists in this account of their political birth.

Similarly, Robertson presents the many sides of Ehrlich in an exceptional chapter on the 1960s. Vogt's *Road to Survival* inspired Ehrlich as an undergraduate, but it was evolutionary theory's "modern synthesis" that

engaged the latter as a researcher in biology. Robertson explains the enduring link between ecology in its technical guise (often not about humans at all) and ecology as the emerging political and popular movement (with humans-in-nature at its center). Ecology as evolutionary biology is key to understanding the population problem, as that generation comprehended it. This has been obscured in many ways by critiques of population control as racist and sexist: correct, but dominating. We might (and should) still assess “population control” thus, but Robertson explains the evolution of Ehrlich through population biology specifically. That is what he took into the political world of the 1960s. Robertson then traces his engagement with “race” in the context of domestic civil rights and of international development, in this case, India. All this is located, brilliantly, in the Bay Area. The chapter reminds me of David Livingstone’s call to “put science in its place”; here it is in exemplary operation.

Robertson’s temporal scope is large. If my own work on anglophone world population anxiety tends to look backward to the nineteenth century, his looks forward. In the process Robertson offers an insightful interpretation of the 1970s, showing a decline in anxiety about population growth in a final chapter on Reagan-era New Right economists. He takes the reader up to the end of the Cold War, but not into the late twentieth century. There, perhaps, and in our own time, lies another turn in the fortunes of population control and environmentalism as foreign policy. Along with a suite of recent studies of the Cold War, this is an international history that is in the end a history of the United States: explicitly so. Unsurprisingly, it therefore underscores a U.S.-dominated version of the twentieth century that non-U.S. readers perceive readily. Nonetheless, Robertson’s book confirms a new generation of historians who are clarifying just what else that key international history moment was about.

ALISON BASHFORD
University of Sydney

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

KRISTEN BLOCK. *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition, and the Politics of Profit*. (Early American Places.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 309. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95, e-book \$24.95.

In this innovative work, Kristen Block uses the life stories of a handful of individuals to create an entry into the religious realm of the early colonial Caribbean. Specifically, she seeks to study the ways in which Christianity enabled both inclusion and exclusion in colonial society, and how it guided the means by which those near the bottom of the ladder might pursue justice and upward mobility. Her conclusion is that, from the middle of the seventeenth century, religion came to matter less and less, increasingly trumped by race and by the

imperatives of a virulent variety of plantation capitalism that had little respect for theological subtleties.

Employing an unusually broad comparative framework, Block finds her examples in four distinct settings. The first three are located on Spanish colonial soil. Part one follows the experience of a creole woman who ran away from her cruel mistress and stood trial in 1639 in the port city of Cartagena de Indias, on the coast of modern Colombia. Part two concerns the heresy of a Frenchman living in Jamaica, charged with the heresy of Calvinism in 1652. These two examples depend heavily on the voluminous archives of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, particularly the tribunal established in 1610 at Cartagena de Indias. For fine-textured description such materials are hard to beat: the threat of torture and the spectacle of the *auto de fe* drew confessional statements from heart and soul. These records have rarely been exploited by historians of the Caribbean, partly because, although they serve well the purpose of investigating inner, spiritual lives, they are rather less revealing about everyday life. Inevitably, files grow thick where things have gone against the grain, disrupting the pattern of normal life and creating an eventful archive. They throw light on the ordinary because they connect, even tangentially, with the extraordinary.

Part three of Block’s study draws on the journal kept by an English sailor as a participant in Oliver Cromwell’s Western Design, a strategy intended to remove the Catholic Spanish from Santo Domingo and make the island of Hispaniola a Protestant English colony. Part four is set in English Barbados, stretching over the second half of the seventeenth century, and concerns an enslaved man and woman whose shadowy lives were entwined with that of their sugar-planting master, whose soul-searching led him to a problematic conversion to Quakerism. Here the emphasis shifts to the spiritual and economic life of the planter, which was hardly ordinary. His story is a vital link in Block’s interpretation, however, because the chapters on Barbados are the only ones to provide glimpse of plantation agriculture. The other examples all occur in essentially urban settings, prior to the so-called Sugar Revolution.

Readers will differ in their responses to the individual stories told in this book. Lives make little sense without their contexts, and the richer the texture that envelops the telling of any one person’s experience, the more compelling the historical analysis. What is gained by centering the narrative on the particular lives of a few individuals rather than giving priority to the larger themes and forces driving the development of the “context”? Block’s book is good at illuminating the larger picture but sometimes the individual stories seem to get in the way of pursuing the ramifications of institutions and tendencies.

For example, Block provides a thoughtful and detailed account of the Inquisition in the New World, but this discussion is scattered across several chapters and several lives and makes relatively little connection with an existing and extensive historiography. She also demonstrates convincingly that enslaved people were often

well versed in the details of slave law, using this knowledge selectively to improve their chances of gaining an advantage. It was also useful for those accused of offenses against the Roman Catholic Church to know the arcane detail of ritual and doctrine: when to seek salvation through conversion (even as a fake), and when blasphemy and profanity were more likely to open doors. On these and other topics, the endnotes provide rich pickings, often containing important comparative information from other regions of the Americas and the Atlantic Islands, material that could not find a place in the text without attenuating the life stories. Further, the construction of context frequently depends on taking as examples the differing experiences of people other than the central characters of the book.

Block's book can be read simultaneously on two different levels. Some will choose to follow the biographical narratives, picking up what seems necessary to understanding each particular story along the way. Others will mine what is useful in the contextual analysis, without worrying too greatly whether the individual experience is somehow representative or unique. In any case, individual experience is commonly complex, flawed, and contradictory, as wonderfully exemplified by the people brought to life in Block's excellent book, people struggling to find their feet on the margins of the colonial world.

B. W. HIGMAN

Australian National University

LINDA M. RUPERT. *Creolization and Contraband: Curaçao in the Early Modern Atlantic World*. (Early American Places.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 347. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95, e-book \$24.95.

In this book, Linda M. Rupert offers the most complete history to date of the Dutch colony of Curaçao in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More than simply a social and economic history, Rupert's study joins those of a growing number of scholars of the Atlantic world who call for a reconsideration of the meaning and importance of contraband trade. Largely focusing on early modern Atlantic empires' colonial possessions, recent work has argued that smuggling was widespread, economically significant, and understood by participants not as criminal activity but as a necessary adaptation of metropolitan commercial restrictions. Rupert largely finds a similar situation in Curaçao. She expands on earlier works by tying economic and cultural behavior—topics often treated separately—together. In so doing Rupert engages another massive literature in Atlantic history: that on creolization. Contraband and creolization, Rupert argues, were both part of the same process through which colonists worked to determine their own futures and to “define the parameters of [their] colonies,” and thus those of early modern empires themselves (p. 250).

Although neglected by the Spanish who first colonized the island, Curaçao found its greatest success as the host of cross-national exchange. The arrival of Eng-

lish and then Dutch adventurers hoping to trade for provisions (the Spanish had settled large herds of livestock on Curaçao) as they trafficked with Spain's colonies along the northern coast of Spanish America brought together denizens of the small colony and two diaspora communities who would shape the island's economy and culture. African slaves were the first of these groups to arrive and soon became central to Curaçao's maritime economy. A century later, with the colony now in the control of the Dutch West India Company (WIC), economic opportunities drew Sephardic Jewish merchants to Curaçao. These two intertwined communities would drive much of the island's trade.

The WIC's decision to make Curaçao a free port in 1675 helped it grow into a major intercolonial commercial center. Located strategically in the western Caribbean close to Tierra Firme (modern-day Venezuela), Curaçao quickly became a regional entrepôt that linked (often illegally) producers of tropical commodities in Spanish, French, and English colonies to the markets of Amsterdam. Sephardic merchants, with personal and kinship ties interwoven throughout the Atlantic, controlled much of Curaçao's interimperial exchange but they depended on enslaved and free Africans working in the maritime economy to make trade possible. The deepening involvement of these two groups in illicit trade with Spanish colonies in the eighteenth century intersects with Rupert's theme of creolization. The contraband trade, which depended on the skills and networks of both Afro-Curaçaoans and Sephardic traders, created local opportunities for interactions that cut across ethnicity, religion, and social class and operated independently of “wider imperial and global dynamics” (p. 164). One distinctive result of these interactions was the development of a unique Curaçaoan vernacular language, Papiamentu.

The story of Papiamentu is perhaps the best example of the interdependence of economic and cultural practice in Rupert's book. Based on Iberian linguistic structures, Papiamentu developed out of the cultural and economic interaction of Africans and Europeans in the maritime economy before spreading to become the island's lingua franca, where it further linked non-elites, whether they were white or black, Jewish or Catholic, Sephardim or Afro-Curaçaoan. At other times, however, Rupert pushes the links between cultural identity and economic behavior too far. She argues, for example, that Sephardim in Curaçao had such success in smuggling because of their experience with “the surreptitious exercise of forbidden Jewish practices” (p. 45). It is clear that Sephardic traders were central in making interimperial trade possible, but the international configuration of the diaspora and their experience navigating political boundaries, rather than their ability to worship secretly, best explains their success. After all, as Rupert notes, Jews in Curaçao worshipped openly (five synagogues operated in Curaçao by 1696), and the limited historical record makes it almost impossible to ascribe particular religious practice or iden-

tification to those who did not declare their beliefs openly. Instead of focusing on habits of secrecy, a more compelling way to shed light on the relationship between religious identity and economic behavior in Curaçao might have been to examine the ways that Afro-Curaçaoans' Catholicism (administered with permission of the WIC by the Bishop of Venezuela) shaped both the close intercolonial ties they built with their partners in Spanish colonies and their ties to the Jewish traders who owned them.

Based on a deep reading of evidence from Latin American, Dutch, Spanish, and British archives, Rupert's book should find purchase with historians of the Atlantic and early modern empires. Her tying together of creolization and contraband and her attention to the wider contexts within which Curaçaoans lived mean that this book's themes resonate beyond the small island at its center.

CHRISTIAN J. KOOT
Towson University

BRIAN L. MOORE and MICHELE A. JOHNSON. *"They Do as They Please": The Jamaican Struggle for Cultural Freedom after Morant Bay*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 580. \$65.00.

The present volume continues Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson's pioneering work, *Neither Led Nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865–1920* (2004), which explored in fascinating detail the "war for civilization" (p. 5) that gripped Jamaica with growing intensity after the Morant Bay rebellion of 1865. Following a two-year drought, Jamaican peasants arose in protest when their pleas for access to crown lands to regenerate the rural economy were denied. The uprising, which initially involved only a few hundred men and women, was brutally suppressed by rampaging soldiers and quickly followed by summary executions. In order to preserve white rule in the longer term, the Jamaica Assembly was dissolved and replaced by direct British rule in the form of crown colony government.

In essence, the "war for civilization" is presented by the authors as the continued suppression of black Jamaica by other means. The planter class, Christian missionaries, and British colonial authorities all denigrated the African-oriented, Jamaican creole culture and extolled the virtues of white, British cultural mores. The black peasantry responded by prosecuting a struggle for "cultural self-determination" (p. 7). Moore and Johnson's work to reconstruct the rich culture of the black Jamaican masses is given added impetus by what they regard as the continued maligning of black Jamaican culture in a postcolonial context (p. xii).

While asserting the importance of the African contribution to Jamaican creole culture, the authors are equally attuned to the ambiguities and tensions inherent in British colonial policy toward, and missionary activity amongst, all layers of Jamaican society. Despite the stratification of Jamaican society along racial lines,

by the latter decades of slavery a distinct Jamaican culture was shared by white planters, black slaves, and the free colored population. Missionaries, reformers, and Britons not associated with the slave trade regarded all forms of Jamaican society as inferior and degraded. As such the civilizing mission extended to white as well as black Jamaica.

White planters resisted the "fervent anglophilia" (p. 5) of cultural reformers whose civilizing mission aimed to ensure all Jamaicans regarded themselves as British subjects. But, regardless of color, many Jamaicans also "selectively embraced elements of the imported Victorian culture that they felt could improve their social status" (pp. 6–7). This was particularly true for the black and brown middle classes who acquired British tastes and education to advance their careers and standing in the eyes of the colonial state. In so doing, these Jamaicans presented themselves as loyal subjects of Queen Victoria and placed themselves above the black peasantry and emerging working class, whom they regarded as unprepared for enfranchisement and independent political representation. This sentiment was still evident among leading Jamaican intellectual figures such as Marcus Garvey and Dr. Robert Love, who sought to uplift black Jamaicans in the early decades of the twentieth century (pp. 108–109).

The volume provides vast insight into the material culture, intellectual activity, and leisure activities of mid-nineteenth- to early twentieth-century Jamaican culture. However, I will focus on Moore and Johnson's study of Jamaican oral culture, which provides some exemplary insights into Jamaican life in general. Indeed, as the authors argue, "[l]anguage lies at the core of a people's culture" (p. 82). For Moore and Johnson, Jamaican creole—more accurately *Jamaican*—"was one of the prime areas in which the culture war was fought" (p. 95). They argue the Jamaican "nation language" is a truly creole creation, a language in its own right that originated from both indigenous and migrant groups to Jamaica. Contemporary observers and colonial officials, however, insisted that Jamaican was a broken form of English, regardless of how difficult it proved to fit into the Standard form (pp. 83–85).

Moore and Johnson argue for a cultural continuum in which the majority of Jamaicans were Creole-dominant bilinguals who used English in monitored speech and creole in unmonitored conversation (p. 88). Imperial English was only spoken consistently by a very small minority, usually white expatriates. Nevertheless, Jamaicans struggled to enjoy full recognition. It became commonplace for self-conscious members of the black and brown middle class to publically caricature a language associated with the peasantry (p. 91). Some even suggested that Jamaican publications containing dialect be boycotted for presenting the wrong impression of Jamaica to the world at large.

Nevertheless, Jamaican began to enjoy greater recognition when incorporated into the work of writers such as Claude McKay, Hubert De Lisser, and Tom Redcam. This did not mean Jamaican was accorded

equal status. McKay, for example, felt it was not capable of conveying complex emotions and ideas (p. 96) and was ultimately forced to further his writing career abroad, for, as a black Jamaican, his success brought into question white tutelage and privilege. Furthermore, while “[h]is success had put Jamaica on the map . . . his success was based on poetry that often used the people’s ‘debased’ language” (p.137).

In their own practices the authors reflect the ambiguities and contradictions of the continuing struggle between Jamaican culture and the values of the former colonial power. While the accounts of white travel writers and colonial elites are clearly read against the grain in order to uncover the voices of black Jamaica, a curious power is also given to them. It is assumed the reader is already familiar with travel writers such as Alpheus Verrill and Winifred James, who are presented as authoritative without an attempt to situate or contextualize their work.

Simultaneously, the authors can barely contain their disdain for the white and colored Jamaican elite and middle classes, sharing in some ways the attitude of the metropolitan British who sought to culturally invigorate the island in the latter years of the nineteenth century. The Institute of Jamaica, established in 1879 to “promote some of the higher branches of education” (p. 110), is thus described as “an ambitious project” for “a society whose elite and middle classes were devoid of any serious inclinations towards intellectual pursuits” (p. 111). The anglophile Jamaican historian and librarian of the Institute, Frank Cundall, possibly hinted at the underlying issue when he declared “the English are not an art-loving people by nature” (p. 147); perhaps the Jamaican elite merely reflected the underlying anti-intellectualism of the imperial project.

RICHARD SMITH

Goldsmiths University of London

CHRISTOPHER R. BOYER, editor. *A Land between Waters: Environmental Histories of Modern Mexico*. (Latin American Landscapes.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 307. \$55.00.

There is a notable dearth of environmental histories of Mexico despite the country’s complex and dynamic history of human interactions with non-human nature. This book, the first edited collection of essays in English on the environmental history of modern Mexico—defined here as the late eighteenth century to the present—brings together recent, cutting-edge work. As editor Christopher R. Boyer indicates in his introductory chapter, the collection is not intended to be an “encyclopedic approach to the Mexican environment” but rather an “‘invitation’ to Mexican environmental history . . . presenting a snapshot” of current historiography (p. 14). It does a fine job. Bookended by Boyer’s introduction and a conclusion by Cynthia Radding are ten historical case studies by eleven scholars whose research has redefined how we understand environmental and social change in Mexico.

In “The Cycles of Mexican Environmental History,” Boyer argues that Mexico’s environmental history is marked by a cyclical pattern of economic expansion, generally reinforced by state centralization, and economic contraction, historically connected to political decentralization. Whereas elite investment and technological advances brought on by increasing state power have induced more intensive uses of nature, economic decline has led to more extensive uses by popular and elite actors under little government direction. Through this interpretation of the nation’s environmental history, Boyer seeks to undermine declensionist narratives prevalent in earlier Mexican environmental historiography. As a novel, *longue durée* approach to the political economy of environmental change, the essay captures a major strand of the case studies that follow. However, it is less effective at explaining how environmental conflict and power have shaped local environments and the appropriation of nature.

Indeed, the power relations embedded in both the use of nature and environmental change are a recurrent theme in most—if not all—of the case studies. This subject matter can be divided into three subthemes: the politics of knowledge and technology, the relationship between environment and class, and the historical struggles involving the dispossession and creation of common resources. Essays by Angus Wright, Rick López, Luis Aboites, and Sterling Evans in particular exemplify the ways in which scientific knowledge and technology combined to shape power and alter social relations, either reinforcing inequalities or unleashing challenges to them. Wright shows how Green Revolution technologies implemented in Mexico’s arid north were justified by extensive soil degradation, ostensibly caused by peasant agricultural practices in central Mexico. Rather than investing in soil conservation, the government supported industrialized agriculture where migrants from exhausted lands toiled in toxic fields. In ■ fascinating account of Mexico’s Royal Botanical expedition (1787–1793), López shows how the expedition delegitimized Mexican botanic knowledge in favor of an Enlightenment-driven, Linnean framework. Aboites discusses the role of the postrevolutionary state in funding water-supply projects in Mexico’s cities from the 1930s to the 1970s. Federal funding enabled urban residents across Mexico to negotiate their own place in a water-abundant and sewage-free modernity. In the 1980s, however, federal disinvestment provoked numerous conflicts over failing water-supply systems. Evans argues that new technologies developed to cut grain and bind it with twine forged what he terms the “henequen-wheat complex,” a transnational economy centered on the cultivation of henequen in Yucatán. With demand for twine skyrocketing in North America, the state’s elite dispossessed Mayan peasants of their common lands.

Chapters by Myrna Santiago, Wright, and Micheline Cariño and Mario Monteforte—who discuss the labor regime of pearl and nacre fisheries in Baja California—shed new light on the interwoven histories of class, la-

bor, and environment. Santiago, in particular, examines how one's position in the relations of production of Veracruz's petroleum industry conditioned both conceptions of nature and material life in the tropical environment. Low-level workers bore the brunt of natural and human-made hazards, and industrial health risks influenced worker protest, which culminated in the 1938 nationalization decree.

The contributions by José Juan Juárez Flores, Alejandro Tortolero, and Emily Wakild (as well as those of Evans and Cariño and Monteforte) highlight the dynamic history involving the enclosure and creation of Mexico's commons. Juárez Flores examines the dispossession of communal forests in Tlaxcala during the Porfiriato (1876–1911) while Wakild explains that Mexican conservationists of the 1930s, in contrast to many of their homologues around the world, sought to balance communal land uses and preservation of the nation's natural patrimony. Tortolero casts an environmental lens upon sugar production in Morelos and the conflicts that gave rise to Emiliano Zapata's revolutionary struggle. Tortolero argues that, contrary to standard interpretations, sugar planters appropriated community water to boost production, and water dispossession became a wellspring of peasant discontent.

Two other themes are prominent in this rich collection of essays: the environmental dimensions of commodity economies and the historicization of sustainability—that long-sought goal in Mexico. The worldwide demand for Mexican-produced commodities drastically altered landscapes, reconfigured political power, and transformed the way people lived in their environments. Commodity economies have long been associated with unbridled extraction—look no further than Eduardo Galeano's "open veins of Latin America"—but Martín Sánchez Rodríguez and Cariño and Monteforte hint that certain historic production technologies can ground a more sustainable future. Sánchez Rodríguez suggests that flood farming, a Bajío landowner adaptation to Mexico's tempestuous weather patterns, might serve as an example. Cariño and Monteforte aver that early twentieth-century pearl aquaculture—though rooted in sustaining profit—can instruct us about new ways to manage fishery commons.

These studies span over two centuries and cover a wide array of topics. They combine Mexico's strong tradition of social history with the emerging fields of environmental history and the history of science. All of them, as Radding observes in her conclusion, sharpen our understanding of "the materiality of living in and transforming the landscapes that provide physical sustenance and meaning" (pp. 293–294). They largely transcend narratives of inexorable environmental decline while simultaneously underscoring the myriad actors involved in environmental change and the ways power is reflected in and produced by non-human nature.

That said, the book leaves two important subjects unexamined. First, only López broaches the question of whether nature itself might be an agent in human history. More research is needed on the ways interactions

between humans and non-human nature are affected by natural and socio-natural processes. Second, with the exception of Aboites's work on urban water supply and Wakild, who uses Mexico City's renowned Chapultepec Park as a parable of conservation and the search for the commons, Mexico's urban environmental history remains uncharted territory—despite the fact that by 1960 a majority of Mexicans resided in urban areas. These shortcomings reflect the newness of Mexican environmental history and the breadth of germane historical topics more than failings on the part of the contributors. The essays ask intriguing questions that open up new lines of research into Mexican history and use an environmental lens to challenge traditional historiography. A fine and necessary addition to the literature, this book will be valuable to Mexicanists of all stripes and may be appropriate for upper-level undergraduates.

MATTHEW VITZ

*Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas,
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*

SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA. *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico, 1750–1856*. (The Mexican Experience.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 317.

Sonya Lipsett-Rivera opens her exploration of space and embodiment in urban Mexico with the provocative observation that her Mexican friends and family contend that "many Mexican women sought out [domestic] abuse because it was proof of their husbands' or lovers' affection," making them "eager victims" (p. ix). Convinced that neither her own encounters with women nor the documentary record on violence involving women sustains this belief, she sets out instead to understand the ritualized grammar of quotidian violence and its connections to honor. Drawing principally on prescriptive literature and criminal court records from Mexico City and Puebla, Lipsett-Rivera examines the ways that elites and non-elites alike navigated social spaces and embodied performances that defined normative conceptions of gender and respectability.

Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life joins a growing body of scholarship on what Lipsett-Rivera calls middle-period Mexico, encompassing the late colonial and early national periods, as well as the considerable literature on honor and violence. The periodization shifts our gaze from political power and economic processes, reminding us of the micro-historians' observation that people generally develop their own subjectivities with minimal concern for contemporary political events—as if the wars and invasions and political struggles that this period witnessed all "were happening somewhere else" (p. 20). To her surprise, she ends up telling a story not about change over time but rather about apparent stability in concepts of honor, both as status and as virtue, over a dramatic century in central Mexican history. Divided into two parts, one on spaces and the other on bodies, this book illuminates the com-

plex calculations that Mexicans of varying status made as they entered or left social spaces: where they should stand or sit, how they should wear their clothes or hair, whether they should leave doors and windows open or closed. Indeed, she offers an architectural historian's attention to the specificities of Mexican architecture and the ways they both reflected and informed social practices.

Although Lipsett-Rivera acknowledges the limitation of her source base—court cases involving women as either perpetrators or victims of violence—she might have squeezed more social historical or ethno-historical observations from her evidence. The book offers many tantalizing observations—that Nahuatl notions of honor resemble Spanish concepts (pp. 16, 144), that the countryside is more sexualized and dangerous than the city (p. 125), that plebeian actors have their own codes of honor and violence that remained illegible to elites (pp. 11, 140), or that spatial orderings reflect moral judgments (pp. 44–47)—but supports these assertions only with anecdotal evidence gleaned from court records and the abstracted recommendations of etiquette books. Quantitative representation of court cases might have strengthened her claims to representativeness. A closer ethno-historical analysis based in Lockhart-school new philology might have allowed her to go beyond generalizations about Nahuatl culture and projections forward to the late colonial period. More critical attention to the production and circulation of visual sources might reveal more about efforts to police social mores.

Lipsett-Rivera's use of court records raises particular questions about periodization and methodology. Those unfamiliar with Mexican judicial practice will have to look elsewhere for a basic explanation of how criminal cases progressed and what plaintiffs and defendants might expect from the process. In her effort to decenter the independence rebellions, she also sidelines any discussion of how the change from colonial to national governance changed legal practice. As she notes, racial designations vanished from the court records after independence (p. 24) —a fact that must bear upon her assertions about the articulation between honor and whiteness in cases involving violence (pp. 163, 167). Finally, recent scholarship about Spanish American legal culture and the production of legal documentations has underscored the need for more nuanced analyses of the narratives presented in court records, which reflect both mediation by scribes and notaries and prevailing narratives of legitimate legal claims.

The book gestures to the immense possibility of putting some of these observations in a broader frame. Lipsett-Rivera cites scholarship on the nineteenth-century United States, eighteenth-century London, and early modern Amsterdam as well as literature on Spanish America beyond New Spain. Scholars of other regions might turn to her visual and textual depictions of domestic interiors that set in relief what is particularly Mexican about this story; the specificities of Mexican architecture and street life that Lipsett-Rivera expli-

cates so clearly inform different conceptions of gender and honor than, say, Federal-style houses in contemporary New York City or Parisian neoclassicism.

This book would serve best in an undergraduate course as a way to introduce students to compelling questions about what counts as history and the ways that history is shaped by elements that we often take as background, as the unexamined common sense that shapes social interactions.

JOCELYN OLCOTT
Duke University

WILLIAM J. SUAREZ-POTTS. *The Making of Law: The Supreme Court and Labor Legislation in Mexico, 1875–1931*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 348. \$60.00.

From the moment Vicente Fox registered his historic defeat of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI) in Mexico's 2000 presidential elections, labor law reform became a high priority issue for the new government. Fox's neo-liberal business allies sought to liberate employers from anachronistic restrictions on their right to hire and fire workers. Hopeful reformers wanted to abolish legal mechanisms that underpinned corrupt union bossism and undermined struggles to democratize unions. Promulgated in 1931, the *Ley Federal de Trabajo* (Federal Labor Law, or LFT) had marked the first legislative triumph of Mexico's National Revolutionary Party (later the PRI). It bolstered and then outlived the ruling party's seventy-year grip on power. As we learn in *The Making of Law*, the same forces demanding legal reform today—conservative business groups and leftist union activists—also denounced it back then. The debates preceding the law's passage conclude William J. Suarez-Potts's legal history of Mexican labor, a story that begins a half century earlier as liberal intellectuals contemplate the free labor rights of indebted rural peons.

Suarez-Potts's objective is to trace the "history of the development of labor law" (p. 1), not its immediate or long-term consequences. The book's major protagonists are the Supreme Court judges who debated, adjudicated, and thereby "made" Mexican labor law up to 1931. Suarez-Potts divides his eight chapters evenly between the Porfirian (1875–1911) and revolutionary eras. Early chapters illustrate ideological responses to the "social question" produced by nascent industrialization—intellectual discourses drawing on Mexican liberalism and European strains of legal, socialist, and Catholic thought. The author suggests a precedential link between Porfirian legal discourse and the labor rights written into Article 123 of the 1917 Constitution. The book then traces the legal and institutional developments provoked by revolution: Mexico's first Labor Department (1911), ad hoc labor decrees by revolutionary generals (1914–1915), the drafting of Article 123 (1917), the enactment of irregular and inconsistently enforced state labor laws (1920s), and the resulting debates that produced the LFT in 1931. Suarez-Potts il-

illustrates how long and why political elites from President Álvaro Obregón onward strove to federalize labor law: to codify and standardize workers' constitutional rights, quell inter-union violence, and harmonize industrial relations to promote development. The LFT strengthened executive authority significantly, since "Article 123's delegation of jurisdiction of labor matters to the states [had] actually functioned to weaken the federal government's power" (p. 144). Foreseeing its implications, business lobbyists decried "forced unionization" while communist labor activists feared the corporatist control of unions that soon came to pass.

Suarez-Potts re-examines this well-documented history from the novel if narrow perspective of Supreme Court judges. He exhaustively researched the Court's published opinions to analyze the legal arguments through which the making of law proceeded. His well-intended efforts to synthesize complex legal arguments result in some convoluted sentences. However, the study augments our understanding of 1920s labor history by documenting the adjudication of cases in two key arenas. Suarez-Potts illustrates why federal judges progressively granted binding authority to state labor boards, which "as administrative bodies were not subject to the same exacting standard as law courts" (p. 196). The author notes that judicial decisions often just "mattered as doctrine" because the failure of enforcement remained "notoriously frequent" (p. 217). Meanwhile, the Court constrained the government's unconstitutional attempts to exert executive authority over industrial relations, prompting the state's astute creation of federal labor boards to oversee strategic industries like oil, mining, and railways. Yet the subsequent jurisdictional division between state and federal boards remains unexplained, while readers barely hear the equally consequential debates regarding the legal validation of closed-shop agreements (the "exclusion clause"), which institutionalized union bosses' control of rank-and-file workers.

Suarez-Potts acknowledges that labor struggle played a role in the making of Mexican law. But he glosses over the historical context of intense labor unrest, fatal inter-union battles, and employer resistance. Readers unfamiliar with Mexican labor history gain little insight into how non-judicial actors like workers, industrialists, or union activists (other than Vicente Lombardo Tolezano) perceived the law and its effects. Indeed, the author remains curiously disengaged from recent labor histories of industrial Monterrey or the central textile belt that highlight struggles to enforce workers' constitutional rights in workplaces and arbitration courts from 1910 to 1931. *The Making of Law* will definitely find an audience among Latin Americanists interested in comparative labor law, and it will hopefully inspire Mexicanists to investigate the legal history of agrarian reform. Most importantly, Suarez-Potts's use of judicial records should provoke further research into the post-revolutionary decades, when the LFT went into effect with great consequence for workers, employers, and a ruling party that built an enduring political machine

upon the state's legal capacity to structure industrial relations and tame a once-militant labor movement.

MICHAEL SNODGRASS

Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis

STEVEN B. BUNKER. *Creating Mexican Consumer Culture in the Age of Porfirio Díaz*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 333. \$50.00.

Steven B. Bunker offers a corrective to the prevailing view that commercial modernization at the turn of the twentieth century in Mexico City was top-down and excluded lower classes from the emerging consumerism. He argues that the phenomenon arose also from the bottom, where ordinary Mexicans "refashioned hybrid identities and patterns of consumption" (p. 7). Instead of exposing growing distance between rich and poor, consumption became a "new and unifying identity" (p. 14). Bunker explores touchstones of consumption in the era when Mexico City grew into a cosmopolitan hub that touted its progress in advertisements on tramcars, storefront windows, and even in the mouth of a mechanical dog. Bunker provides detailed histories of key Mexican institutions that had not previously received thorough scholarly attention. Through increased production and advertising, these companies, stores, and entrepreneurs helped boost domestic consumption and extended a new "consumer culture."

The book first discusses the Buen Tono cigarette company and follows the rise of its founder, French immigrant Ernest Pugibet, who capitalized on infrastructural innovations and presented a novel product to urban masses. Railroads brought new supplies of tobacco to industrialists like Pugibet, who mechanized production and popularized cigarettes through advertisement that identified them as accessible "icons of progress." Buen Tono made appeals across the social spectrum through tiered brands (ranging from "High Life" to "La Popular"), niche advertising, and newfangled public spectacles like a blimp and an elegant suit with blinking lights that displayed a cigarette brand named for a French opera diva. Cigarettes fit well with Bunker's argument that modern consumption was not exclusive to the wealthy. His analysis of working-class newspapers likewise shows how consumption among the poor went beyond essentials to include entertainment, furniture, and clothing.

The book then turns to more upscale consumption at the Palacio de Hierro department store. Founded by Barcelonnette immigrants in 1891, the store's elevators, window displays, and variety of products were "metaphors for modernization and benchmarks of urban progress" (p. 141). Bunker shows how the Palacio and other stores transformed not only the city's landscape, but also what, how, and why at least some Mexicans consumed. He notes that the towering stores filled with a dazzling array of goods "made modernity more tangible for urban Mexicans" (p. 99).

However, it is often unclear who these Mexicans were and how their interaction with consumerism may have

varied. Bunker stops short of conflating “ties for gentlemen,” “articles for cyclists,” and other goods from Palacio de Hierro with cheap cigarettes. But he does not clarify their theoretical and practical differences either. In much of the book, he employs the ambiguous category of “*gente decente*,” by which he refers more to a cultural paradigm than to an identifiable group. Indeed, members ranged from “semiskilled laborers to business leaders,” united only in their embrace of consumption (p. 132). This elasticity allows Bunker to argue that department stores represented a “democratization of luxury” in which “the rich lady . . . stands side by side with the poor weather-beaten Indian” (p. 133). Evidence for such allegations is anecdotal, and the author omits sources—such as semiskilled laborers’ wages and department store prices—that could test the unifying effects of consumerism.

The incongruence between Mexico’s deep social distinctions and the supposed cross-class embrace of consumer culture leads to equivocation and an often disjointed narrative. Bunker convincingly argues that modern advertising and novel goods had allure for Mexicans across the social spectrum. However, evidence in the book suggests that consumerism heightened class differences at least as much as it provided a “new and unifying identity.” From his initial position that consumption was a positive “measure of the popular and participatory nature of the Mexican modernization process” (p. 2), Bunker gradually backpedals. In the final chapters, he adds “so-called” to the “democratization of luxury,” concedes that the *gente decente* was a “comparatively small” proportion of Mexico (p. 190), and recognizes that rulers sought to marginalize the “majority of the popular classes,” whether or not they smoked industrial cigarettes (p. 212). By the end, we are back to the Mexico City rent with class and racial conflict as presented in most recent studies.

These inconsistencies are unfortunate because *Creating Mexican Consumer Culture* is lively and informative. Bunker’s treatment of advertising technology is as intriguing as his discussion of how shoplifters patterned their dress, gestures, and speech after the expectations of clerks in upscale stores. His analysis of a jewelry heist does justice to the nuances of the crime and captures the lurid descriptions of the press. Although less than a “reconceptualization of Porfirian modernization” (p. 234), the book effectively shows that advertisements and novel goods were central to notions of progress and, accordingly, to the transformation of Mexico.

ROBERT WEIS

University of Northern Colorado

ROBERT WEIS. *Bakers and Basques: A Social History of Bread in Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 217. \$29.95.

Unlike previous studies of Basque immigrants in Latin America, which tend toward hagiographic prosopography, Robert Weis’s book analyzes the social, political, and economic relationships that bound Basque bakers

not just to one another, but also to the workers, consumers, competitors, and political institutions around them in Mexico City. In Weis’s account, they emerge as market innovators who helped expand consumer access to bread, but who also became a regressive force in labor relations and in the development of competitive capitalism. Weis’s account of bread in Mexico City from the colonial era through the 1930s shines as a case study of the rise of a form of economic patronage and monopoly capitalism that continues to plague Mexico.

The book opens with an analysis of colonial-era regulations that were supposed to create a stable system in which a large number of medium-sized producers met the demands of the Mexico City consumers for low priced bread of predictable quality. In the late colonial era, after a group of Spanish elite had manipulated the guild system so as to dominate the bread market, and amid growing concerns about the effects of the insurgency, the government stepped back from its regulatory role to see if market forces might do a better job of creating competition and preventing scarcity. After independence from Spain in 1821 the new government embraced this free market model. Weis affirms the interpretation of the early nineteenth century as an era of “war, riots, and instability” but adds that it also was a period of opportunity for the small-scale entrepreneurs who replaced monopolists in the provision of internal markets such as bread (p. 29).

By mid-century, a small group of Basque immigrants drew upon kin networks and a tight ethnic identity to gain control over almost half of the expanding bread market. Weis finds that these immigrants from Navarre brought almost no bread-making experience with them and rarely even touched the dough. Rather than add a Spanish stamp to Mexican bread, they transformed it from an artisanal craft into an industrial product available at low prices in a growing number of outlets. Pedro Albaitero, for instance, used his ethnic ties to gain a leading role in the bakery business. He then allied with Porfirian officials, who presumed that European immigrants were forces of modernization, to control his racially structured labor force and to expand his operations into flour mills, sugar production, rum distillation, and grocery stores. Albaitero’s horizontal integration and large-scale production drove down bread prices so as to eliminate non-Basque competitors and, through kin, expanded bread operations into new urban neighborhoods where they drew in more customers. In the late nineteenth century, Mexican laborers challenged the terms of their repression by organizing labor unions and engaging in strikes. As radicalized workers demanded rights under the banner of republican citizenship, state officials, business owners, and the media demonized them as drunken, retrograde troublemakers.

During the upheavals of the Mexican Revolution, the Basque oligopolists escaped anti-Spanish sentiments by situating themselves as intermediaries between the hungry masses, radicalized labor, and a revolutionary state that touted its dedication to the needs of the masses. During the 1920s and 1930s, after the violence

of the revolution had passed, the state shifted toward political consolidation and became the patron of bakery owners and unionized bakery workers alike. Basques, now firmly in control of the city's bakeries, used their connections with the state and the labor union to undermine small-scale producers who, because they relied on family rather than union labor, were not part of the emerging postrevolutionary patronage structure. In the end, state economic, labor, and health regulations—ostensibly designed to undermine monopolies, support workers, and protect the public health—had, through the details of their implementation, come to support those very monopolies and turned the unions into webs for controlling workers rather than empowering them.

Like any good study, Weis's book has shortcomings. It would have benefitted from problematization of the category of "foreigner," or at least some explanation for why the author analyzes Basques as foreigners rather than as a national ethnic group. The author also misses the opportunity to consider how his findings about the bread market might inform debates over whether *Cardenista* economic policies created economic multipliers that led to sustained economic growth within the domestic market. Nor does he mention the Republican Spanish refugees of the 1930s, to consider how their presence perhaps altered the Basque community. Finally, though Weis nods toward the surprising rise of bread consumption in the land of corn tortillas, he does not help make sense of this shift in starch preference or of the economic relationship between these two staple commodities. Neither does he raise the question of why Basque entrepreneurs never extended their control over *tortillerías*.

Weis's book is rich in narrative, with compelling economic and social historical analysis. It should attract the attention of food scholars, labor, economic, and immigration historians and anyone interested in the shaping of modern Mexico.

RICK LÓPEZ
Amherst College

SUSAN FITZPATRICK-BEHRENS. *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943–1989: Transnational Faith and Transformation*. (From the Helen Kellogg Institute of International Studies.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 315. \$38.00.

Based on two years of research in Peru by way of participant-observations, archival work, and interviews, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943–1989* provides an absolutely outstanding ethno-history of one particular conjuncture—that of Maryknoll missionaries and the Peruvian faithful—while also contributing creatively to a much larger conversation about transnational efforts at advocacy. Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens's book also hints at the political coordinates of Latin American progressive politics today, the possible uptake of which is astounding.

The book is comprised of five chronologically organized chapters, whose focus is the Maryknoll Catholic

missionaries in Peru. Founded in the United States, the order dispatched missionaries to Peru in 1943, seeking to save the nation not just from poverty but also from communism and Protestantism. The Roman Catholic Church had nearly disappeared from Peru by mid-century; there were very few clerics in the country. Yet an exchange took place. Missionaries arrived looking to change Peru but in the end found that Peru had changed them. They stopped wanting to save Peru and instead sought to liberate it. The switch in terms is important. Twenty-five years after their initial engagement, Maryknoll Catholic missionaries became critics of United States foreign policy and key supporters of liberation theology. They insisted on a preferential option for the poor while also developing intercultural approaches to Catholicism.

Chapter one explores the ethnic and class composition of those U.S. citizens who joined or supported Maryknoll Catholic missions. These were middle- and working class men and women; they were not quite white, by U.S. standards, and their very existence had been defined by labor, exclusion, and the experience of immigration. The chapter also stresses how foreign missions provided an opportunity to "serve" for those not intellectually capable of being clergy in the United States. Chapter two explores Maryknoll Catholic missionaries' first decade in Puno, Peru (1943–1953). This period witnessed an awkward awakening by the missionaries themselves, who did not anticipate the cultural impasses that would soon define their work. Puno's middle class and elite snubbed the Maryknoll missionaries, which ultimately forced them to form bonds and alliances with Puno's indigenous communities. While missionaries found themselves alienated from the elites, they became aligned with the poor. These associations ultimately served the Maryknoll Catholic missionaries well, once their intentions included advocating for human rights.

Chapter three is a pivot point for this book. In 1953, Maryknoll missionaries organized a conference in Lima that sought to consolidate, organize, and theologize the role of missions in Peru. U.S.-based changes also took place, as did the Second Vatican Council and the advent of liberation theology. Unintended consequences abounded as hemispheric developments changed the very practice of missionary work, forging new alliances while making a new kind of church. Chapter four assesses the years between 1968 and 1979, with keen interest in a confluence of events. The first was the 1968 Conference of Latin American Bishops at Medellín. The second was a military coup that brought a reformist to office in Peru. The chapter ends with the separation of church and state and the beginning of the Shining Path. Yet, the author argues, "none of these influences was particularly relevant or even visible to the Maryknoll missionaries . . . By working to live simply and understand indigenous culture, they sought to create an authentic church of the people" (p. 203). Chapter five looks from the mid-1970s to 1989 and assesses how Maryknoll missionaries in Peru became an active force

for progressive politics, even amid great political problems. They served the poor and advocated for human rights, and their work facilitated the 2001 Peruvian Commission for Truth and Reconciliation.

The most impressive part of this book is the care it takes to understand this uneven encounter and to show, unlike many missionary studies, that its unevenness went both ways. Maryknoll Catholic missionaries found themselves stumped and frustrated that their initial intentions did not make as much sense to Peruvians as they did to North Americans. Yet, as the missionaries developed their networks, adapted to their new context, and assessed for themselves what made the most sense, they became some of the country's most active advocates for the poor—intellectual architects for progressive politics and what a theology of liberation looked like on the ground. To fit all of this inside a critical frame, as Fitzpatrick-Behrens does, is a stunning accomplishment.

In addition to contributing to the growing literature on transnational religion, this book also says something about progressive politics in Latin America today. By mapping the historical arc of Maryknoll missionaries in Peru, their rise and then decline, the book establishes that liberation theology is a historical artifact—something that can be studied by historians through archival work and life history projects. A model for scholarship, a gripping history, even a window onto the past, it speaks to progressive politics in Latin America today.

KEVIN LEWIS O'NEILL
University of Toronto

MARTHA S. SANTOS. *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845–1889*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2012. Pp. xvii, 295. Cloth \$65.00, e-book \$65.00.

Men from the *sertão*, the semi-arid backlands of northeastern Brazil, have a long-standing reputation for being tough males. Martha S. Santos challenges these assumptions so strongly engrained in the Brazilian imagination by showing how this masculinity was historically constructed during the nineteenth century. Her book, based on a wealth of sources from property records to popular poetry, breaks new ground insofar as even the historiography of that region has tended to accept the idea of an immutable hypermasculinity.

Santos examines the changes that affected Ceará province after the 1845 drought, which led to an expansion of commercial agriculture based on cotton and brought a modest improvement for small and medium-size farmers who combined agriculture and small-scale ranching. The expansion of the imperial state in this period is one factor explaining why violent masculinity developed among poor *sertanejos*. Police officers held extensive judicial powers but lacked adequate instruction, and often they relied on untrained local volunteers. Moreover judges were inclined to decide cases on the basis of political convenience or financial gains.

Hence arrests were usually disorderly if not plainly arbitrary, even more so with the intensification of the military draft for the war against Paraguay. Men always carried knives and firearms necessary for their daily tasks, and many resisted violently any attempts by the state, and even more so people whose authority they did not recognize, to confiscate their weapons.

Santos looks closely at the “almost obsessive preoccupation with establishing male reputation and respect” (p. 85). Males might be poor or of racially mixed ancestry, but they were at great pains to demonstrate their respectability. The author's painstaking analysis of criminal proceedings reveals the various reasons for struggles over resources. Due to the high costs of legal demarcation, joint landholding was very common. Without clear boundaries to land, social recognition by neighbors was necessary to guarantee its use. The lack of grazing land for cattle due to erosion or draught led to invasion of agricultural land, particularly in contested areas. The diversion of rivers was another frequent source of conflict. In these tense situations, men, as family heads, had to negotiate with co-owners and neighbors. By claiming respectability, they sought to enhance their claims. Trustworthiness also played an important role in court, for instance in cases of cattle theft. Being called a cattle or water thief undermined the recognition of property or customary rights. Santos manages to show convincingly that masculine honor was a strategic resource used by poor men to protect their rights and the survival of their families.

Yet claims to masculine honor ignored the female labor within households, only seen as ancillary to more important masculine tasks. By asserting that they alone provided for families, men also reaffirmed patriarchal control over the sexuality of women. Public revenge for sexual offenses against family honor built up male solidarity and helped to maintain family loyalty. In the *sertão* this happened through bride abduction, a “highly theatrical display of masculine prowess and male solidarity” (p. 111).

The devastating 1877–1879 drought, allied to smallpox epidemics and the end of the cotton boom, brought misery to most inhabitants of the *sertão* and exacerbated social inequality. Popular poets articulated the shame of no longer being able to feed one's family. As wages plummeted, men tried to earn their living further away from home or resorted to petty theft. The exemplary punishment of thieves, just like forced military recruitment, symbolized the social degradation of poor men. Yet by becoming drought refugees (*retirantes*) they also lost their honorable status. At the same time, it proved more difficult to control “increasingly mobile female kin” (p. 146). The subsequent chapter analyses the challenges posed to hegemonic masculinity by autonomous women, such as female challenge singer Zefinha do Chabocão. Public humiliation by floggings or haircutting imposed patriarchal authority and provided males with a “shared bodily experience.” Because autonomous women did not have male protectors, they were exposed to brutal lessons in what Santos defines

as “public patriarchy.” No doubt these ruthless assertions of masculine power took place, but where is the evidence that they increased during the years 1865–1880?

Santos presents us with a fascinating and innovative study that historicizes the construction of *machismo* and attempts to distinguish various forms of patriarchy from “violent” to “fragile.” One can take issue with some aspects of her methodology: for example, she calculates precise percentages when the total number of cases is only twenty-one. And can we assume that popular poets speak for the people, or is it necessary to consider the instances of mediation between the poetic and the real world? Yet these are minor issues that do not negate the author’s main argument. Santos’s book is an important contribution to the studies of gender, violence, and the history of Brazil.

MATTHIAS RÖHRIG ASSUNÇÃO
University of Essex

WILLIAM GARRETT ACREE, JR. *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780–1910*. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 247. \$55.00.

In this study of the relationship of print culture to the formation of a collective national identity in Argentina and Uruguay during the course of the long nineteenth century, William Garrett Acree, Jr. delves with great profit into the realm of primary school textbooks, domestic scenes of reading, and other informal social gatherings in which reading was shared and enjoyed. Acree offers a lively account of the many social venues in which Argentines and Uruguayans of all ages and classes read and, in so doing, established bonds of shared identity. Reading and other manifestations of print culture played an instrumental role in the production of the national subject. Rich in primary sources, this study makes excellent use of newspapers, magazines, pulp fiction, textbooks, and leaflets. Acree makes a deliberate effort to identify and dwell on the constitution of the reading publics to whom the various print formats appealed as well as the effects that these formats had on the formation of an educated citizenry.

A close examination of cultural artifacts in situ—libraries, museums, private collections in the Río de la Plata—permits Acree to expand his study of print culture into the realm of illustrated magazines, leaflets, and the postcards that began to proliferate at the turn of the century. In his well-thought-out working definition of “print culture,” Acree includes both literate and illiterate publics, for it is well known that while technical literacy may be restricted in a given cultural environment, the impact of the cultural agglutination around the phenomena of print and literacy crosses social boundaries. Therefore Acree’s focus on the act of reading out loud to groups of illiterate compatriots, as was the case in the *pulperias* with the *gauchos* and in urban bars and neighborhood shops, sheds light on the larger composition of “literate” publics. This move is

fundamental to a study that focuses on everyday reading as a crucial social practice in the formation of the national subject. Here Acree is able to loosen the bonds between reading and “high” culture and to locate cognitive and aesthetic values in “popular” culture that pull to the real of the literate what otherwise could be deemed the (oppositional) oral.

One of the book’s most incisive chapters deals with the maternal role in the spread of print culture at home and in school. From its inception within the pedagogy of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the role of women as educators was recognized and given a defining place in the formation of the nation. Acree stresses the ties of reading to other kinds of social and material activities, such as the print shop, the editorial houses, and even the architectural design of homes and schools. Often it was children who educated grandparents (or the servants in cases where such social relations obtained). Thus textbooks as conceived by Sarmiento had multiple audiences and primary education became literarily the foundation of the nation (p. 102).

Although neither the story told by Acree nor the primary and secondary sources on which it is based are completely new, this book offers an intelligent narrative and compelling analysis of the history of nation and subject formation in Spanish America. It attests to the originality and effectiveness of intellectuals such as Sarmiento, whose stubborn (and at times mistaken) projects fostered very special and original cultural formations. *Everyday Reading* captures a moment in history when a certain kind of pedagogy and national educational plan came together to institute literacy as the norm. It should be of interest to humanists and social scientists as well as educators.

SARA CASTRO-KLAREN
John Hopkins University

BRENDA ELSEY. *Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Chile*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 315. \$55.00.

The contemporary study of sports has demonstrated a refreshing trend away from institutional histories that recount the rise of professional teams and athletes toward investigations of sports as cultural venues where factors such as class, ethnicity, and gender play themselves out. Brenda Elsey’s book makes a valuable contribution to that growing body of literature. While it considers ethnicity and gender, the main focus is on soccer as a form of civic association that gave expression to important forces in politics and class.

In terms of class, Elsey traces the evolution of Chilean soccer from the early twentieth century, when it was dominated by private British sports clubs and elite Chilean associations. This period established the image of the gentlemanly amateur athlete. That version of amateurism would give way in the decades ahead to one defined by working-class players who championed their amateur status as the authentic form of football in opposition to the rise of professional clubs. However, the

most important part of this study centers on football clubs and associations as venues for social and political struggles that marked Chile's twentieth-century history.

By the 1920s, members of the Chilean elite began to see corporate-sponsored clubs as a means of controlling their often rebellious workers. At the same time, educators concerned with social reform came to view football and athletics in general as positive contributions to the uplift of the lower orders. Populist politicians associated themselves with the growing number of players and fans, while playing on the nationalistic symbolism so commonly associated with modern sports. In light of these developments, it is not surprising that some labor leaders were skeptical of football, viewing it as a mechanism of social control that subjected workers to manipulation by their capitalist bosses and lured them away from the common concerns of the international working class. In the end, capitalists, politicians, and labor leaders all proved to be wrong about the potential impact of football's influence on the popular classes.

Despite the high hopes of business owners that they could use soccer to tame their tumultuous workers, football associations proved to be training grounds in the practice of local democracy for urban workers and rural residents. Neighborhood clubs worked to advance a sports-centered agenda focused on securing playing fields and equipment. They also participated in community efforts to secure drinkable water, paved roads, and improved housing. In the process, the footballers became conscious of their potential influence on local, regional, and national politics as politicians of all stripes sought the support of players and fans. Despite an ardent courtship by populists, most fans and players became disenchanted with populism by the end of the 1930s, as illustrated by the less than warm welcome given to President Arturo Alessandri at the inauguration of the national stadium—a project that the populist Alessandri had pursued while ignoring the input of players, fans, and community organizations.

By the 1950s, the Socialist and Communist parties had become attuned to the potential for consciousness raising and mobilization represented by amateur football associations. The dreams of leftist politicians and labor organizers that football could play an important role in the creation of a socialist culture seemed on the verge of fulfillment when Salvador Allende became president in 1970. Indeed, his Popular Unity government went to considerable lengths to mobilize football associations in support of its agenda and encourage their community activism. However, that experiment was quickly destroyed by the military coup that toppled the regime and turned football stadiums into sites for torture and murder.

While recounting the role of football associations in civic activism, Elsey does not neglect the parts that ethnicity and gender played in shaping the sport in Chile. She illustrates how English, Spanish, and Italian clubs mainstreamed themselves by stressing the common Western heritage they shared with Chileans. Middle Eastern associations continued to be defined as foreign

and became targets of discrimination. The fact that women play a relatively small role in this history of Chilean football reflects the biases shared by males from all social classes regarding women's participation in the sport. It was only during the 1960s that women began to claim a significant role in the national pastime.

This well-researched study draws upon a wide array of sources including club records, sports magazines, and community newsletters as well as materials from immigrant societies. Most importantly, the book offers us important insights on how football played a central role in the development of civic activism and the democratization of Chilean society during the first three quarters of the twentieth century. The one limitation is that Elsey offers only a brief epilogue on the post-1973 period. An examination of the post-dictatorship era could have deepened our understanding of the impact of free market consumerism on community activism and class consciousness. I hope that the author will pursue that subject in her future work. In the meantime, this book makes an important contribution to the study of the cultural and civic activism aspects of sports.

THOMAS F. O'BRIEN
University of Houston

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

SARA FORSDYKE. *Slaves Tell Tales: And Other Episodes in the Politics of Popular Culture in Ancient Greece*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 275. \$39.50.

This book is a laudable yet not entirely successful attempt at understanding "the ways that ordinary farmers, craftsmen, and slaves in ancient Greece made sense of their world and their place in it" (p. 3). Sara Forsdyke contends that "diverse forms of popular culture such as festival revelry, oral storytelling, and the spontaneous collective punishment of social offenders" (p. 3) have been overlooked by modern scholars (the present reviewer included [pp. 167, 233]), even though they played a vital role in regulating the relationships between elites and masses and masters and slaves, and despite their consistent and meaningful operation "at different times and places," "alongside, within, and sometimes even in opposition to the formal institutions of the Greek city-state" (p. 4). Four case studies designed to illustrate these points form the book's most valuable sections.

The first, "Slaves Tell Tales: The Culture of Subordinate Groups in Ancient Greece," concerns a fictitious tale preserved in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, according to which the slave owners on the island of Chios established a hero-cult for Drimakos, even though he, as head of a band of runaway slaves, had tormented them for a long while (albeit "fairly" and "justly"). The second case study, "Pigs, Asses, and Swine: Obscenity and the Popular Imagination in Ancient Sicyon," purports to reinterpret the description, preserved in Herodotus, of some bizarre reforms introduced by the tyrant

Cleisthenes in sixth-century B.C.E. Sicyon. Cleisthenes allegedly banned recitations of the Homeric poems, suppressed the cult of a beloved hero, and gave the city's "tribes" (i.e., territorial divisions) names that could be interpreted as abusive. The third, "Revelry and Riot in Ancient Megara: Democratic Disorder or Ritual Reversal?," concerns the riotous behavior of the masses that allegedly took place in sixth-century B.C.E. Megara. The fourth, "Street Theater and Popular Justice in Ancient Greece," assembles and analyzes, under the heading of "popular rituals" (p. 144), a long series of incidents involving the public humiliation and punishment of offenders, especially adulterers, in cities other than Athens. The book's first and last chapters are devoted to problems deriving from the application of the special method of analysis adopted here, styled "modular" (p. 179), to the ancient evidence.

The modular method consists of grouping the various elements of the Greek stories under rubrics such as "role reversal," "discursive negotiation," and "hidden transcript"—rubrics that correspond to analytical categories devised by specialists in the popular culture of other periods (e.g., Eric Hobsbawm, Mikhail Bakhtin, Brent D. Shaw, and Robert Darnton)—and of making cross-cultural comparisons. Even though Forsdyke sometimes forgets that the comparative evidence can illuminate, but never replace, contemporary sources (for example, she cites E. P. Thompson's study of popular culture in eighteenth-century England to validate the claim that rituals of humiliation in ancient Greece took place in public, contemporary attestation not being available [p. 149]), the method works to a certain extent: some unusual features of the phenomena under discussion no doubt emerge in a new light. For instance, recognizing the parallel between the justice and generosity paradoxically attributed to robbers of the sort of Drimakos, Bulla Felix, and Robin Hood (pp. 45–46) is an important insight for which Forsdyke deserves credit.

The method works, however, only insofar as details are concerned. When it comes to deciphering the meanings of the complete stories, the results are disappointing. For instance, the conclusion concerning the Drimakos incident, that "the Chians had a definite problem with their slaves," and that the hero-cult and legend represent a "novel solution . . . through which slaves and masters enacted and articulated the terms of their mutual accommodation" (p. 87), is so loose as to apply to almost any slave-owning society and could be reached without resorting to the modular method.

Excessive reliance on this method occasionally leads Forsdyke astray. Concerning Cleisthenes, for instance, she accepts Bakhtin's claim that physical grotesqueness, sexual, and scatological obscenity, and the debasement of all that is high are universal hallmarks of folk culture (p. 91), even to the extent of turning it into a rule: whenever sexual or scatological—then popular. An inflexible adherence to that rule leads her to conclude that Herodotus's story (5.67–5.69) in fact derives "from fifth-century popular traditions" (p. 91) and

shows "how the mass of ordinary people in one city-state made use of the past to engage in a veiled critique of elite rule" (p. 112).

However, this interpretation provokes some down-to-earth objections. Why should the mass of ordinary people, said to be concerned primarily with obscenity, care about the Homeric poems ("high" culture)? Why do they—and not just Cleisthenes—come out of this story as buffoonish, acquiescing, as they did, in being called "Swinemen, Assmen and Pigmen" (p. 91)? Why should a tyrant attempt to hurt them—his traditional allies in the struggle against the aristocracy—and stir up popular resistance to his rule?

These problems disappear as soon as we try out another perspective, that of the upper classes. The story will then appear to stem from upper-class traditions and reflect an upper-class viewpoint (allowing, of course, that scatology and sexual obscenity are not exclusively lower-class preserves). That Cleisthenes the Sicyonian was thought to be in league with the masses, not the elites, is implied in Herodotus's remark (5.69) that Cleisthenes the Athenian had *imitated* his Sicyonian grandfather in enlisting the support of the *common people* of Athens, at the time downtrodden. The Sicyonian elites gave expression to their frustrations by raining ridicule on the parties of the unholy alliance that had ousted them from power (i.e., the bully tyrant and the ignorant masses—so ignorant as even to miss the abusive double entendre of the new tribal names). The context in which the story makes sense should be sought in the jokes and anecdotes circulated by modern "frustrated" elites about "tyrants" like Joseph Stalin and Nicolae Ceaușescu, not in the culture of oppressed masses.

The real problem with Forsdyke's book, however, is that its grand claim that diverse forms of popular culture were vital to the functioning of the formal institutions of the Greek city-state is by and large unsubstantiated. Not that it is untrue; it is, in fact, almost self-evident: a political system in which mass culture does not impinge on the formal functioning of its institutions has yet to be invented. The point is that clichés of the sort, "the social equilibrium reached between the rich and the poor or between master and slave was always a fragile one that had to be continually constructed and reconstructed in the face of changing social, political, and economic conditions" (p. 178, repeated with slight variation on pp. 79, 83, 173, and 174), do little to validate the claim. To validate it, one would have to compile an exhaustive inventory of extra-institutional forms of popular culture (instead of Forsdyke's casual ones, extracted from no more than four case studies); draw a clearer line between the "formal" and the "informal" (pace Forsdyke, the authorization to kill people attempting to subvert the democracy was clearly "formal" because it was voted by the Assembly [pp. 176–77]); and provide a systematic account of the processes by which the said forms of popular culture transformed into societal forces that boosted or impeded the functioning of the city's formal institutions. In the ab-

sence of such an analysis, the argument that festival revelry, oral storytelling, and collective punishment operated alongside, within, and sometimes even in opposition to the formal institutions of the Greek city-state remains a wayward phrase, void of real content.

GABRIEL HERMAN
Hebrew University

JAMES H. RICHARDSON. *The Fabii and the Gauls: Studies in Historical Thought and Historiography in Republican Rome*. (Historia Einzelschriften, number 222.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2012. Pp. 186. €52.00.

The concept of exemplarity, through which past acts are evaluated according to their usefulness as models for present conduct, has become a major focus in the study of Latin literature and, by extension, Roman history after the cultural turn. The centrality of this habit of thought for the structuring of Roman social memory is reflected most famously in Polybius's analysis of the aristocratic funeral, in which the commemoration of deeds performed by the deceased and his ancestors is said to act as an incitement for future generations to strive to accomplish similar things. Its importance is confirmed by texts like Livy's history *From the Founding of the City*, the preface to which emphasized the benefits of contemplating the past to learn what to emulate and what to avoid, and Valerius Maximus's *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, a handbook of *exempla* excerpted from Greek and Roman sources and grouped under subject headings for easy consultation.

James H. Richardson makes a significant contribution to the scholarship on this topic by reframing this process of imitation as one that could be projected backward, rather than purely forward, in time. The basic thesis, which is recapitulated at several points throughout this meticulously argued and engagingly written book, is that the Romans did not merely look for patterns of behavior in the past; they also tended to invent them in the course of reconstructing their narratives of what happened. Whereas the repetition of recognizable formulae strikes most modern readers as proof of the unreliable nature of this tradition, Richardson also argues that this technique originally served to enhance the plausibility of these accounts, insofar as it confirmed ancient expectations about how history and human nature were supposed to work.

Focusing on the historiographical tradition for the early Roman Republic (a period for which there were few if any reliable sources of information), Richardson traces the impact of this proclivity for parallelism along two main vectors. In chapters one and two, he concentrates on the traditions surrounding individual families or *gentes*, the members of which, as Polybius suggested, were expected to behave similarly. Chapter one lays out the general argument for this kind of historical patterning, presenting already established cases, like that of the patrician Claudii, who were consistently represented as proud and recalcitrant in their hostility to the plebeian class. Chapter two is a more narrowly focused

and original case study of the Fabii, a *gens* that reached its greatest prominence in the career of Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus "the Delayer," who championed the strategy that ultimately led to Rome's success in the war against Hannibal. Richardson catalogs a host of similarities, some more compelling than others, between Verrucosus's career and those of other Fabii, which cumulatively suggest that the biography of the more famous Fabius was used to flesh out the historiographical characterizations of his ancestors.

In chapter three, the discussion turns to a different kind of imitation, whereby certain notable events of Greek history provided the pattern for accounts of Roman accomplishments. Noting that historiography itself was a Greek invention, Richardson explores the implications of this particular form of cultural borrowing for the tradition regarding the sack of Rome by the Gauls in the early fourth century B.C.E., which he demonstrates was modeled on Herodotus's account of the Persian invasion of Athens a century before. The annihilation of 300 Fabii along the Cremera, which was supposed to have coincided with the Spartan stand at Thermopylae, also figures into this discussion.

Throughout the book, Richardson repeatedly resists the temptation to ascribe responsibility for any of these parallels to a particular annalist or historian, preferring instead to treat them collectively as the results of a more deeply seated tendency in the way the Romans thought about the past. While this approach represents a welcome corrective to the overzealous theories of earlier generations of source critics, who created fantastically elaborate reconstructions of lost histories on the basis of slight evidence, framing the issue so broadly risks papering over the necessarily contingent, and often tendentious, nature of exemplary discourse. Once it is acknowledged that certain historical accounts were modeled on others, the question becomes why those models were chosen. Moreover, if similarity was the expectation, it stands to reason that even minor variations could become rich with meaning. By refusing to delve even tentatively into the mechanics of how these traditions took the particular forms they did, Richardson limits the value of this otherwise provocative and useful study.

ANDREW B. GALLIA
University of Minnesota

ANDREW B. GALLIA. *Remembering the Roman Republic: Culture, Politics, and History under the Principate*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 319. \$95.00.

This monograph is a comprehensive analysis of the persistence of the memory of the Roman Republic in the principate, focusing on the period between the end of Nero's reign and Trajan's rule (68–117 A.D.). Andrew B. Gallia has chosen this relatively narrow period for its "central place in the institutionalization of the power of the emperors," as well as for the wealth and variety of evidence available for analysis—archaeological, textual

(both prose and poetry), and numismatic (p. 8). To call this a study of the commemoration of the Roman Republic in the principate is to understate the author's aim and accomplishment. Gallia rather analyzes how various political figures and authors of this period challenged and engaged with the memory of the republic and with Roman political and cultural identity more generally in often complex ways. Because of a lack of a centralized mass media, and therefore the emperor's inability to organize opinion in a systematic way, memory under the principate was much more "contentious" and "decentralized" (pp. 7–8). Another factor that complicated the memory of the republic under the principate was the clear chronological separation of the republic as a period of history from this phase of the principate (one hundred years had elapsed between Actium and Nero's suicide), while at the same time it boasted a political culture that the elite of the principate idealized and to which they clung. Continuity with this idealized past was one of the contested issues around the memory of the republic.

Each of the book's six chapters (titled, "Freedom," "Rebuilding," "Control," "Persuasion," "Inscription," and "Restoration") focuses on a different form of engagement with the memory of the republic. The first three and the last discuss the emperor's efforts to use this memory to reaffirm his political authority and advance his own ideology. "Freedom" analyzes the use of *libertas* as a vibrant and polyvalent political symbol in the revolt of Vindex against Nero and the subsequent accession of Galba. "Rebuilding" examines how Vespasian used the burning and reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus to exploit the temple's memory as the center of Rome's imperial power, thus promoting the peace that his new dynasty established. "Control" is a study of Domitian's attempts to establish himself as the moral arbiter of the empire by employing the traditional means of execution of a vestal (burial alive) who has broken her vow of chastity. In so doing, as Gallia argues, Domitian attempted to revive a traditional republican *severitas*, but succeeded only in alienating the senatorial aristocracy. "Restoration" examines the republican coin types that Trajan reissued in his reign, pointing out how men depicted on these coins tended to overlap with the *summi viri* in the Forum Augustum. Further, the achievements of men outside the imperial family were featured, which is consistent with the revival of the senate in this period.

The other two chapters, "Persuasion" and "Inscription," examine the elite's manner of engaging with the memory of the republic that emerges out of the senate's role in the new political culture of the Principate. In the former, Gallia discusses the fate of oratory in the principate, analyzing closely Tacitus's *Dialogus*. In the latter, he discusses how Silius Italicus and Frontinus reframed the history of the republic, especially the Punic Wars, by putting this historical period in a larger framework—Silius by interweaving other elements of the epic tradition into his *Punica*, and Frontinus by discussing generalship in broad terms, using *exempla* from the re-

public alongside those from other periods of history. The result is a blurring of the republic with the larger panorama of history, thus making it a less distinctive period.

Gallia's argumentation is detailed, nuanced, and complex but also at times lengthy and discursive, to the point that one can lose sight of the main thread tying together the themes of the book. Complicating matters is Gallia's refusal to allow himself to be pinned down, as he himself admits in the conclusion of the book, relishing in the complexities, conundrums, and paradoxes (p. 251). Overarching themes, such as the use and reuse of *libertas*, take a quintessential republican ideal and see how it is redefined in the Augustan principate and later. This also reveals a second theme—the malleability of the period of the republic and its characteristics. Romans in the principate, Gallia argues, never settled on the issue of whether their own period represented a continuation of the republic or was a period of history completely distinct.

Ultimately, a reader of this book cannot help but reflect on what actually comprised the memory of the republic. In Gallia's hands, it was a selective memory that seems to have involved as much forgetting as remembering. Thus, the memory of the republic was in the mind of the beholder, whether elite author or emperor, and Gallia's real achievement, in my view, is what his close analysis of the memory of the republic in the principate reveals about the culture and politics of the latter period.

GEOFFREY S. SUMI
Mount Holyoke College

BRIAN CAMPBELL. *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome*. (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 585. \$70.00.

In Plato's *Phaedo*, Socrates famously describes the relationship of the Greeks and the Mediterranean Sea as "frogs living around a pond" (109A). The same is even truer of the Roman Empire, which eventually grew to encompass the entire shoreline of the Mediterranean Sea. In these coastal regions, the empire typically thrived—culturally, economically, and politically—but conversely, it often struggled when it left those familiar shores and attempted to expand inland. Most of the inland areas into which the Romans did successfully extend their influence shared two commonalities: a Mediterranean climate and navigable rivers. Such rivers constituted crucial pathways by which Roman "frogs" were able to infiltrate, conquer, and Romanize regions that were hundreds of miles away from the shores of their home pond. Given the importance of rivers in the Roman world, therefore, a comprehensive study of their role within the empire is long overdue. This gap in the scholarly literature is the one that Brian Campbell's book attempts to fill and, while occasionally falling short of its potential, it is a welcome, useful, and

significant contribution that provides a solid foundation for future studies.

Chapter one serves as an introduction, giving a basic overview of the hydrological cycle, pointing out the key role of the Tiber in Rome's early history, and outlining the subsequent chapters. Chapters two through five consider rivers from the perspectives of different categories of ancient texts that mention rivers. The first of these is writers who had specialist interests in geography or natural history, such as Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, and Pausanias, and Campbell stresses their use of rivers to designate cultural boundaries. The next chapter examines Roman legal texts and the writings of land surveyors. This chapter is one of the strongest in the book, and constitutes a logical extension of the author's earlier research and monograph on *agrimensores* (land surveyors), *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary* (2000). It offers fascinating insights into disputes and regulations concerning access to water, rights of way, boundaries, and shifting watercourses. Chapter four is something of a catch-all, collecting together stray references to rivers by other ancient authors, but with an emphasis on the image and symbolism of rivers in literature and religion. Chapter five again draws upon one of Campbell's previous areas of expertise, the Roman army, and explores how writers with martial interests, such as historians and authors of strategy handbooks, depict the use and perception of rivers by the Roman military. The next three chapters switch from being based around a type of text to describing how the Romans employed rivers as a source of water and a means of transportation, with chapters seven and eight entirely taken up with a region-by-region survey of the major navigable rivers of the empire. Chapter nine illustrates the Romans' infatuation with immersion in water as a health benefit and the many spas that they established. The final, brief chapter gestures toward a few of the symbolic meanings that rivers held for the Romans, especially in terms of the link between control over water and power.

With any book with as broad a subject as this one, in order to keep the text to a manageable size, firm decisions have to be made regarding which topics to put in and which to omit. While one could quibble with Campbell's selections, such an exercise would be rather pointless, and the emphasis should be on the fact that overall he has chosen wisely and provides ancient historians with a soundly researched and broad-ranging work. More of an issue is the level of detail offered. The chapters include more specifics than a casual reader looking for an overview of rivers in the Roman world is likely either to need or to desire, yet anyone seriously interested in any of the topics covered in this book will quickly have to put aside this volume in favor of more focused studies. The book is ambitious in scope, and this very breadth invites the drawing of large-scale conclusions and comparisons; however, after laying out intriguing evidence, the author frequently declines to offer such analysis. Given Campbell's obvious expertise

and depth of knowledge, I found myself wishing that he had been a little more daring in drawing connections (or making distinctions) across the Roman Empire.

As it is, this book is a welcome and timely addition to our knowledge of the function of rivers in antiquity, and, with its inclusion of so many different types of texts, it serves as a handy compendium of perspectives regarding how rivers were viewed by the Romans themselves. A little less description and a bit more analysis might have elevated the book beyond the useful study that it most certainly is. Nevertheless, Campbell has provided an authoritative and foundational investigation of humans and their interactions with the environment in the Roman world.

GREGORY S. ALDRETE

University of Wisconsin-Green Bay

ELIZABETH DEPALMA DIGESER. *A Threat to Public Piety: Christians, Platonists, and the Great Persecution*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 218. \$45.00.

This book is an example of the best kind of intellectual history. It shows how philosophical ideas drove events in imperial history: specifically, how emergent Neoplatonism in the third century A.D. resulted in the Great Persecution under the Emperor Diocletian. The Platonists' ideas about hermeneutics, ritual, and metaphysics usually fall under what a colleague of mine calls "the view from nowhere," while historians of the persecution have only gradually made room for some role played by Porphyry (he may have given a lecture at the court against Christianity). This book offers a more robust thesis, a delight to ponder and wrestle with. Elizabeth DePalma Digeser reconstructs the history of the school of thought that stemmed from Ammonius, the teacher of both Origen and Plotinus, and that was represented at the time of the persecution by Porphyry and Iamblichus; by that time many Christians were closely watching its internal developments, including Methodius, Arnobius, and Lactantius.

Each chapter presents a stage in the history of this school, focusing on dates and prosopography and then expounding the thought of each figure, concentrating on the school's insistence on philology, figural hermeneutics and its limits, the reconciliation (or not) of different traditions, and the implications for ritual and "salvation": who could be saved, how, and through the study of which texts? By the late third century, the Ammonian tradition had split into separate branches so that Porphyry was left combating the Christian Platonism of Origen on the one hand and the intensified pagan ritualism of Iamblichus on the other. Porphyry did not believe that textual analysis proved Jesus's divinity and he objected to Origen's excessive allegoresis; at the same time he wanted to preserve the philosopher's prerogative to seek salvation through intellectual activity apart from the material rituals demanded by Iamblichus, especially sacrifice. The latter polemic in turn intensified his (or his followers') opposition to

Christianity for requiring “redemptive sacrifice” of all members. The Great Persecution was instigated not by popular pressure but by “a network” of Porphyrian priests and prophets “working behind the scenes” (p. 188) and “in the shadows” (p. 4), who saw Christianity as polluting and operated through oracles, one of Porphyry’s preferred modes. Digeser does a good job of teasing these men’s existence and philosophical affiliation out from our allusive historical sources (pp. 182–186). They had reason enough to oppose the new religion, yet the more intriguing suggestion is that the persecution was but a byproduct of Porphyry’s campaign against Iamblichus (pp. 165, 189): the Christians got caught in the crossfire. It will be interesting to see how imperial historians integrate this proposal into their models for how the Tetrarchy worked. Digeser complicates matters by usually attributing the persecution to Porphyry (pp. 13, 22, and most of the conclusion) but sometimes to Iamblichus too (pp. 6–7, 9, 178–179), who had his own reasons to dislike Christianity.

A major component of Digeser’s argument in tracing the history of the Ammonian tradition is to present it as religiously fluid, to “dispense with the notion that there were discrete Hellene and Christian groups” (p. 71). Historians looking for actual “dialogue” between Hellenes and Christians (as opposed to just polemics) will find it here. The case rests on prosopography, but not all will accept every step: that there was but one Ammonius, formerly a Christian, who taught both Origen and Plotinus; there was only one Origen, and not a separate “Origen the Platonist”; Plotinus and Porphyry studied with Origen (pp. 26–27, 64, 69–70, 73, 76); Porphyry began as a Christian (pp. 76–77); and Iamblichus studied first with the Christian Anatolius, later a bishop (pp. 108–110). That Plotinus or Porphyry studied with Origen rests on weak foundations, as does the claim by the later historian Socrates that Porphyry began as a Christian (such claims made enemies look worse by tarring them as apostates). If we do not accept Porphyry’s claim that Origen began as a Hellene (no one does), why should we accept his linked claim that Ammonius began as a Christian? (Eus., *HE* 6.19.7). In the case of the two Ammonii and two Origenes, a long-standing debate, Digeser seems to hold the stronger position—for now.

This is an exciting book with a bold thesis. Digeser shows not only that the Platonists thought politically but that they took their responsibilities seriously, perhaps following Plato’s *Laws*, whose Athenian Stranger advocates expedient alliances with tyrants to effect radical change (pp. 84–86). Such alliances may well have changed the course of late Roman history. Digeser is right that we should not be looking solely for socioeconomic explanations (p. ix). The elegance of her exposition leads unfortunately to the carnage of the Great Persecution, which is not recounted here. One wonders whether Porphyry himself would have had the stomach for it.

ANTHONY KALDELLIS
Ohio State University

LINDA TOLLERTON. *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. York: York Medieval Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 327. \$99.00.

Medieval historians have long recognized the importance of the corpus of Anglo-Saxon wills, particularly after the publication of Dorothy Whitelock’s edition and translation in 1930. Yet it has never been the subject of a comprehensive analysis. Linda Tollerton fills this lacuna beautifully with an elegant survey that pays particular attention to the social uses of these documents. This is no easy task, because the small corpus of sixty-eight vernacular wills is unevenly distributed across time and space. Only nine wills, for example, date before ca. 900, and six of these were archived by one religious community, Christ Church, Canterbury. Tollerton successfully manages these challenges by approaching the corpus from a variety of angles (political, social, familial, and religious) and by avoiding gross generalizations.

The first chapter establishes the nature of the corpus itself, which sounds easy but is not. In addition to their uneven distribution, many of the wills survive in cartulary copies rather than as single sheets and more than two-thirds date to the period after the Norman Conquest. Forgery is therefore always a possibility. It is also sometimes difficult to identify dates of disposition, the exact locations of estates, and even donors’ names, details that must have been known to the parties involved but are now lost to us. A careful examination of these issues is thus indispensable. Tollerton breaks new ground in chapter two, which surveys the evidence for the process of will-making. Once again this may seem obvious, but as the author demonstrates, “the vernacular wills themselves provide little insight into the process which produced them” (p. 56). Taking into account a wide range of sources, including narratives, Tollerton explores the oral aspect of will-making that lies behind the documents, as well as the processes of documentation and disposition. This chapter underscores the vulnerability of wills, as donors clearly sought protection of their bequests against predatory kin and, at times, equally predatory kings and churchmen.

In the remaining four chapters, Tollerton views the wills through a series of different lenses, all of which emphasize the interconnectedness of the social, political, economic, and religious worlds of both donors and recipients. Chapters three and four deal with bequests of land, while chapter five considers movable wealth such as weaponry, livestock, jewelry, and slaves. Organized primarily by sociopolitical rank (kings and their family members, ealdormen, bishops, women, and thegns), these chapters expose the tenurial concerns at the heart of royal, aristocratic, and thegnly life, including the tension between saving one’s soul by giving property to the church and satisfying the expectations of one’s kin by keeping land in the family. Tollerton argues convincingly that England’s highest-ranking aristocrats, the ealdormen, produced no wills in the eleventh century because a new strategy of *inter vivos*

gift had supplanted the older tradition of *post obitum* disposition in the wake of King Æthelred's disastrous reign. Either way, she sees the forging and maintenance of networks of relationships at the heart of aristocratic identity and thus will-making. Chapter five collates the evidence for gifts of movable wealth, which occur in forty of the Anglo-Saxon wills. Tollerton is especially interested in the notion of the gendered gift. While she finds that women did bequeath more jewelry, clothing, and personal items than men, there were noteworthy exceptions, such as Bishop Ælfwold's bequests of wall-hangings and seat-covers and the woman Ælfgifu's bequest of several horses. Despite the centrality of land in the wills, Tollerton shows that movable wealth was still an important part of the articulation of status for both men and women; only now their best objects adorned churches rather than being buried with them.

In the final chapter, Tollerton considers the spiritual returns donors might expect from their gifts to religious houses. After all, she argues, "vernacular will-making was stimulated by the contemporary religious ethos" (p. 228). The social and political benefits explored in the previous chapters had always been, we assume, secondary to the purpose of saving one's soul, since the wills are explicit about this, and to maintaining connections between the living and dead members of a family and a particular religious community through burial and perpetual commemoration. Readers will be more familiar with this topic from the many studies produced over the last few decades on reciprocal gifts to religious houses.

This book has many strengths, the most compelling of which is that Tollerton always has her eye on the chronology of the corpus and the complex political circumstances surrounding the making of these wills. In short, it is a must read for Anglo-Saxonists, but it has much to offer other medievalists, including legal historians, as well.

MARY FRANCES GIANDREA
American University

JAUME AURELL. *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 315. \$45.00.

In this book, Jaume Aurell analyzes Catalan historiography from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, beginning with a Latin text, the *Gesta Comitum Barchinensium* (1180–1184) and continuing with the Catalan-language works traditionally known as *Les quatre grans cròniques* ("The Four Major Chronicles"), which include Jaume I's *Llibre dels fets*, the *Crònica de Bernat Desclot*, the *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, and the *Crònica de Pere el Cerimoniós* (1375–1383). Through these Aurell surveys and analyzes the development of historical writing in medieval Catalonia, using a sophisticated approach that draws on literary criticism, the New Medievalism, and the New Philology, to examine works some scholars treat as historical sources and others merely as texts. During the period in ques-

tion Catalonia was the most important territory of the Crown of Aragon, a dynastic aggregate that also included the Kingdom of Aragon, and the Kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca (conquered by Jaume I), Sicily, and other Mediterranean principalities added later. These five texts are the most comprehensive of all of the medieval histories produced in Catalan, and are emblematic of a "Golden Age" of Catalan historiography—one that was followed by a shift toward fictional literature, which had its own "Golden Age" between the mid-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They also mark the evolution from a genre of genealogical chronicle toward royal history and autobiography.

The book has symmetrical structure, with two parts, each of five short chapters, all framed by a concise introduction and conclusion. The first part, "Historical Writings and Historical Authors," includes separate chapters for each of the five texts, going over the basics, such as chronology, content, authorship, and context. This is necessary because despite the richness of these works, several of which are available in English translation, medieval Catalan historiography has been largely ignored by Anglo-American scholarship, and has not yet come to be regarded as part of the canon of European or Mediterranean literature. Thus, two strengths of the book are that it is the first monograph in English devoted to this genre, and that it situates Catalan historiographical literature in a broader European context.

The second part of the book, "Theories and Interpretations," analyzes the genre of medieval Catalan historical writing thematically. Chapter six, for example, discusses "the poetics of culture" (p. 111), which is to say, how the historical genre chosen by the authors, whether annal, genealogy, autobiography, or chronicle, reflects the circumstances in which they produced them, their intentionality, and their need for legitimation. The next chapter considers the three autobiographical accounts (those of Jaume I, Ramon Muntaner, and Pere el Cerimoniós) as chronicles, in order to meditate on "fictionalizing the self" or "inventing the self" in autobiography. Chapter eight explores the notion of authorship and authority, the post-structural idea of the author's "death," and how he (in all of these cases) relates to audiences. Aurell's conclusion is that the author is perhaps "wounded," but that it remains important to understand "authorial intention" (p. 156). The ninth chapter deals with the interrelation of realism and fiction, and how epic, myths, legends, and dreams contributed to the historiographical narrative. The final chapter turns to "The Emergence of Political Realism," which Aurell locates in the autobiographical chronicle of Pere the Ceremonious. This work breaks with the established historiographical tradition by eliminating fictional elements in favor of realism. In his view, "the emergence of political realism in medieval Catalonia [was] a prelude to the political-historical literature so typical of the European Renaissance" (p. 199). In conclusion, Aurell shows how the texts studied "reflect the political and social objectives of the kings" (pp. 221–

222), ranging from the consolidation of the monarchy (with the *Gesta*), the legitimation of political expansion (with Jaume I, Desclot, and Muntaner), and the justification of authoritarian political practice (with Pere the Ceremonious).

Authoring the Past is a most thoughtful and engaging book, one that reflects Aurell's deep knowledge not only of the texts discussed but also of the previous studies they have inspired. His readings are original, and his contextualization of the works in a European framework is most welcome. Aurell provides many engaging excerpts from the texts, which he renders in English (and the shorter ones also in Catalan). Unfortunately, there is no bibliography or list of works cited, and the index only covers proper names. In sum, this book will hold an appeal for medievalists, historians, and literary scholars alike, particularly those who focus on historiography, medieval culture, courtly literature, and monarchical power and ideology.

NURIA SILLERAS-FERNANDEZ
University of Colorado at Boulder

NICHOLAS PAUL and SUZANNE YEAGER, editors. *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*. (Re-thinking Theory.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 284. \$65.00.

The crusades have proven an extraordinarily flexible and enduring phenomenon. They began with Pope Urban II's appeal at the Council of Clermont in November 1095 to liberate Jerusalem. Over the centuries they have evolved and mutated to remain, rightly or wrongly, an integral part of relations between the West and, most notably, the Islamic world but also with Eastern Christians and Jews. Academic study of the crusades has, over the last thirty years or so, come to recognize, reflect, and in some senses, define this great arc of history; it has also tried to identify its myriad roots and to assess the impact of the crusades across and between the various societies and peoples so touched.

When, against all the odds, the First Crusade captured Jerusalem in July 1099, the people of the Latin West were astonished; God had clearly signified his blessing for their enterprise. The crusaders themselves became instant heroes, their lives and those of their families forever associated with this remarkable event. Little less astonishing was the ensuing outburst of literary activity that yielded narratives of a number and diversity unprecedented in the medieval West. Written sources were not, of course, the only way in which the First Crusade and its successors continued to be remembered, and this interesting collection of essays explores the commemoration and representation of the crusades down the centuries in both written (historical and literary) and artistic forms. It seeks to show the range of ways in which people who took part in, supported, and responded to the crusades remembered these events and, in some cases, used this memory to shape their ongoing cultural, political, and religious expectations.

The essays here cover three themes: Remembrance and Response; Sites and Structures: Cities, Buildings and Bodies; and Institutional Memory and Community Identity. Written by a nice blend of emerging scholars alongside more senior figures, some address the themes more closely than others, and the last section works particularly well in this respect. David Perry's contribution on Venetian memories of the Fourth Crusade offers a convincing contextualization for the production of the *translatio* of the body of St. Paul the Martyr, a text written by an anonymous author from the monastery of San Giorgio during the 1220s. In reality the relic was taken from Constantinople to San Giorgio in 1222, but the explanation for its arrival was moved to the time of the Fourth Crusade. This, in turn, indicates that the Venetians were formulating a distinctive memory of the events of 1204 whereby God had chosen to divert the crusade to Constantinople to punish Greek pride, a condition so serious that it threatened the wider Christian empire. Thus God approved of the outcome of the crusade too. The events of 1204 and the Venetian role therein had generated considerable controversy, with Pope Innocent III among those who strongly criticized Doge Dandolo. This text can, therefore, be seen as a parry to such attacks, and also as a riposte in that it shows how the communal memory of the event became formulated and sustained in a way to work to the credit of the Venetians.

The institutional memory and self-image of the military orders is covered to good effect by Jonathan Riley-Smith's observations on, most particularly, an alternative, mid-thirteenth-century version of the Templars' foundation. This suggested that, in contrast to earlier (and widely accepted) accounts based around events at the Council of Nablus in 1120, the order was created in response to attacks on pilgrims near Mount Carmel on the coast. Given that by the time the later version was composed Jerusalem was no longer in Frankish hands and that the Templars had just built the huge castle of Chastel Pèlerin, near Mount Carmel, it seems that they, just like the Venetians, were adjusting their past to suit contemporary purposes. The international nature of the orders meant that the majority of their landholdings and institutions were based far from the Holy Land. Their fundamental purposes must have been obvious enough, but there was clearly little harm in using whatever visual cues lay to hand to emphasize this. In a well-illustrated essay, Laura Whatley discusses the images found on the seals of the Hospitaller masters of England. Most striking of all was that of Garnier of Nablus, former grand commander of the Hospital in Jerusalem from 1176 to 1186 and prior of England from 1186 to 1190. Garnier chose a genuinely powerful image: a wild-haired John the Baptist, a stark reminder of the order's patron saint. This was probably based on a Byzantine model and brought to England by Garnier himself, but such was its impact that his successors retained it.

Perhaps the most intriguing of these essays is that by Mohamed el-Moctar, whose treatment of the different

memory of Saladin by Sunni and Shi'a historians, medieval and modern, is particularly illuminating. As el-Mohtar reveals, modern historians have tended to divide along sectarian lines in their treatment of the victor of Hattin and the man who recovered Jerusalem from the Franks. To the modern Shi'a, he was a selfish usurper who killed the Shi'a Fatimid caliph and was responsible for the destruction of this great empire; he is also condemned as a poor general for his failure to defeat the Third Crusade. Such a view contrasts with the near-universal acclaim of Saladin down the centuries in the West, and more pertinently here, from Sunni writers, reflected in the views of Arab nationalists and Islamists alike. El-Mohtar argues that in the medieval age, the division was not at all so clear-cut, with some Shi'a praising Saladin for his justice, nobility and generosity. Yet a few Sunni authors, most notably Ibn al-Athir (d. 1234), an author based in the Zengid heartlands of Mosul, voiced occasional (if a touch overstated here) criticism of his motives, treating Saladin as a self-centered and ambitious man. As the essay shows, modern writers are often steered by their own religious prejudices, and this can lead them to be selective or insensitive in their handling of the medieval material, texts created by men with agendas dictated by more than the Sunni-Shi'a division.

Among the other essays, Jay Rubenstein vigorously dissects the complex ideas within Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber floridus* (1112–1120), a work that drew together apocalyptic, historical, and political issues to suggest the events of 1099 had initiated the Last Days, or even that the world was in a phase after the fall of the Antichrist. Jaroslav Folda examines the liturgical commemoration of the capture of Jerusalem as an attempt to encourage recruitment for crusades and for people to support such campaigns. He then shows how the loss of Jerusalem to the Khwarismian Turks in 1244 stimulated production of the first illustrated versions of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* in the West and suggests that the multiple images of the First Crusade acted as a particular spur to recover it once more. Similarly, the fall of Acre in 1291 prompted illuminators to remind their audiences of the triumph of 1099. David Morris confidently traces the range and development of maternal imagery from the rhetoric of the Investiture Controversy through the call for the First Crusade and down to 1215, when Innocent III spoke of Jerusalem as the mother of all the faithful.

One minor gripe would be the lack of an essay representing the memory or impact of the crusades with regard to Eastern Christianity. That aside, it is admirable and exciting to see the broad-ranging interdisciplinary approaches within this volume brought to bear with such good effect.

JONATHAN PHILLIPS
University of London

MARTIN VÖLKL. *Muslime, Märtyrer, Militia Christi: Identität, Feindbild und Fremderfahrung während der ersten*

Kreuzzüge. (Wege zur Geschichtswissenschaft.) Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. 2011. Pp. 306. €39.90.

The history of the crusades is currently experiencing a revival in the German-speaking academic world. In particular, there are a number of younger scholars, like Martin Völkl, who have made aspects of crusading the topic of their Ph.D. theses, thus bringing a distinctly Germanic mode of historical inquiry into a field of study that, in recent decades, has been driven forward and dominated by English-speaking academics. Völkl's study is divided into two main thematic parts. First, he addresses what he calls the identity of early crusaders: on the one hand the ascriptions given by propagandists and commentators of the crusades, and on the other, the self-perceptions of crusaders based on these ascriptions as well as on their own crusade experiences. In the second part, Völkl looks at the conceptualizations and representations of the crusaders' Muslim opponents, who were perceived as enemies and representatives of an alien religion and culture. His main sources are chronicles and letters and, albeit very selectively, charters. Völkl's principal results are hardly surprising, and ultimately there is little that, in essence, has not been said before elsewhere: while propagandists and commentators tended to impose a uniform image of the crusaders as religious warrior pilgrims and soldiers of God fighting for a common cause in the defense of Christendom, individual perceptions and behaviors suggest a much greater diversity of identity among the participants of crusades depending on origin, individual motivation, and personal affiliations while on crusade. The Muslim enemies were generally described using traditional labels of religious foes as pagans and polytheists, and as such, morally and ethically deficient. Fed by crusaders' experiences, a more nuanced picture of the Muslim world as diverse and rooted in monotheism was slow to gain ground and always tended to be overshadowed by crude propagandist messages.

The merits of Völkl's study lie in showing just how diverse the sources describing the First and Second Crusades were when it came to portraying the novel practice of crusading. Yes, broadly speaking there was uniformity of purpose and motivation, but there was also a wealth of individual experience and response reflected in the texts relating to these crusades. Furthermore, Völkl tries to tie his interpretation to research on propaganda and identity in war as general phenomena across different eras of history. This makes it clear that some forms of crusade representation were not only predicated on particular historical contexts but just as much on functional aspects and exigencies of war propaganda generally. Having said this, there are some unexpected flaws in Völkl's approach. First, there is next to no discussion of crusading outside the expeditions to the Holy Land. Although a lot is made of the Second Crusaders' interlude during the conquest of Lisbon, the Reconquista, which became a major focus of crusading in the first half of the twelfth century, is almost entirely neglected as are the crusades against the Wends. Sec-

ond, and this weighs even more, Völkl almost entirely disregards the legal aspects of the discourse and practice of crusading, which played an absolutely pivotal role in the definition and formation of crusading and crusading experiences. In fact, legal aspects profoundly affected the status of participants of crusade campaigns and their self-perception; the crusade has justly been described as a monastery on the move and its army as a church in procession. Whether Völkl purposefully omitted this aspect or whether he was not aware of it, remains an open question, but it is surprising that James A. Brundage's seminal study of canon law aspects of crusading (*Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* [1969]) does not even appear in the bibliography. In general, Völkl's study reflects recent English-speaking research on the crusades very selectively. Other important contributions such as Christopher Tyerman's *The Invention of the Crusades* (1998) or Jonathan Riley-Smith's *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (1997), which have a direct bearing on Völkl's subject, are also not mentioned. In addition, some recent works by English-speaking historians cited by Völkl are aimed at the popular market rather than the scholarly community and do not really present original research in a way that lends itself to contributing toward serious academic discourse.

Völkl's book is a welcome work of synthesis that opens up some new avenues toward integrating crusade history into the more general field of diachronic studies of war propaganda. Unfortunately it fails to successfully claim a central place within an increasingly international scene of crusade studies.

CHRISTOPH T. MAIER
University of Zurich

CHRISTOPHER I. BECKWITH. *Warriors of the Cloisters: The Central Asian Origins of Science in the Medieval World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 211. Cloth \$29.95, e-book \$29.95.

The author of this book claims that a particular way of presenting scholarly arguments as a set of questions about themes and ideas in a text constituted a new "scientific" form of medieval argumentation, which he further claims came from the "East," and directly from the Muslim world of the late twelfth century. There are ancillary claims about connections to far-eastern locations (including Buddhism and Hinduism), as well as to madrasas. In general, these connections seem exceedingly tenuous, especially as regards transmissions to Europe.

The misleading nature of the book begins in the very first sentence, where Christopher I. Beckwith renames the method (traditionally known as "scholastic") "recursive." Certainly the practice of using questions to raise issues and arguments about a text did become "the basic vehicle for the analysis of problems in natural philosophy and theology" (p. 1). Whether or not this method constitutes the "ideal scientific method" is perhaps debatable, but the more important question is the dating of its emergence in Europe. Here Beckwith

seems to dislocate the date so as to make room for his unsubstantiated claim that European scholars learned of the method from Avicenna's *De Anima* (apparently using the question method), which was translated into Latin around 1160–1175. Yet this chronology does not jibe with the historical record, for the most authoritative studies of the question genre (e.g., the works of Martin Grabmann and Hermann Kantorowicz) place its emergence in Europe in the first quarter of the twelfth century. Kantorowicz believed that the European origins were to be found among legal scholars debating questions in Roman law. Furthermore, the question method was intensively used by Anselm of Laon (d. 1117) and his students considerably before Avicenna's book was translated into Latin. Whether or not Peter Abelard's *Sic et Non* method deserves recognition in this regard, he died in 1142.

We know for sure that Peter Lombard used the method ("questions systematically arranged") in his *Sentences*, published sometime before he died in 1160. Beckwith includes a small appendix on the dating of the translation of Avicenna's book, and even if that date could be shifted to the interval 1152–1166, it could not properly be called a precursor to the work of the many other European scholars (in law and theology) who set off on the path earlier. In addition, *De Anima* (often translated as "On the Soul") is a difficult work falling between psychology and metaphysics. Beckwith provides no evidence that it actually influenced European theologians, jurists, or natural philosophers with regard to format and use.

An equally problematic set of claims is that connecting madrasas and universities, which share virtually nothing other than being contrasting places of higher instruction. Here Beckwith muddies the waters by focusing on the founding of a "college" in Paris, the Collège de Dix-Huit (1180), that was at best a marginal event, having nothing to do with the origins of the University of Paris. This tack was taken because Beckwith believes that the *architecture* of the College des Dix-Huit is similar "in all particulars" with the "typical madrasa" in Syria of the time. *Colleges* did have buildings, but the "university" of Paris was a floating community that transcended any particular "college" such as the Dix Huit. Furthermore, if there was a "center" to the emerging University of Paris, it was at Notre Dame, not Dix Huit. Beckwith's major source on madrasas v. universities is George Makdisi, who long ago pointed out that it was not the founding of *colleges* but the founding of *universities* in Europe that was unique.

Scholars for the last hundred years have noted that universities in their origins were communities, not buildings, whereas madrasas were buildings. Madrasas were not "communities" in the same sense as universities: they were not floating, did not have the same legal status, had no "faculty" nor any formal curriculum, and hence did not issue "degrees." An individual scholar at a madrasa issued his "permission to transit" the particular documents that his student had learned and probably had memorized. The University of Paris

had been formed into a community of scholars in the first half of the twelfth century, and only when alterations with the local community occurred around 1200 did they seek renewed legal privileges from the king and public authorities. *Universitas* is the Latin word designating a corporate entity with legal autonomy, and universities shared that status with entities such as cities and towns, charitable organizations, and even associations of doctors and lawyers. That legal status did not exist in Islamic law. Madrasas were not self-governing organizations and could not enact their own rules and regulations, as the European entities could. Furthermore, the colleges of Europe were little more than hostels providing shelter for mendicant scholars. The University of Paris arose out of the Cathedral School of Notre Dame when its scholars revolted.

There are many problematic aspects of this tendentious book, whose main legacy will be to stir controversy. Beckwith's notion that every field to which the recursive method was applied "automatically" "by extension" becomes "scientific" confounds his statement that "the way it is said has essentially nothing to do with what is said" (pp. 23, 36, original emphasis). This is a very odd admission, as most teachers do think that the way something is said matters. But the basic problem is that Beckwith fails to acknowledge the fact that what made the European universities of the twelfth century places of scientific inquiry was the presence and study of Aristotle's natural books, not the question method. Without the connection to the natural world one cannot arrive at modern science in our sense. The claims of the book's subtitle are dubious and highly misleading.

TOBY E. HUFF
Harvard University

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

PAMELA O. LONG. *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400–1600*. (The Horning Visiting Scholars Series.) Corvallis: Oregon State University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 196. \$22.95.

The relative roles of the "scholar" and the "craftsman" in making the new scientific discoveries and promoting the new methods of investigation that characterize what Pamela O. Long has called the "new science" have long been a matter for historiographical debate. Long's latest book not only offers a timely review of this ongoing discussion, it also begins to make an important contribution to it. She argues, among other things, that the very terms "scholar" and "craftsman" have artificially limited historians' perceptions of what was really a much more fluid and dynamic interaction between those with book learning and those with technical skills. In our modern, highly disciplinary mindset, we have been somewhat blind to the fact that medieval and early modern individuals with learning and skill often communicated so closely as to share their abilities with one another, sometimes blurring the distinction between them so much as to erase it entirely.

Based on a series of lectures given by the author at Oregon State University in 2010, the book is an attempt to look back at nearly a century of scholarship on the subject of artisanal skill and its contributions to the early modern exploration and understanding of nature. The entire first chapter is devoted to re-examining the early historiographical roots of this question, especially the work of sociologist Edgar Zilsel, physicist Boris Hessen, and several members of the Frankfurt School during the first half of the twentieth century. Of particular importance for Long's analysis are the Marxist leanings of several early proponents of the artisanal and material contributions to early modern scientific knowledge and practice, as well as the anti-Marxism of some opponents.

The remaining three chapters offer the reader Long's own perspective, both over the *longue durée* and in the fine-grained detail of case studies. Chapter two is a general examination of the terms "art" and "nature," and the ways in which the two concepts interacted and even overlapped from Aristotle through the medieval and early modern periods. Chapter three provides a case in point, looking at the broad-based fifteenth-century fascination with the rediscovered text of *De architectura*, written by the famous Roman architect Vitruvius. Long shows that Vitruvius's treatise attracted the interest of both learned humanist scholars and skilled artisan/practitioners with empirical experience. Neither group was able to understand the text fully without the contributions of the other, which not only brought them into productive contact but also prompted some skilled practitioners to try to master the tricky Latin, while many learned humanists worked to acquire some skill in designing and building real structures. Long describes this shared interest and dynamic interaction as a "trading zone," borrowing the concept from Peter Galison's work on particle physics. The final chapter seeks to expand on the trading zone idea, offering several more examples of places—arsenals, shipyards, mines—where early modern scholars and artisans comingle, learned from one another, and sometimes acquired each other's knowledge and skill.

This is a useful book on an important subject, from a scholar who is ideally suited to write it. I found myself wishing as I read it that such a thing had been available to me as I was preparing for my comprehensive exams many years ago. It could be profitably assigned to graduate and undergraduate students, and would serve as a helpful primer on the topic for more advanced scholars. The lecture format is ■ somewhat limiting one, however, and the book might have had a greater impact if it had been pushed farther beyond the lectures that spawned it. Long is able to demonstrate convincingly, for example, that humanist scholars and artisan/practitioners frequently sought out, worked with, and learned from one another, and that this interaction made the "empirical values" of the artisan more widely known and appreciated in learned circles (p. 128). Her assertion that these values had a definitive impact on the rise of the "new science" is not conclusively shown,

however; while I am sympathetic to the argument, it remains speculative in this book. I would also have liked to see some consideration of the competition inherent in the trading zone, as well as the cooperation—such contact was not always a win-win proposition for all parties, and valuable artisanal skill was appropriated by the learned at least as often as it was willingly shared with them.

The chapter on the fifteenth-century fascination with Vitruvius is the strongest because the most detailed; but even here Long's examples are exclusively Italian. And while chapter four on early modern trading zones is highly provocative, it is too brief and schematic to satisfy. I wish that each of Long's many examples in this chapter had been expanded into full-length chapters of their own—the material is certainly rich enough, though that would have made for a very different book and many more years in the making. Nevertheless, Long's use of the trading zone idea may well make an important and lasting contribution as a useful tool of analysis and a spur for future research into the complex interaction of learning and skill in early modern Europe.

ERIC H. ASH
Wayne State University

PATRICIA SIMONS. *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History*. (Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xv, 327. \$99.00.

The title of this book might have been *The Sex of Men: A Seminal History*, in that the basic premise of this study is to contradict current readings of the cultural construct of masculinity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as being primarily penetrative and generative by reinstating the medical and cultural importance of the scrotum and the emission of semen. The volume is divided into two parts with eight chapters, two of which deal specifically with female reproductive biology as understood in the early modern period. The multiple sources used by the author are particularly laudable in that she looks at the ways male sexual organs and the use thereof are referred to in Renaissance comedy and proverbs, medical treatises and conduct literature, prints, and paintings. Patricia Simons convincingly beats the drum about the importance of male seed and the testicles in early modern culture (as opposed to the penis *per se*), drawing upon what the author terms the "semiotics of semen" as illustrated by visual metaphors such as coins and purses. Material culture is here brought to bear, especially with regard to archeological finds such as glass dildos or humorous lead badges featuring phallic and vulvar imagery, whose function is thought to be primarily apotropaic. Re-reading of paintings in terms of the metaphors of material culture—such as Titian's *Danae* being showered with gold coins—does in fact enlarge upon the culturally charged objects that endow many Renaissance paintings with erotic content, although more pedestrian readings,

such as the (literal) gold with which contemporary patrons showered courtesans, may have been more immediately accessible to a sixteenth-century public.

While Simons occasionally indulges in somewhat anachronistic asides regarding cultural representations of the phallus—on ancient Greek vases and in Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan—the solid value of the focus on early modern material artifacts and visual culture carries this book through the rather curious attention to sources less germane to the issue at hand. Whereas the use of excavated Greek and Roman pottery as a source for licentious images has been put forth with regard to the Renaissance vogue for erotica (cf. Marta Ajmar-Wollheim), the contribution of nineteenth- and twentieth-century psychoanalysis remains more doubtful, other than casting light on why today's historians of art and sexuality have focused on more phallic—as opposed to seminal—constructions of masculinity.

This book makes a number of interesting if still debatable contributions to our current understanding of the ways male sexuality was constructed in the early modern period. Particularly apt is the author's observation that female physical health was believed to rely largely upon men's sexual attentions, for the uterus needed to be "watered" by male emissions more than it needed insemination to maintain womanly well-being. Such a premise provided yet one more "scientific" argument in favor of the patriarchal social order, and favored a penetration-with-emission construction of male sexual identity as opposed to the equally current model of virility as being demonstrated by the ability to engender progeny (cf. Valeria Finucci). Equally insightful is the way the author uses current metaphors (culled from proverbs and popular literature) to demonstrate how the early modern period not only understood sexuality but also expressed personal experience through the interiorization of current cultural commonplaces.

For French scholars, some of the conclusions reached by the author will come as no surprise, but it is high time the use of curious lead badges featuring phalluses (cf. Johan Mattelaer) and the allusive humor in paintings of kitchen/market scenes (cf. Valérie Boudier) are brought to the forefront of Renaissance and early modern cultural history in the English-speaking world. Conspicuously absent are some of the major contributions to procreation theory in this time period, such as the many editions of *Aristotle's Masterpiece* or Nicolas Venette's *Tableau de l'amour conjugal* (1687), which was repeatedly translated into English in the course of the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, the slow shift from Aristotelian monosexim (women are imperfect men) with its one-seed understanding of procreation to Galenic medical theory regarding the specificity of each sex and a two-seed theory of reproduction is painstakingly laid out and refreshingly free of the more clamorous misapprehensions incurred by Thomas Laqueur.

In conclusion, this book makes a welcome contribution to the ongoing history of sexuality, especially regarding the extent to which reproduction theory was

culturally embedded. The author's attention to humble artifacts, allusive images, and verbal play creates a particularly rich cultural context in which the phallus (testicles and all) played a protagonist's role—both metaphorical and material—in the sexual politics of early modern Europe.

SARA F. MATTHEWS-GRIECO
Syracuse University in Florence

ALESSANDRO STANZIANI. *Rules of Exchange: French Capitalism in Comparative Perspective, Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 313. \$90.00.

Alessandro Stanziani's *Rules of Exchange* is an admirably ambitious and largely successful book that seeks to reframe prevailing conceptions of the relationship between law and market in the formation of the modern capitalist state. Focusing primarily on France, but also briefly exploring such countries as Italy, Germany, England, and the United States, Stanziani undertakes a series of chronologically ordered case studies—including such topics as shops, trademarks, speculation, and unfair competition—to show that law has played a vital role in market formation throughout the West. Drawing on new institutional economics, he rejects both the neoclassical position that markets flourish in the absence of regulation and the Marxist claim that law simply reflects market relations. But while new institutional economics has focused largely on identifying legal rules and institutions that minimize transaction costs and thereby promote efficiency, Stanziani emphasizes that—as a matter of actual historical development—there is no clear linkage between the evolution of modern Western legal systems and the goal of promoting market efficiency. To the contrary, he insists, the law that regulates capitalist practice today was primarily a product of politics—of particular groups seeking to promote their interests within existing social, institutional, and cultural constraints. These interests ranged from such self-serving goals as trying to keep competitors out of the market to more public-minded aspirations like attempting to guarantee a sufficient supply of healthful meat at a given price to urban populations. But, however far-ranging, “the aim was not to maximise efficiency and minimise costs nor thwart the imperfections of the market” (p. 69).

While economic historians seeking to understand the role of law in shaping market development have tended to focus on macro-economic policies like taxation, Stanziani concentrates on the micro-economic level of contractual relations. This shift in focus, he argues, reveals that the standard trajectory from an eighteenth-century age of regulation to a nineteenth-century period of laissez-faire to a twentieth-century return to regulation is more myth than reality. Instead, regulation has been the consistent norm: “[T]here are no free markets to compare to regulated markets, but merely forms of regulation that are sometimes similar and sometimes different” (p. 2). Relatedly, he challenges

the tendency to view the late eighteenth century as a period of radical transformation. If there was a break in the evolution of capitalism, he asserts, it occurred about a century later, in conjunction with the second industrial revolution. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, economic development continued to be based on much older institutional foundations, such that, for example, businesses relied largely on family relations for their credit supply. The real transformation occurred at the end of the century, when intangible capital like goodwill, shares, and futures began to be a source of meaningful (and legitimate) economic investment, and large firms and standardized products emerged.

The admirable scope of Stanziani's analysis—geographic, chronological, thematic, and methodological—is purchased, perhaps necessarily, at the price of some oversimplification and ambiguity. For students of legal history and comparative law, Stanziani's second chapter, devoted to comparing the common law and civil law systems is particularly frustrating. The chapter challenges the longstanding “theoretical type” that “opposes the case law-based common law system to a centralised law system in continental Europe and civil law countries” (p. 38), arguing instead that in both types of legal system, case law and legislation played vital roles. While Stanziani's argument here is clearly correct, it is in no way surprising. Moreover, while he purports to address in this same chapter the oft-voiced claim that the common law is “more efficient and closer to business interests” than the civil law (p. 38), he never quite delivers. In particular, he concludes that because the French “commercial courts and the commercial code offered significant advantages to the actors who had access to them,” they were “a source of inequality and concentration rather than of free competition” and thus presumably inefficient (p. 48). Other economists, however, have reached precisely the opposite conclusion: namely, that these institutions delivered distinct efficiency-promoting advantages, including not least the lower transaction costs associated with increased procedural flexibility. While I myself share Stanziani's skepticism that the French commercial courts and code were *designed* to promote market efficiency, it is not clear why he concludes from this fact that they actually were inefficient—or how he assesses their relative efficiency vis-à-vis the Anglo-American approach to commercial law.

Stanziani is at his (quite impressive) best when undertaking particular, comparative case studies: for example, on the regulation of municipal slaughterhouses, approaches to trademarking wine, and efforts to control forward transactions. For those looking for neat regularities that can be traced to broad, systemic differences, the resulting portrait of legal and economic change may appear frustratingly disorderly. But for those committed to the study of history and its irrepressible contingency, this is just as it should be.

AMALIA D. KESSLER
Stanford University

DOMINIQUE KIRCHNER REILL. *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice*. (Stanford Studies on Central and Eastern Europe.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2012. Pp. xvii, 313. \$65.00.

The study of nationalism was long considered the default area of interest for historians of Habsburg Central Europe. But over the past decade or so, a number of scholars have pushed for increased attention to the attitude of men and women who found the exhortations of national activists unappealing or even incomprehensible. Becoming national was, in this view, often a process of dragooning and disciplining the nationally indifferent, not of gently “awakening” inhabitants’ preexisting identities.

Dominique Kirchner Reill’s monograph can be seen as both a useful contribution to this recent surge of interest in national indifference and as a healthy corrective to it. As the paradoxical title suggests, Reill’s focus is on a group of people who were unmistakably national activists themselves—and thus poor candidates for the label of nationally indifferent—but who nonetheless expressed a very similar kind of skepticism about the consequences of pursuing monist national logics. Just as appreciation of national indifference has required de-pathologizing such an attitude, so Reill argues that to understand such “fearful nationalists,” we need to avoid dismissing their ambivalence as the result of “idealistic confusion, bouts of denationalization, or wily political maneuvering” and instead explore how their nationalism and their pluralism developed in tandem (p. 3).

The main characters of this story are six journalists and political activists—Niccolò Tommaseo, Francesco Dall’Ongaro, Pacifico Valussi, Medo Pucić, Ivan August Kanačić, and Stipan Ivičević—who lived and worked in Venice, Trieste, and Dalmatia, near the shores of the Adriatic Sea, in the early nineteenth century. Dall’Ongaro and Valussi have been remembered as part of Italy’s national revival, Pucić, Kanačić, and Ivičević as contributors to the South Slavic awakening. Tommaseo emerges as the pivotal figure of the book, both because of his intellectual stature and resulting influence among the others and because he has been viewed as both an Italian and a Slavic patriot. But Reill persuasively describes all of these men as part of an integrated and evolving debate about how national particularity could be cultivated alongside multinational interaction.

The book is an impressive example of socially embedded intellectual history. Reill’s main sources are the published writings of and the correspondence among the six protagonists, and her main quarry is understanding their political and philosophical visions. But she devotes admirable attention to the various settings in which these ideas were articulated, vividly describing both the common world that the writers shared and the importance of local particularity and personal backgrounds. The long history of Venetian domination of

the Adriatic meant that *La Serenissima* loomed large in everyone’s understanding of the region. But other locations exerted a gravitational pull. Dall’Ongaro and Valussi promoted their publishing base, Trieste, as the “Hamburg of the Adriatic” (p. 94), a trading hub tying the region together, while Pucić’s multinational vision ultimately moved toward a kind of “Greater Dubrovnik” (p. 221), extrapolating outward the Slavic-Italian cultural balance of his hometown.

The revolutions of 1848 provide the natural climax to Reill’s story. These events have often been viewed as the end of an innocent phase in the development of nationalism, the moment when nationalists came to view rival nationalists, not supranational dynasties, as their primary foes. Reill tries to avoid narrating this shift as either an inevitable awakening from utopian illusions or an inexplicable triumph of xenophobic passions. She instead provides a thick description of the “rupture in experience” between the city of Venice, which became locked in a desperate showdown with Habsburg counterrevolution, and Dalmatia, which saw little revolutionary violence. Facing hunger and deadly outbreaks of cholera, Venetians were given increasingly strident exhortations by their leaders, portraying the city’s enemies as not only lackeys of the Habsburgs but as bloodthirsty Germans and Croatians. Most residents of Dalmatia, in turn, were happy to have avoided Venice’s fate and became preoccupied with other political issues, such as the province’s future relationship to the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. Reill’s emphasis on contingency may not satisfy every reader; ethnicized appeals, after all, presumably only resonate—or come to mind in the first place—where ethnicized views of the world are already familiar and meaningful. But this is, on the whole, a nuanced and persuasive account.

The final paragraphs of *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation* are gems of lucidity and economy. Reill first notes how national storytelling—“our need to map a clear trajectory of imagining a nation, founding a nation, and then consolidating it” (p. 243)—has previously shoehorned figures such as Tommaseo, Dall’Ongaro, Valussi, Pucić, Kanačić, and Ivičević into crude genealogies of Italian or South Slavic national awakening, blinding us to the shared discussions and partially overlapping visions that shaped their work. But she also rightly cautions readers against lapsing into alternative (Central) European mythologies, naturalizing a “world bridged together by borderlands and multi-national seas” destined to harmony in the present and future despite the inexplicable hatreds of the past (p. 244). This book is, in short, an impressive example of how historians can productively balance empathy and critique, and it is a welcome addition to the scholarship on nationalism in modern Europe.

JAMES BJORK

King’s College London

DANIEL B. SCHWARTZ. *The First Modern Jew: Spinoza and the History of an Image*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 270. \$39.50.

This wide-ranging and piercing study exhibits impressive familiarity with the long list of original analyses of Baruch Spinoza's life and philosophy. Daniel B. Schwartz's goal is not to interpret Spinoza himself, but rather to chronicle key reflections of his Jewish reception over the past 250 years. Secularizing Jews have construed Spinoza as a "cultural icon" or found in him a "usable past" that serves as precedent for their own personal and ideological deviations from traditional Jewish practices and principles. The ongoing Jewish fascination with this Amsterdam-born philosopher who pioneered the rejection of Jewish fundamentals in the seventeenth century and was banned by his Spanish-Portuguese community—but who still rejected the option of apostasy—is the focus of Schwartz's learned examination.

After a valuable methodological introduction, chapter one addresses the earliest discussions of Spinoza's life and ideas. The "fashioning of Spinoza into a symbol," Schwartz emphasizes, was "initially left to non-Jews" (p. 20). Only with the rise of the modern Jew in the mid-eighteenth century, as epitomized by Moses Mendelssohn, did this change. The book provides a great deal of evidence for what the author refers to as "the cult of Spinoza." Rather than exhausting the bountiful examples of this phenomenon, the focus is on key figures and junctures in the evolution of Jewish fascination with Spinoza.

The first is Mendelssohn's ambivalent "reclamation" of "the Jew, Baruch Spinoza." Despite his heretical philosophy, opined Mendelssohn, Spinoza could have remained an Orthodox Jew had he not "called genuine Judaism [halakhah] into question and in so doing stepped outside the law" (p. 51). Berthold Auerbach, the enlightened German Jewish fiction writer and essayist, championed Spinoza as the forerunner of the modern Jew's effort to get "out of the ghetto." Others who identified with the nascent Reform movement reinvented Spinoza as a "good Jew" whose antinomian outlook and lifestyle did not lead to formal conversion. The Galician Enlightenment scholar Salomon Rubin named his Hebrew rendition of Spinoza's philosophical system *Moreh nevukhim he-hadash* (The New Guide to the Perplexed). In so doing, "Spinoza was reappropriated in Hebrew literature as the second coming of Maimonides" (p. 81).

Rubin's rehabilitation project featured integrating the Amsterdam heretic into the redemptive axis of the Jewish enlightenment from Moses Maimonides to Moses Mendelssohn. Yet the most profound expression of the transformative and near-mystical role played by Spinoza for these Jewish rebels is the description by Micah Josef Berdichevsky, the literary figure and critic of Jewish tradition, of his first encounter with the Hebrew rendition of Spinoza's *Ethics* in 1900: "Suddenly, everything changed before me; mountains surrounded me and lo and behold! The body of Spinoza touched my own and a voice cried inside me: the book in your hands is the answer to the mystery of the universe . . . Here I

was sitting at the feet of my teacher and rabbi, lonely like him, and like him cut off from Israel" (p. 107).

If Berdichevsky felt no compunction to "spirit" Spinoza "back into the fold through the back door," the same could not be said for his former Odessa neighbor, Joseph Klausner, the Revisionist Zionist and historian. In a 1927 speech at the recently established Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Klausner famously declared the ban on Spinoza to have been lifted. Indeed, twenty-seven years later Labor-Zionist David Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister of Israel, aimed to "right the wrong to Jewish culture" done to the individual who "inaugurated the breakthrough of the scientific spirit into modern Judaism."

Schwartz's work is a major contribution to the now rich field of Jewish memory inaugurated by his late teacher Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi. It also brings a fresh voice to long-running debates over the emergence of the modern Jew. Azriel Shohet saw practical deviations from religious standards already manifest at the turn of the eighteenth century as key indications of change, whereas Jacob Katz located the shift toward modern Jewish life in Mendelssohn's life and works. If recent scholarship has revitalized Shohet's approach, Schwartz's study rekindles the sense that personal departures from norms are only transformed into truly new identities when they receive ideational justification.

Schwartz presents Spinoza as the first and foremost in a series of Jewish-born individuals that includes Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein, individuals whose secularism facilitated their positions as heroes to whom a wide range of modern Jews could relate. An alternative but equally compelling interpretation is that modern Jewish self-understanding is epitomized by the visceral desire to be accepted by Gentile society or at least to be acknowledged not only for one's Jewishness. This far less romantic approach would explain the Jewish passion for reclaiming these relatively "non-Jewish Jews" so eloquently chronicled in Schwartz's tome.

ADAM S. FERZIGER
Bar-Ilan University

BERNARD WASSERSTEIN. *On the Eve: The Jews of Europe before the Second World War*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2012. Pp. xxi, 552. \$32.50.

This brilliant book by Bernard Wasserstein is difficult to classify. It is a kind of conventional history, a panoramic and prodigiously comprehensive socioeconomic and political survey of European Jewry in the 1930s. In that sense it may be employed as a primer packed with information of all kinds and complete with photographic illustrations. At another level, and more fundamentally, it attempts "to restore forgotten men, women and children to the historical record, to breathe renewed life momentarily into those who were soon to be dry bones" (p. xxi). The book's motto is taken from Simon Dubnow's proclamation that the "historian's essential creative act is the resurrection of the dead." This

550-page tome is also animated by a singular thesis: that for the (remarkably diverse) Jews of Europe, the decade of the 1930s was characterized not only by a rapidly spreading and insidious anti-Jewish hostility but also by longer-term processes of internal divisions, pauperization, assimilatory forces, linguistic differentiation, and demographic decline. By 1939, Wasserstein declares, "European Jewry was close to terminal collapse" (p. xvii).

Although the indispensable background of the work must perforce be the venomous antisemitism that spread virtually throughout the continent, Wasserstein's focus is upon the public and private lives, the politics, economics, culture, psychology, beliefs, languages, leadership, institutions, struggles, and strategies of the Jews, not their opponents and enemies. Here too the themes of confusion, division, impoverishment, and decline dominate, yet the work teems with examples of Jewish vitality, institutional liveliness, and cultural and intellectual creativity (thankfully not of the "contribution" to European civilization variety). If this does not contradict, it at least humanizes the overall dark tone and thrust of the work. For all the travails of the 1930s, "the Jews," in all their diversity, Wasserstein argues, "were actors in their own history" (p. xix).

A study with the title *On the Eve* runs the obvious risk of what Michael Bernstein has termed "foreshadowing," writing the history of the Jews as if their genocidal destiny were predetermined. By and large Wasserstein does not fall into this trap. He is aware of the hubris of hindsight. Still, he gives foreshadowing an interesting twist. He notes that, within the pervasive gloom and hostile isolation, there were indeed far more voices than is usually acknowledged that spoke repeatedly about the threat of the "extermination" of the Jewish people, even if they could not imagine the ultimate evil of Auschwitz. A work of this kind also runs another kind of risk. Given its ambitious scope—penetrating almost every aspect of European Jewish existence at a time of immanent peril and decline—the apologetic temptation, the sentimental "Fiddler on the Roof" impulse, must surely have been considerable. Yet by and large Wasserstein has succeeded in avoiding this danger. The book fuses an obvious sense of identification and compassion with the historian's requisite analytic distance and critical perspective. There are thus passages on Jewish criminals and gangsters, tricksters, smugglers, beggars, the treatment of women and Jewish prostitution, and, very unusually, the Jewish mentally ill and those with physical disabilities. There is also a quite unapologetic discussion of what Wasserstein terms the Jewish "fraternity of mutual contempt," the tense relations dividing *Ashkenazim* (Jews of German origin) from *Sephardim* (Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal), *Hasidim* and *Mitnagdim*, *Ostjuden* and *Westjuden*. He even reports on purported "Jewish Nazis."

The bulk of the discussion covers the ten million Jews living in Europe during the 1930s. This population spanned four zones: the Soviet Union, the various states of East Central Europe (most prominently Po-

land), Germany and other parts of Central Europe, and countries like France and Belgium in Western Europe. Each possessed essentially different political, economic, and cultural frameworks and displayed varying degrees of tolerance or intolerance toward Jews. Both across and within these zones, Jews were remarkably diverse in their religious affiliations, political standpoints, desire for integration, and occupational structures. Yet, Wasserstein argues, they possessed some basic characteristics that justify considering them as a whole. Some of these, like demographic decline, ultra-modernizing tendencies, and assimilatory desires, could be considered as negative, while others such as the Jewish propensity for institution-building, literacy, and charitable works would seem to be positive characteristics. Yet, ultimately and correctly, Wasserstein's understanding, or even his definition, of the Jews, appears to be determinedly non-dogmatic and historical: Jews were simply those who either defined themselves as such or, more forbiddingly, those who, whether or not they desired it, were defined that way. By the late 1930s what characterized the Jews was the fact that throughout Europe "the most internally variegated people of the continent . . . faced a common set of enemies and . . . shared a common destiny" (p. 433).

The year 1939 undoubtedly constituted an enormous existential and political crisis. Yet here we confront a certain contradiction, or better stated, an unresolved tension in Wasserstein's presentation (and perhaps his own attitude). On the one hand, he insists that even in this dark decade the Jews "were actors in their own history" and did not react passively to their predicament. He contends that "they sought by every possible means, individually and collectively, to confront the threats that loomed on every side" (p. 436). Sadly, given Jewish political weakness, these efforts came to naught. Yet, on the other hand, Wasserstein seems to pin the blame as much on internal factors as external hostility. Jews, he declares, were "heirs to a great civilization but one that showed only limited capacity for self-renewal or rejuvenation. The collective sum of millions of decisions by Jews themselves over the previous two or three generations had weakened the ligaments of their society to an extent that even a renewed sense of solidarity in the face of extreme danger could not redress. Long before their enemies turned from vilification and persecution to outright extermination, the Jews themselves were far advanced on a road toward what one of their most perceptive and sympathetic observers called 'race suicide'" (pp. 433–434).

Excusably, perhaps, in the face of the magnitude of the disaster he knows that followed this decade, Wasserstein here comes perilously close to dropping the historian's analytic distance and contextual sensitivity and formulating an old-fashioned, ideological jeremiad against deluded Jewish assimilationists. It is exceedingly dubious that a more identified, better organized, less assimilated Jewry of Europe could have better withstood the onslaught of "the barbarians" (as Wasserstein dubs the Nazis and their henchmen in the last

sentence of the book). Doubts as to the survivability of the Jews has a rather ancient pedigree. Certainly, a kind of pendulum between assimilation and dissimulation has operated throughout the modern period. Wasserstein is correct in pointing out both the awareness and objective indices of decline, yet much of his own material points also to a collective and personal vitality and creativity (among both committed and “assimilated” Jews) that only a previously unthinkable genocidal madness could sniff out.

On a methodological level, Wasserstein’s tome bears a certain similarity to Saul Friedländer’s remarkable two-volume work on Nazi Germany, the Jews, and the Holocaust. It too attempts to weave the structural, communal, and impersonal forces of the time “with the private worlds of individuals and families . . . their hopes and beliefs, anxieties and ambitions, family ties, internal and external relations, their cultural creativity, amusements, songs, fads and fancies, dress, diet, and, insofar as they can be grasped, the things that made existence meaningful and bearable for them” (p. xxi). In this respect, given his encyclopedic erudition, Wasserstein reminds us not only of familiar names from the past but manifold, less known, often colorful and idiosyncratic figures that animated the continent-wide Jewish landscape. In a narrative canvas as broad as this—it is, after all, a work of history and not a novel—it is not surprising that these figures do not always come fully to life and are often cursorily sketched in a rapidly paced catalog of people, places, and events. Still, Wasserstein brilliantly succeeds in evoking the poignancy and almost unbearable pain of the end. As one young person wrote in the spring of 1939, “I’m now looking for a way to emigrate from Poland. But all my efforts run into a brick wall . . . My future is as dark as a moonless night” (p. 337). This was a sentiment that even the most prominent echoed. Thus, the stark parting words of the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann to the World Zionist Congress in August 1939: “I have no prayer but this—that we shall meet again, alive” (p. 427).

Wasserstein’s monumental portrait records a decade of doom. Would it be too much to wish that his next volume will document the decades after the catastrophe and the often remarkable story of recovery and rehabilitation that took place outside the borders of Europe?

STEVEN E. ASCHHEIM
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

MICHAEL DAVID-FOX, PETER HOLQUIST, and ALEXANDER M. MARTIN, editors. *Fascination and Enmity: Russia and Germany as Entangled Histories, 1914–1945*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies; Kritika Historical Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2012. Pp. vi, 309. \$28.95.

One of the most titanic and hostile confrontations of two great powers in modern history was the clash of Russia and Germany from 1914 to 1945. Yet, as Michael David-Fox points out in his superb introduction

to this republication of the summer 2009 issue of the journal *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, there has been a peculiar lack of attention to the interrelationships and interactive history of these two societies. Despite the massive amount of scholarship on each country in isolation and the fairly numerous attempts to compare the two countries in this era, detailed exploration of interactions between them has been infrequent and unsystematic. David-Fox points to “entangled” history as a promising methodological alternative to comparative and transnational history. The entangled historical method involves tracing interactions between individuals and institutions across national boundaries. It is a method that has been fruitfully applied to writing about empires, and this volume demonstrates that it can add a rich dimension to many topics that too often are treated solely within a national framework.

In a series of essays, prominent scholars of Russia and Germany apply this methodology to an array of topics. Jan C. Behrends analyzes the German “anti-Comintern,” providing a rich account of the ways in which Joseph Goebbels’s propaganda borrowed methods and responded to the claims of Soviet propaganda. Behrends and Peter Fritzsche show how former communist converts to Nazism and Russian émigrés in Germany influenced both Nazism and German images of Russia. Fritzsche’s account of Edwin Erich Dwinger, one of the most popular authors in Nazi Germany, highlights the specific paths by which the communist past of characters in Dwinger’s novels influenced and radicalized their vision of the Nazi present and future. Jochen Hellbeck provides fresh insight into the much-studied life of Ilya Ehrenburg. Hellbeck shows how Ehrenburg used German soldiers’ letters as evidence for his argument that average Germans were not misled by the Nazi elites but rather expressed deep and fervent belief in Nazi ideals even in their private correspondence.

Bert Hoppe shows how personal experiences, cultural prejudices, and interactions explain the German Communist Party’s stance toward the Bolsheviks better than the ideological explanations favored in the literature. Through a close analysis of Soviet soldiers’ memoirs of their time in Germany during the 1945 occupation, Oleg Budnitskii shows how their interactions with Germans affected their attitudes. Interestingly, he found that soldiers’ experiences did not lead to acts of vengeance; whether a Soviet soldier acted vengefully or not depended far more upon aspects of his character formed long before 1945. Laura Engelstein unpacks the process of shaping the interpretation of the August 1914 German atrocities during the occupation of the Polish town of Kalisz. Germans responded to Russian accusations by forming their own public line on the events, while Russians and Germans alike cautiously appealed for a sympathetic Polish interpretation.

Katerina Clark’s sophisticated analysis of the wartime fiction of Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman shows how both remained true to internationalist ideals and fought against the rejection of European connections

and for the rejection of Nazi Germany. Their pro-cosmopolitan perspective foreshadows the anti-cosmopolitan campaigns to come in the postwar era. Oksana Nagornaya's analysis of 1.5 million Russian prisoners of war in German camps during World War I reveals a surprising degree of interaction with the German public and unpacks the various ways this interaction formed and confirmed German stereotypes about Russians. Dietrich Beyrau's conclusion puts the volume in the context of the German *Historikerstreit* (historians' dispute) of the 1980s, noting that Ernst Nolte raised questions (and unfortunately, to some extent, closed them) about the influence of the Soviet Union on Nazi Germany. One of the services of this volume is to show that such analyses can be undertaken without taking sides in that old dispute.

ERIC LOHR
American University

MARJORIE KENISTON MCINTOSH. *Poor Relief in England, 1350–1600*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 352. \$99.00.

The history of poverty and poor relief in English history has long been blessed by twin fortunes. Since the time of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, England's finest social historians have provided provocative and sweeping analyses of England's unique poor relief system. At the same time, because the surviving source materials from the poor laws are so rich, local historians and narrowly focused monographs have meticulously recreated the local experiences of the poor. In Marjorie Keniston McIntosh's new book, we have a wonderful marriage of both veins of research. McIntosh is already a leading figure in the analysis of the social and economic world of late medieval and Reformation England through her works *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370–1600* (1998) and *Working Women in English Society, 1300–1620* (2005), but she has also spent decades exploring sources on poverty in record offices across England. Thus her new book is at once compelling in its analysis and exceptionally fine grained in its account of changes in local treatment of the poor during a crucial era in English social history.

Viewing the Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1598 and 1601 as landmarks in the history of social welfare, the traditional story credits those acts with creating England's unique compulsory, secular system of poor relief, a system constituting a "welfare state in miniature" that lasted for over two hundred years. McIntosh paints a far subtler picture of the landscape of poor relief in England within a much longer timeframe than the standard narrative. She demonstrates that earlier Tudor legislation and practices were more innovative and important than the Acts of 1598/1601. Moreover, she argues (alongside Paul Slack and Steve Hindle) that the implementation of new poor laws required not a simple secularization of relief efforts but the *collaboration* of secular and religious authorities.

McIntosh's research draws on seventy archives, cov-

ering more than 125 parishes in thirty-two counties, as well as extensive work in London and York. She examines not only traditional forms of charity and institutions such as almshouses and hospitals, but also less studied but critically important methods of poor relief. In particular, McIntosh uncovers the ubiquitous practice of licensing individuals and institutions to seek alms. This semi-official practice served the needs of the poor fairly well and was seen as relatively unproblematic by authorities until the 1530s. Similarly, McIntosh's large and meticulously constructed database of institutions for the poor reveals that almshouses and hospitals, while limited in size and number, provided a useful function throughout this time of relatively low population and limited poverty.

From the 1530s, however, England was confronted with a new landscape of needs and new ideas regarding the best way to meet them. Population growth and economic hardship led to the growth of poverty and an increase in vagrancy and unlicensed begging. Humanist ideas about the commonwealth, Protestant views on the need to create Christian communities that combated poverty, and parliamentary willingness to take an active role in legislating on matters that affected the daily life of the poor all contributed to the implementation of a series of laws that sought to better regulate vagrancy and to assist the deserving poor. Parliament set the first mandatory order for parish-based poor relief in 1536, and put teeth into the order in new laws issued in 1547. McIntosh insists that we see these early Tudor changes as a sea-change in policy toward the poor, and she offers a compelling vision of the complex social, demographic, and ideological changes that underpinned that shift.

Finally, under Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, attitudes toward vagrancy hardened, and legislation against begging proliferated. At the same time, the innovations in poor relief begun under Edward VI were systematized in legislation mandating "abiding houses" (1572) and houses of correction (1576) and creating compulsory parish poor rates (1598) that were overseen and promoted by both secular and religious authorities, with local churchwardens and newly powerful justices of the peace playing critical roles. The Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1598 and 1601 refined the earlier laws, but they also, importantly, provided a new secure legal status for charitable institutions, thus allowing charity to grow alongside parish rates.

McIntosh provides both a revised timeframe for the emergence of the Old Poor Law and a far more complete view of the causes and nature of those changes. Social historians of the period will find this work essential, and comparative historians of poverty will value not only its conclusions, but also the availability of McIntosh's databases, which, in a welcome innovation in publishing, are readily accessible at Cambridge University Press's website. This book is so deeply researched and clearly written that it is sure to become

the standard account of the emergence of England's social welfare system.

SUSANNAH OTTAWAY
Carleton College

CHRIS R. KYLE. *Theater of State: Parliament and Political Culture in Early Stuart England*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 276. Cloth \$60.00, e-book \$60.00.

Chris R. Kyle's book takes the best methods of traditional parliamentary history, whereby institutional procedures and processes are not only recovered but also shown to have had a substantial impact on the politics of an era, and uses them to try and contribute to more recent historiographical debates about political communication and political culture. Kyle's focus of study is England in the early seventeenth century, and he pays particular attention to the fraught and undoubtedly pivotal decade of the 1620s. His concern is with the performative and discursive dimensions of parliament—in terms of the style of debate within the chambers and communication between parliament and country—and their role in the emergence, by 1629, of irrevocable tensions between the king and influential members of the parliamentary classes. Kyle shows that neither the chronic tensions that ripped the English polity apart after 1640 nor the various forms of media by which they did so came from nowhere. On the contrary, they were the product of longer-term processes that rapidly intensified after 1621.

As the book's title suggests, its framing conceit is that the Houses of Lords and especially Commons were analogous to early modern playhouses. These structures began to appear as commercial concerns in London from the 1570s and are usually taken to be the architectural quintessence of the English Renaissance. By the early 1600s, playhouses were an integral feature of London's cultural and economic life. In cleverly framing his study in this way, therefore, Kyle gives himself every chance to write a new and substantial account of early Stuart parliaments that are fully contextualized in contemporary metropolitan culture. Given the significant and ambitious task he has set himself, it is hardly surprisingly that certain sections of the book are more convincing than others. But as an agenda for parliamentary history, *Theater of State* is important and persuasive.

Kyle divides his story into three sections. The first of these, "Inside the Chambers," looks to recapture the discursive conventions and practices of the two houses and so give substance to the theatrical metaphor that launches the book. To this end, he considers the rhetorical skills of parliamentary representatives and evokes the more general "noise of politics"—what he also styles the "soundscape" of murmuring, coughing, jeering, expostulating, and so on—that defined this discursive and theatrical space. Part two, "Writing Parliament," considers among other things the rise of parliamentary diary-keeping in the course of the 1620s, the

importance of manuscript circulation for conveying news and opinion, and the full range of scribal traditions and channels by which parliamentary business had traditionally been communicated beyond the chambers' walls (there is a nice section, for example, on the well-established habit of urban representatives exchanging information and news with their civic constituencies). The final section showcases Kyle's expertise in parliamentary procedure and politicking, following the lobbying techniques of particular interested parties and showing the technical and fiscal challenges facing any individual or corporate group seeking to push legislation through the houses. The book concludes with a consideration of print technology and the manner in which parliamentary business served as a catalyst for the "market in print." Kyle is especially at pains to show the rise of the printed petition in the 1620s and 1630s—that is, a decade or two before the proliferation of the genre in the 1640s.

This argument is important for Kyle because of the wider historiographical debate in which he positions his book: namely the nature and chronology of the "public sphere" in England. David Zaret has argued that it was printed petitioning in the 1640s that first signaled the emergence of a political culture bearing some kind of resemblance to the kind of "bourgeois public sphere" initially theorized by Jürgen Habermas (who traced its English origins to the 1680s). In taking this moment backward, Kyle joins a number of English early modernists who have borrowed Habermas's evocative terminology while jettisoning the conceptual and analytical baggage that, in the hands of historians like Zaret, gives the concept its point and meaning. Yet as a purely descriptive category the "public sphere" is not simply banal (historians of most epochs can find instances of unsanctioned or semi-authorized political discourse). In this instance it also obfuscates much more than it reveals. Kyle's fine empirical work is suggestive of a host of processes that explain the transforming and transformative role of parliament in English society. These range from the "educational revolution" and the spread of literacy to urbanization and the rise of the lawyers. They include the vernacularization of classical rhetoric (a much more combative and adversarial mode of communication than Kyle acknowledges) and the political expectations, inured through local politics, of the populace at large. Kyle even reintroduces the possibility that not only religious but also commercial and social interests looked to utilize parliamentary power. Given these interpretative possibilities, why stick solely with an enervated notion of the public sphere?

PHIL WITHINGTON
University of Sheffield

JOANNE BAILEY. *Parenting in England, 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity, and Generation*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 277. \$125.00.

Peter Burke has observed that the history of emotions is "one of nuances." Joanne Bailey's book exemplifies

this. As with her earlier monograph on domestic violence, this study offers an extremely sensitive, historically wide-ranging, and methodologically innovative consideration of the subject of parenthood and parenting from the perspectives of both parents and children. She concentrates on two broad areas of the parent-child relationship: "emotionology," that is, the ways in which emotions were restrained, controlled, and encouraged by and through discursive norms across the period; and "emotional communities," that is, the groups created by shared experiences, similar interests, and common styles of behavior in relation to parenting. Her work explores these two dimensions by considering the emotions produced by the parent-child relationship, the complexities inherent in accounts of parenting (spanning the divide between individuals and groups), and how parents and children reflected upon their experiences over time.

In the context of the literature on parenting and gender, Bailey's work is innovative in several respects. First, as in her book on domestic violence, she investigates the subject by assembling a greater variety of sources than has so far been used by existing studies, which have focused primarily on conduct literature, family correspondence, or biographical/autobiographical accounts. Bailey employs all of these materials, including substantial letter collections from four "(upper) middle-class" families and forty-five autobiographies or biographical accounts. In addition, she uses extensive collections of pauper letters; trial pamphlets; fiction, poetry, and ballads; medical literature on child-rearing; religious tracts and conversion narratives; and sketches, drawings, and material objects (notably ceramics). Second, as a consequence, Bailey moves seamlessly between individual expressions or behavior and collective/mass cultural norms or patterns. She can embed specific parent-child feelings within a broader cultural context and ground the general strictures of advice or medical literature within particular instances of family life. Third, Bailey concentrates on "embodied" experiences of parenting in the first section of the book, particularly the physical sensations of parental love such as parental embraces, nursing sick children, playing with young children, and the emotional fulfillment and anxiety that such experiences provoked. This follows the recent trend in histories of gender and the body to try to interpret cultural representations and discourses through embodied experiences and practices.

All this amounts to a vast amount of source material and a very wide range of historical dimensions and interpretative variables. Bailey selects them with an acute eye for telling detail, interprets them with tremendous sensitivity both to context and to teasing out the emotions inherent within them, and imposes an encompassing but very clear interpretative framework on the results. She demonstrates the importance of physical care-giving to parent-child relations for validation of parental identity and as a source of emotional solace (and sometimes of grief). She demonstrates the complexities of personal and parental identities, showing

very subtly, but forcefully, the inadequacy of interpretations that concentrate on the evolution of the individualized self in this period. One of her major conclusions emphasizes the "inextricable qualities of self, child, and parent," and that individual identity and selfhood were inherently linked to familial roles. Bailey also illustrates in the final two chapters how familial relations were not confined to the biological parent-child bond. They might be replicated through connections with grandparents, uncles and aunts, family friends, godparents, and household servants. For these reasons, her book represents a significant advance in the existing literature on the family, because it conceives of all the attributes and experiences of "familiarity" in their broadest sense and explores them through the constant interplay of personal and printed cultural forms.

There is only one aspect of the work that raises some interpretative questions: the development of the "emotionology" of parenting over time. This appears entirely unproblematic when it is expressed as the study of the cultural discourses through which the emotions associated with parenting are articulated and made manifest through gestures, speech acts, and publications, so as to make them consequential within individual families and within wider "emotional communities." My concern is more about the degree to which these discourses can be parceled up under a single heading, and particularly whether we can represent the period as one in which there was a distinct shift by about 1830 from a dominant culture of "sensibility" to one of "domesticity" within parenting. My problem is not that I disbelieve that either was a powerful discursive model, or that there was a shift in prevalence from one to the other over time. Rather, it is a concern that either might be depicted as sufficient: that is, as the primary mode by which parent-child relations were characterized, judged, or validated in a particular period. Bailey never asserts the absolute sufficiency of either of these discourses, observing that "no one model of parental practices or family values reigned supreme, because new and old views co-existed" (p. 247), yet she also tempers this by remarking that "the intensity of sensibility dissipated and domesticity became the routine language of conventional family life" by 1830 (p. 248). It appears that she draws back from taking the ultimate interpretative step, which moves from identifying a clear and significant discourse to attributing primary agency to it, and thus avoids the methodological problems associated with this by Dror Wahrman and others. Bailey's action appears justified, because it secures a conclusion that is as nuanced and alive to the complexities of causation (and the multiple configurations of family life) as the rest of her capacious, sympathetic, perceptive, and judicious analysis.

H. R. FRENCH
University of Exeter

ASHOK MALHOTRA. *Making British Indian Fictions, 1772-1823*. (Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellec-

tual History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xiii, 277. \$85.00.

This book revisits postcolonial scholarship from the 1990s—the work of scholars such as Bart Moore-Gilbert, Felicity Nussbaum, Balachandra Rajan, Sara Suleri, and Kate Teltscher—to argue that British literature and cultural life was transformed by Britain's colonial interactions with India. Following this august group of scholars, Ashok Malhotra argues that the historical evidence shows that Britons frequently misunderstood India, even as depictions and representations of India became increasingly popular. As Britons attempted to integrate the existence of a colonial outpost in India with their own sense of Britishness, India provided a convenient reference point to re-establish British norms.

The book draws from literary criticism to make a historical claim that as narratives about India proliferated in England from the 1770s to the 1820s, literature, theater, and art were democratized, reaching an ever-broader audience of consumers. Malhotra argues that a growing trade in literature fueled the public's desire for entertainment in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; to this end, a larger number of people went to the theater, read novels, and were exposed to prints, paintings, and textiles inspired by an imaginary of what India was like. As knowledge about India proliferated, Britons could feel confident that they knew India, even if they had never been there. The first three chapters work well to elaborate genres of representation that have not been juxtaposed in a single book: Malhotra is thus able to suggest that poetry was considered a form of higher status while novels and theater were less so, that art and paintings allowed the visualization of empire that was circulated back into theatrical sets. Malhotra focuses sporadically on the marketing, circulation, and reception of India narratives in Britain, which is a promising argument that is not fully sustained throughout. The latter three chapters are close readings of some important literary texts.

In an effort to be comprehensive, Malhotra spreads himself too thin. In the first chapter alone, he examines the growing print market, which included magazines, novels, poetry, and the widespread consumption of colonial commodities such as spices, textiles, and tea. He also revisits the art produced by William Hodges and Thomas and William Daniell, as well as the large body of visual depictions of Britain's defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1798. He writes that "the Orient was specially packaged and altered in ways that rendered it suitable for consumption in the British domestic space and within polite society" (p. 44). This proliferation of texts did not bring "any accurate knowledge," but rather rendered the Orient as something to be consumed (p. 55).

The second and third chapters open new ground, drawing from art forms that are often ignored such as poetry. British oriental verse by figures such as William Jones, John Scott, Robert Southey, and Thomas Moore became a way to critique global political developments

such as the French Revolution, the colonization of Ireland, and the Napoleonic wars. Malhotra pays great attention to the way that Longman, the publisher, marketed Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (1817) (pp. 72–74), suggesting that a growing readership was being actively cultivated. The third chapter focuses on the rapid growth of London's theater industry and the way in which India provided an appealing site to stage transgressive narratives. Malhotra writes, "occupying the space of colonial others was a convenient means for stage directors and performers to free themselves from prevailing British bourgeois heteronorms and in which to express their own marginal status" (p. 117). The demand for theatrical spectacle merged easily with the sense that India was a place of excessive wealth and gaudy fashions. Costumes, staging, and sets were informed by colonial knowledge circulating in prints and paintings and elaborate clothing, all enabled by an imaginary of India.

The latter three chapters, about novels and narratives on miscegenation, seem the least novel. There is a very informative section on the market for novels in the late eighteenth century, showing that consumption increased during this period and that novel-writing became an occupational option of middle-class women such as Phebe Gibbes and Mary Pilkington (pp. 122–132). Familiar texts such as *Hartly House* (1789) and *Translations of the Letters of a Hindoo Raj* (1801) are juxtaposed against lesser-known texts such as *The Indian Adventurer* (1780) and *Adventures of a Rupee* (1782) to argue that the practice of European men sleeping with Indian women became increasingly less acceptable as time went on. Interracial relationships are seen as a form of colonial empowerment, particularly for the white European. Yet, these relationships rarely produce happiness and are often superseded by marriage between the male protagonist and a European woman. The final chapter focuses on how the attitudes of British men and women living in India changed from attempting to explain Indian society to the British to presuming that Indians were "ethnographically distinct and 'other'" (p. 172). Malhotra describes how a generation of East India Company men and orientalist scholars learned about India, Hinduism, and cultural and mythical practices and subsequently sidelined India as being rife with corruption, decay, and immorality.

DURBA GHOSH

Cornell University

AILEEN FYFE. *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820–1860*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 313. \$50.00.

Aileen Fyfe's latest contribution to our knowledge of nineteenth-century publishing is a study of the impact of technology on the production, distribution, and sale of printed matter from the 1820s to the 1850s. Despite the illustration on the dust jacket and the title page, she is concerned not only with steam-driven printing

presses but also with other applications of steam, especially in transportation by sea and by land.

Steam engines were first used to drive printing machines in the first decade of the nineteenth century, but such presses were almost entirely confined to the newspaper industry for the first ten or fifteen years of their existence. Gradually, however, they came to be used for other products such as magazines, and for books intended to appeal to a mass market by having relatively low prices. Cheap books became one of the watchwords of early Victorian advocates of popular education—especially self-education. It was publishers like Charles Knight and William Chambers who produced them, and Fyfe shows convincingly and in great detail how the publishing company W. & R. Chambers were able to use new printing technologies to reduce the price of their books to a level that the less wealthy could afford. For Chambers this was more than a commercial opportunity, although it most certainly was that, perhaps to a greater extent than Fyfe explicitly acknowledges; it was a cultural and political statement. Like the better-known Knight, Chambers was committed to cheap literature as an aid to the “improvement” of the working class.

Part one of this book deals with developments in printing and book production, providing a useful case study in how the British book trade adapted to the new technology. The story reaches its climax with the construction of the Chambers’s printing works in Edinburgh, where they installed the very latest machinery, largely so they could produce the very successful *Chambers’ Journal*. Its commercial success rested on more than the steam-powered presses. Chambers also began to use stereotyping, and was thus able to print simultaneously (or nearly so) in several locations, including London and, for a time, North America.

The opening of the new printing works leads Fyfe into her second theme: the impact of the railways on the book trade. This was particularly important to Chambers. Located in Scotland, the firm needed to access the London market and—perhaps even more important—the national distribution networks radiating from London. The transformation of domestic travel by the rapid, albeit piecemeal, development of the railway network in the 1840s made this possible. There was, however, another dimension to the impact of the railways on the book trade. Although even the earliest trains were significantly faster than the horse-drawn coaches they superseded, journeys were long and tedious. Reading on the train became common, and a new style of publishing developed to meet this demand. The pioneer was one of Chambers’s competitors, George Routledge, but it was a vast and rapidly growing market in which there was room for many players. With their commitment to cheap books, Chambers inevitably became one. Station bookstalls were important outlets for these books, a fact which Chambers exploited to the full. Specialists will be familiar with the outline of these developments, but Fyfe offers an extended and detailed

study firmly grounded in her knowledge and use of archives and other contemporary sources.

The final part of the book introduces us to a third aspect of the application of steam power: shipping. The use of steam-powered vessels for coastal shipping was important in reducing the journey times between Scotland and the south of England for heavy freight. But it was the opening up of the north Atlantic to steamships that was truly revolutionary. Although a voyage from Europe to Canada and the northeastern United States still took between fifteen and twenty days, and the early steamships were seriously limited in the weight of cargo they could carry, the development of the north Atlantic sea routes changed the book trade. Publishers in Britain could now work closely with those in the United States, notwithstanding the problems British publishers encountered with federal copyright law (or the lack of it) in relation to foreign publications. Stereotype plates and books (and indeed authors and publishers) could cross the ocean with relative ease and safety, and they did so in great numbers. This is perhaps the least familiar part of the story Fyfe tells, especially in showing the extent to which American publishers tried to develop a British market for their books, as well as the more familiar British attempts to do the reverse.

This is an important book. It sheds new light on a significant aspect of the history of the book trade in both the United Kingdom and the United States at a transformative moment in their respective histories. It is well written and excellently produced. I recommend it without hesitation.

JOHN FEATHER
Loughborough University

LEAH PRICE. *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. 350. \$29.95.

Leah Price has written a singular and ingenious account of the uses Victorians made of books, other than reading them. In conformity with the modern fashion, “book” here encompasses most printed matter, including newspapers, periodicals, and tracts. The uses, abuses, and after-uses of books, which Price details and examines for their cultural impact, comprise the widest behavioral variety. The most mundane were generally the overtly physical, such as beating a child about the head with a book, which, given an amount of care and forethought, licensed cruel comedy when the particular title favored as weapon was taken into consideration. At the bottom end of the scale came tearing up pages to wipe the buttocks following defecation. This last deployment—commercially manufactured toilet sheets began distribution in the U.S. only in the late 1850s and toilet rolls in the 1880s—flourished among writers too as a critical insult, suggesting that so-and-so’s poem or novel was fitter for this abject purpose than for intellectual stimulation or ethical improvement. Then there was a whole range of manners and implications associated with picking up and putting down a book, like-

wise in giving and receiving and in umpteen other book-related activities. Books both connect and separate people. Commonplace then as now was the habit of retreating behind a book or newspaper to avoid interaction with spouse or stranger, although how the object was held and displayed might just as easily be manipulated and understood as a conversation starter. Reading aloud to others too was either pleasure or torment, and the circulation of library books a social good or menace, depending on the virulence of contagious matter polluting the pages. Exhibitionism was uppermost in mind where the Victorian equivalent of the coffee-table book was concerned. Jokes about book jackets and bindings being picked to match personal costume and domestic décor were widespread. Naturally, Mr. Pooter, struck by the majesty of red enamel, paints not only flowerpots, coal-scuttle, bath-tub, washstand, towel-horse, and chest of drawers in that grand manner but also the backs of the family *Shakespeare*. In contrast, Leonard Bast's demise in *Howards End* (1910), expiring beneath a bookcase full of unobtainable culture, is grimly tragic.

How various signs were interpreted is a strong feature of Price's work, and the irony is not lost on her that she has obtained her evidence through reading about these non-reading applications. Her close study of texts is frequently perceptive: among them are works by Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, Wilkie Collins, and George Eliot (whom, irritatingly, she calls that name in one sentence, then as Marian Evans in the next). Books also provide a subtle instrument with which to monitor employer-servant relations; and the vast quantity of religious tracts, temperance pamphlets, and other often unwanted literature, including advertising, that was distributed free and either randomly or else targeted at hapless sorts, naturally leads into the subject of paper recycling and waste disposal—very little was actually wasted by the Victorians—viewed through the dispassionate eyes of Henry Mayhew's characters. All this traffic is thoroughly examined by Price, whose own breadth of research is impressive, including such beguiling titles as Henry Coutts, *Library Jokes and Jottings: A Collection of Stories Partly Wise but Mostly Otherwise* (1914). Less attractive is her presentation. This reviewer acknowledges Price's cleverness but rather wishes she had restrained the Niagara of words (replete with parenthetical cascades) that drown the understanding. There is also vocabulary here that the reviewer has never met before and decidedly never wants to meet again. Regrettably, this specialized lexicon will render numerous sentences in her book unintelligible to a good many. Moreover, they may still persist in believing that it remains both more interesting and more important to learn what readers thought about books than what non-readers did with them.

PHILIP WALLER
Merton College,
University of Oxford

SARA L. MAURER. *The Dispossessed State: Narratives of Ownership in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 243. \$60.00.

The Dispossessed State provides an incremental development in the long-term revision of simplistic yet resilient accounts of Irish landownership. One of the few disappointments is that Sara L. Maurer does not situate her work in the historiography, a reflection of her scholarly background in literary studies. Yet her book provides an intellectual history of Irish property, which builds on the insights of social and economic historians. This is a noteworthy contrast to more typical interventions from literary studies, which tend to apply uncritically the modish insights of postcolonial theory. Moreover, in arguing for an interdependent intellectual relationship between Ireland and Great Britain, Maurer draws on thinkers and writers on both sides of the Irish Sea and situates debates about Irish property in the changing intellectual climate of the nineteenth century. The industrial revolution precipitated important shifts in thinking about the relationship between property and the state. Before this, property was widely regarded as having preexisted the state, meaning the latter existed to protect the former, and that the independence of property from state interference was essential to social order. By the 1870s, however, thinkers including Matthew Arnold and John Stuart Mill reversed this assumption to argue that property was a means to an end, and that states predated property; therefore a state could interfere with property for the wider social good.

Critically examining the novels of Maria Edgeworth, Anthony Trollope, George Moore, and George Meredith, Maurer challenges the assumption that Victorian narratives tended to lament the marketization of property and encourage nostalgia. She suggests instead that attitudes split along a number of axes, often alternating between thinking of ownership as a relationship between one owner and one owned thing, and considering it more as a bundle of variable rights and privileges that might be negotiated among several parties. In doing so Maurer aims to highlight the mutual influence of the multinational United Kingdom, although in practice this literary-based work conflates Britain with England. The book's title arises from Maurer's contention that dispossession featured prominently, and in contrasting ways, in nineteenth-century writing about Ireland. Some writers celebrated dispossession as the founding moment of a community forged around persisting possessive feelings directed at lost property, be they the landed elite or tenant farmers, making dispossession a more communal experience than (individual) landownership. Others, in contrast, imagined that the state could redistribute property and its enjoyment in a way that might draw an emerging class of landowners into a closer relationship with the state.

As Victorian ideas of property evolved away from an inalienable connection to land, Ireland offered a pos-

itive model for those who continued to respect individual property rights. In a view that is counterintuitive, Maurer suggests that British commentators perceived Ireland as a more elegant and unified proprietary terrain than Britain. Property rights in Ireland, they reasoned, could be discerned by paying attention to the emotions of those who felt themselves to be rightful owners, and onlookers admired how campaigns for legal recognition united Irish people. This picture of dispossession seemed to avoid the contradictions inherent in British ideals concerning ownership: that it was a guarantor of freedom by providing protection against the state, yet it considerably restricted freedom by committing its owners to exercise their power for the good of family and community, not only in the present but for the benefit of future generations.

Irish nationalists certainly promoted the idea of dispossession, with cultural nationalists in particular using it to resist the increasingly invasive Victorian state. Yet it was the government—first Liberal, then Conservative—which gradually reframed property rights to be more consistent with nationalist demands, in the process diminishing the influence of the much criticized landed elite. As a result, even the latter used the rhetoric of dispossession to describe their changed circumstances (examined here through the novels of Edgeworth). In these contrasting ways, dispossession was applied to resist the (British) state and promote the increasingly anachronistic Lockean ideal that property had the function of marking off a zone into which the authority of the state could not enter. Maurer's focus on novelists is understandable, and like Gary Peatling's work on liberal ideology and Ireland, helps explain the intellectual basis of shifting attitudes among progressive politicians. But her conclusions pose interesting questions about conservatism, especially the strain of political thought identified by Andrew Gailey as constructive unionism. Indeed, without acknowledging it, this book addresses terrain mapped out by E. H. H. Green and others on the philosophical reorientation of conservatism, away from solely protecting landed privilege to constructing a wider definition of property ownership designed to win over and promote the interests of the middle classes. However understated, this book's useful insights should not go unnoticed by historians.

N. C. FLEMING

University of Worcester

Theresa Jill Buckland. *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870–1920*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. x, 247. \$85.00.

Theresa Jill Buckland's study of society dancing in England between 1870 and 1920 focuses on the *beau monde*, framed in appropriately plutocratic rather than aristocratic terms. She argues that, for the social elite, dancing played an important role in establishing patterns of sociability and reinforcing class hierarchies. Buckland, a professor of performing arts, deserves credit for her willingness to engage with historical scholarship and

contextualize her subject. She claims to employ three interrelated developments—"the so-called cultural turn, a new interest in the hermeneutics of the human body, and postmodernist approaches to the past" (p. 14)—in her study, which is divided into three parts: society dances, fashioning gentility, and modern moves. In each, she is alive to the movers on the dance floor and the function their dance served, as well as to the wider cultural infrastructure that influenced their movements, notably the professional dance instructor. Her evidence is mostly culled from dance manuals, etiquette books, guest lists, critical essays, the trade press, novels, illustrations, and photographs of high society dancing.

Ironically, for a book concerned with the social dimension to an essentially kinetic activity, *Society Dancing* takes a somewhat static, even dated, view of social and cultural history. There is surprisingly little here about the relationship of elite dancing culture to the body (particularly contemporary notions of degeneracy and physical culture) and to broader issues of performativity and spectatorship that came to be so prominent in the experience of the modern city. More specifically, an intriguing discussion of masculinity and dancing is compromised by an unsophisticated and somewhat dated understanding of the pertinent historiography. A growing reluctance among elite men to get onto the dance floor is placed in the context of John Tosh's late Victorian "retreat from domesticity," a notion that has increasingly been questioned by historians concerned with the more ambivalent responses of men to public and private spheres in this period. Buckland also has a tendency to reiterate historical clichés that have been increasingly confounded in recent decades, for example, referring to "a long tradition of puritanical and middle-class opposition to the pleasures of the body and of time-wasting frivolity" (p. 138). Perhaps the book's central flaw is its insistence (iterated in the main body of the book, although less so in the later chapters) that dancing served as an effective means to police the boundaries of elite exclusivity. Clearly, controlling access to many of the venues in which elite dancing took place was relatively feasible and straightforward. This is certainly the case in regard to invitation-only dances held in the ballrooms of stately homes or, even more effectively, in the smaller (and therefore numerically more exclusive) drawing rooms of patrician London townhouses. However, one cannot help being skeptical about dancing serving as an intrinsic facilitator of exclusivity and distinction. There is relatively little attention to other venues in which members of the elite might share the dance floor with a much broader range of social actors. Ballrooms of casinos on the Riviera, metropolitan and provincial assembly rooms, and charity and regimental balls undoubtedly offered more extensive opportunity for less regulated social mixing. As Buckland herself concedes, private charity balls at the Royal Albert Hall at the turn of the century could attract roughly 4,000 people, a scale that suggests the very strong possibility of grandees rubbing shoulders literally in these crowded spaces with members of the

artistic, fashionable, bohemian, and business communities (pp. 44–45).

One of the most interesting aspects of the book is the discussion of the commercial undertakings that evolved to promote and sustain the culture of dancing. Unfortunately, Buckland's fascinating account of the rise of the professional dance master and the formal dance lesson is not paralleled by extended attention to the musicians who provided the musical accompaniment to society dancing. One or two stray references to large string orchestras at royal balls, small groups of musicians in converted drawing room dances, or smaller affairs with a single pianist fail to provide an adequate picture of who these musicians were, and how amenable they were to the changes affecting dance culture (notably the arrival of jazz and the Tango) in the early years of the twentieth century. More significantly, Buckland identifies the professional dance instructor as a gatekeeper against the forces of change, particularly in the Edwardian period when s/he advocated standardized regimes of instruction in order to keep at bay dance forms associated with a variety of social, racial, and national others. In fact, the very existence of dance instructors suggests the rise of professional and commercial forces that had already emerged as a challenge to those who attempted to maintain the distinction between insiders and outsiders. Those who sought to use dancing as an instrument of demarcation and regulation were always confounded by the potential of a leisure activity predicated on movement and bodies in contact to emblemize the shifting, ultimately democratic, possibilities of the age.

BRENDA ASSAEL
Swansea University

HELEN MCCARTHY. *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c. 1918–1945*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 282. \$100.00.

The League of Nations Union (LNU) was the most important public lobby group addressing British foreign and defense policy in the interwar years and has attracted substantial scholarship—notably Donald Birn's superb *The League of Nations Union 1918–1945* (1981). Helen McCarthy advises readers early on that she intends to go beyond existing studies of the LNU as a minor player in policymaking and explore the league "movement" as a major presence within the wider political culture, one which contributed in important ways to the recasting of social, political, religious, and imperial identities in the changing dynamics of democracy following the franchise extensions of 1918 and 1928. She also promises to surpass conventional methodologies, joining historians of political culture whose interests focus on the complex interactions between formal politics and forces at work in the wider culture, such as technology, socioeconomic change, shifting class and gender relations, and religious and intellectual traditions. McCarthy draws on the records of the grassroots

movement of LNU members and local branches, relationships with organizations beyond the conventional peace movement, and the local archives of political parties, unions, churches, newspapers, and other civic associations.

For the most part the author delivers impressively on her promises. Certainly the scope of her research unearths copious new and interesting information on the motives and behavior of LNU members and their efforts to convince the British government to support fully the goals spelled out in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Equally, the adopted methodological focus on political culture allows for an engaging fresh reconceptualization of the history of the LNU. Accordingly, the book is not ordered chronologically but rather along a framework of thematic chapters. Major new information and insight can be found in chapters on the central ideas of the "New Diplomacy" that attracted members to the LNU in the wake of the catastrophe of the Great War; the operation of the pro-LNU movement within the major political parties; the contribution of British Christianity to the goals of the LNU; the place of the League in education and the quest for a world citizenship; the relationship between the League and evolving British imperialism; the relationship of League activism and class politics; the construction of a gendered internationalism; and the silencing and failures of the LNU's political centrism in the crises of 1936–1939.

If each of this book's chapters offers rich new data and conceptualizations, several chapters stand out for the scope of their research and the quality of the perspectives offered. The chapters on the League in British education and the support given by the Christian churches are rich in new archival research and analysis. The LNU was very successful in attracting broad support from British educators at all levels of schooling and in working a commitment to internationalism and world citizenship into core areas of school curricula, while also placing LNU ideals in the rituals of the academic year. Only when LNU advocacy threatened to impose a didactic interpretation of history did some critics point to the dangers of surrendering curricula even to benign propaganda. The role of the churches in providing institutional support, meeting rooms, volunteers, leadership, and middle-class respectability was vital to the functioning of the LNU while, in turn, the ideals of the League movement gave focus, hope, and some healing to those who had experienced the ravages of the Great War and were committed to an ideal of "never again." The author shows that the Free Churches excelled in enthusiasm and effort for the League, with the Church of England in second rank and Roman Catholics the least engaged.

Woodrow Wilson's vision of an internationalist ideology centered on a social contract and a covenant of nations to respect and enforce peace and law through collective security represented the principal ideological response of liberalism and Protestantism to the challenges of war, communist revolution, and fascism in the

first half of the twentieth century. Collective security was at the heart of the Wilsonian vision of liberal internationalism; it served as the principal dynamic in mobilizing support for the LNU and the League of Nations. It also meant that the United States never joined the League of Nations. And when collective security suffered equally from governmental aversion and failed implementation in the face of Japanese, Italian, and German aggression, it ruined the League of Nations and the LNU. When it came to creating the United Nations Organization, the charter would honor collective-security doctrine only in rhetoric, constrained by realism and the requisite consensus of permanent member votes in the Security Council. While this book presents a fresh and encompassing social history of the LNU in British interwar political culture, astutely assessing failures as well as successes, its analysis might have been stronger had McCarthy paid more attention to locating the credo and mission of the LNU in the ideological crises, innovations, and reformulations generated by World War I and the economic disasters of the 1930s.

GEORGE EGERTON

University of British Columbia

TOM BUCHANAN. *East Wind: China and the British Left, 1925–1976*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xx, 250. \$125.00.

Tom Buchanan's insightful and exhaustively researched study fills a gap in the historiography of British views on China. While the past years have seen an increasing number of publications about Anglo-Chinese relations, the British Left's relations with China have been mostly ignored. Buchanan analyzes three aspects of this relationship between 1925 and 1976: namely, the role the British Left played in organizations like the China Campaign Committee or the Britain-China Friendship Association, "the policies and attitudes of the 'mainstream' Labour movement" (p. ix), and the points of convergence between the Labour Party and the non-Labour Left. However, while the first aspect is well covered in the book and gives it a certain narrative coherence, the mainstream labor movement does not figure as prominently as might be expected, and the Labour Party makes only very rare appearances.

Buchanan uses three different definitions of the Left. One definition includes the Communist Party of Great Britain and other explicit left-wing parties. A second definition refers to intellectuals of the Left, while a third definition includes the Labour Party and trade unions. The variety of definitions used in the study makes the book's focus seem disjointed, because the narrative jumps from certain individuals to specific groups, organizations, and parties that have been ignored in previous chapters. Rather than trying to encompass the entire British Left in one book, a narrower focus, or even a selection of specific people and organizations, would have made the study more coherent and easier to follow. Buchanan also sometimes uses formulations that could be interpreted as referring to gen-

eral British views and not those of the British Left. For example, he states: "Chiang Kai-shek's image in Britain was transformed" (p. 64). This may have been true in leftist circles, but Chiang was not perceived positively in the 1930s by the general British public.

Buchanan relies on a great variety of records from labor leaders and other individuals who were involved with China, and he details their personal views of China, their experiences there, and their accounts of debates in the various organizations that sprang up between 1925 and 1976 (the epilogue includes the years up to 1989). The extensive use of archival documents and personal records makes his monograph not only interesting but also highly entertaining. For example, Buchanan tells the story of Hilda Selwyn-Clarke, an active member of the China Campaign Committee, who argued in 1946 that Hong Kong should continue under British rule rather than under the Guomindang's "Gestapo" (p. 103), while a Communist Party document from 1968 described British Maoists as "continually dividing, like bacteria" (p. 199).

Buchanan excels at portraying the British Left's organizations involved with China and the struggles they encountered in the mainstream labor movement due to the degree of control exerted by British Communists, the Comintern, or the Chinese government. However, there are drawbacks to such a sweeping history of the British Left and China. The broad focus of the book means that, despite being structured chronologically, many chapters lack a clearly defined argument because they cover so many different topics, viewpoints, organizations, and individual experiences. Buchanan has amassed a wealth of intriguing facts and fascinating insights into the British Left's views and relations with China, but a stricter narrative structure with explicitly formulated arguments in each chapter would have sharpened the focus and made it more accessible.

A minor point of criticism is that the only map in the book contains several spelling mistakes ("Shandung" instead of "Shandong," "Jiagsu" instead of "Jiangsu"). It is also a shame that the book reproduces several fascinating cartoons from left-wing publications but Buchanan usually summarizes them in one sentence instead of analyzing and comparing their use of symbols and stereotypes.

Despite these shortcomings, Buchanan has written a seminal account on the British Left's relations with China that makes a major contribution to Anglo-Chinese relations in general. It is a must read for anyone interested in this subject.

ARIANE KNÜSEL

University of Zurich

JAMES HEVIA. *The Imperial Security State: British Colonial Knowledge and Empire-Building in Asia*. (Critical Perspectives on Empire.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 304. \$99.00.

Much of James Hevia's far-ranging study is focused on information produced by the military intelligence wing

of the British Indian Army that was based in Simla, or as it is known today, Shimla. Route books, maps, martial-race handbooks, and statistical studies from 1880 to 1940 are counted among the tools of an "imperial security regime." To Hevia's credit, the chapter on the military revolution of the nineteenth century does not follow Geoffrey Parker's well-trodden path of superior technology. Hevia is more concerned with the reform of military organizations, and he provides European models for comparison with the British.

Those who know the history of the British Indian Army will appreciate why the author pays considerable attention to Afghanistan as a recurring security issue. Hevia also urges us to consider a fragmented interpretation of "Asia" as attributed to the British Indian Army, a sweeping construct painted with broad brush strokes. This rendition fails to integrate influential individuals (such as General Sir Ian Standish Monteith Hamilton) who wrote about significant cultural shifts such as those embodied in the Russo-Japanese War. In fairness to Hevia, however, the positioning of Afghanistan against a greater backdrop of "Asia" does permit a glimpse of how a theater-based intelligence mechanism runs the risk of warping strategic perception. Not surprisingly, it is in writing about China that Hevia is at his best in terms of comfort level and fluency; no doubt a reflection of his academic specialization. Ultimately, the Afghan thread leads us back to the twenty-first century as the book's final chapter asks readers to consider historic versus contemporary military intervention in Afghanistan as seen from the standpoint of state security.

The references to Michel Foucault in the main body of the text tend to date rather than strengthen the theoretical framework of the book, but that is a minor point. A greater criticism is that this book does not consider the continuity of South Asian history from an indigenous or a European standpoint. Afghanistan served for centuries as a base from which to raid Hindustan. The Timurids had used it as such, and as late as the Napoleonic period there were fears of yet another Afghan invasion. This book also neglects the contributions of the East India Company (EIC) to the evolution of British military intelligence in India. Hevia sees the EIC's post-1857 demise as a watershed and states that "army intelligence as a coherent military discipline did not appear in British India until the late 1870s" (p. 12).

One could argue, however, that the chief difference in the intelligence and information systems of the British military in India during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had to do with decentralization and civil-military integration. By relying on the East India Company—a then publicly traded entity—the British government had to a large extent outsourced intelligence to an organization that combined civil and military intelligence for the purposes of regional security. The origins of the Company's Secret and Political Department can be traced back as far as the mid-eighteenth century. The EIC's maps, route books, and ex-

haustive demographic studies were historically parallel information sources often printed by commercial publishers. The teaching of local languages to EIC personnel was done in its purpose-built schools.

The study of pre-1857 British military intelligence in India is complicated by what many fail to recognize as four distinct military entities and four distinct military cultures. Each of the EIC's presidencies (Madras, Bombay, and Bengal) had its own army that could function alone or in combination with sister services. In turn, any or all of those three, could combine forces with the sovereign's troops—what we know in today's parlance as the British Army. This composite military picture explains how intelligence specialists from one of the three presidency armies could be placed on the staff of a leading regional commander from His Majesty's forces; as was the case in Lord Gerard Lake's 1803 Hindustan Campaign, when intelligence officers were drawn from the Bengal Army. As for civil-military hybridization, in the Deccan Campaign, the young EIC diplomat Mountstuart Elphinstone served in the field as senior intelligence officer on the staff of Major General Arthur Wellesley. These segmented intelligence systems of the earlier period were rightly revealed in C. A. Bayly's *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (2000) as having co-opted preexisting South Asian human intelligence resources.

Fear and criticism aside, it can be said that on balance Hevia presents us with a detailed and thought-provoking book that will be of interest to those studying imperial information systems, the evolution of professional military education, and the history of the British Indian Army.

RANDOLF G. S. COOPER
Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society

DAVID FRENCH. *Army, Empire, and Cold War: The British Army and Military Policy, 1945–1971*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 335. \$150.00.

British military historians have not written detailed studies of the postwar British Army as an institution; they have chosen instead to cover elements of its campaigns in Palestine, Korea, Malaya, Kenya, Egypt, Borneo, the Persian Gulf, and Aden. David French lays the blame for the neglect of the sustained study of the army at the door of British popular culture's fascination with "special forces." "The veterans of the Fourteenth Army who fought in Burma between 1942 and 1945 called themselves 'the forgotten army,'" French comments, "but that appellation could just as well be applied to the whole British army after 1945" (p. 1). Thomas Hardy is reputed to have said that "peace makes dull reading, but war is a rattling good yarn." It is a tribute to French's skill as a writer that both the thesis of his book and its intricate detail compel interest, built as they are on the indigestible prose of the official record.

French's core argument is that the nonfighting, or deterrent, element of the British Army was, by an order

of magnitude, more important than its conduct of military operations. The postwar British Army was not intended to fight Britain's colonial wars but "designed to deter, and if deterrence failed, to fight the Soviet Army in the Middle East and Europe" (p. 3). At the end of postwar demobilization in 1949 the army had 418,000 men under arms. It was led by a highly capable elite: "most had been commissioned in the interwar period, all but a handful had been educated at public school [i.e., fee-paying private schools], and all of them had served during the Second World War" (p. 67).

The core was the British Army of the Rhine (BAOR) stationed in northern Germany. BAOR's main fighting element, 1 Corps, was activated in August 1951. In French's view BAOR has been misunderstood. Military reformers chose to caricature it as a static occupation army, wedded to old-style thinking. But according to French it was far from static in its origins. In 1952 1 Corps comprised an infantry division and *three* armored divisions. The army would, its leaders acknowledged, have to abandon some of the lessons and techniques of 1944–1945: "there could be no attempt to maintain a continuous series of mutually supporting positions." Nuclear weapons strengthened maneuverist military thought. In 1947, French argues, the army fixed on four core ideas: "divisions on the defensive would have to be deployed across much wider fronts," "troops earmarked for the offensive or counter-offensive would have to be far more mobile than in the past," "artillery and other weapons would need longer ranges," and troops would need a "very high standard of training together with very efficient methods of control and communication" (p. 201).

The army high command did not value its conscript army. "We feel that, from every point of view, it is necessary to re-institute an all-regular army as soon as possible," they wrote in 1956. In 1957 the realization of one of the generals' ambitions—the end of conscription—undermined their goal of a maneuverist army in north-western Europe. Between 1958 and 1966 the proportion of the army in frontline fighting units increased from 57:43 to 65:35. Most, of the benefit, however, was manifested in expeditionary warfare beyond Europe. "Becoming pinned to the ground was just what did happen to BAOR," French acknowledges (p. 91). In contrast to his central argument, he admits that the light colonial army and the special forces became Britain's "real" army. "In 1964–65 seven infantry battalions in BAOR . . . were reduced to two companies each so that units on active operations in Borneo could be kept up to their operational strength" (p. 196).

It is little wonder, therefore, that for those brought up in the 1970s, peace made dull reading. The army's own survey of public opinion in 1970 concluded that defense "appears to be an area about which the majority of informants had given little thought. Very few expressed strong opinions (except on conscription); the majority showed little concern for the present state of the Armed Forces and simply accepted it as it is" (p.

176). Faced with a difficult subject, French has written an exemplary book, a closely argued revisionist history that will become a standard work both for professional historians and military academies.

SIMON BALL
University of Leeds

DAVID FRENCH. *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency, 1945–1967*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 283. \$125.00.

VICTORIA NOLAN. *Military Leadership and Counterinsurgency: The British Army and Small War Strategy since World War II*. (International Library of Security Studies, number 1.) New York: I. B. Tauris. 2012. Pp. x, 306. \$99.00.

The cover notes to David French's most recent volume describe it as "a seminal reassessment of the historical foundation of British counter-insurgency doctrine and practice," and it is difficult to question this assertive contention. He has succeeded in producing an exceptionally noteworthy study, one in which he has provided a detailed and important examination of the degree to which Robert Thompson's model, or "ideal type," of counter-insurgency (COIN)—and its later elaborations proposed by the likes of Frank Kitson and Julian Paget—was used by British military forces during the 1945–1967 period. Early in the introduction, the British experience in Malaya is highlighted as having been viewed "as the epitome of how to fight" a successful COIN campaign, and inevitably therefore this conflict is central to what follows. The book, however, offers a great deal more than this single example, as it also reviews and analyzes the experiences of the other major COIN campaigns involving British forces conducted throughout the period, from Palestine to Aden. The result is a study of how "doctrine and practise developed over time" (p. 7) but without it threatening to become a trite manual proffering yet more advice on "how to conduct COIN ops in the contemporary environment" (p. 8). This book will not be the much sought-after panacea; it is actually a great deal more, both historical and comparative discussion and analysis that seeks to correct what the author clearly believes has been the sometimes seriously erroneous use of history in the formulation of contemporary COIN doctrine.

Over the course of eight chapters of varying lengths, the increasingly contentious debates now commonly associated with similar studies—ranging from the degree to which there was any attempt at adhering to a policy of "minimum force" and the highly dubious adoption and interpretation of legal frameworks, to proposing the idea that the British experience at times degenerated into "dirty wars" with scant regard for human rights—are all considered. Drawing upon a rich array of archival sources, each chapter adds considerably to the knowledge of those less aware of the growing mountain of COIN literature and must surely broaden the

thinking of those more familiar with this now popular theme for study. Particularly relevant is the investigation of the degree to which the British actually learnt from their experiences during this period. The Colonial Office, the Whitehall body most intimately involved in decolonization contests, is roundly criticized for having either failed to study the military's efforts or, when it did, producing reports which were subjected to limited distribution and largely overlooked. French also takes the time to focus on military doctrine and the often underrecognized challenge of its creation (which is an issue of increasing significance to military practitioners, not just in the United Kingdom but across the globe). As French notes "the army did its best to formulate usable doctrines by gathering and analysing lessons" (p. 218), but for a number of reasons this did not necessarily achieve the best effect. The four-page section detailing how doctrine was actually written during this period and the steps it took along the evolutionary path that had begun in 1934 with Charles Gwynn's *Notes on Imperial Policing* (pp. 203–207) is especially insightful. It concludes by asserting, based upon an analysis of the official documents, that Thompson's 1966 study did not in fact represent a new COIN strategy, "Rather, he codified, popularized, and brought to a wider audience doctrines that the army had already developed and promulgated in its own manuals some years earlier" (p. 207)—in short, Thompson did not actually propose anything that was original or new. Equally fascinating is the manner in which the author details how the "lessons learned" documents were then disseminated and the degree to which the analysis and advice that was being offered had any impact on its audience.

French has once again produced a book that has rightly received considerable acclaim, in this instance for adding to the debate about the British contribution, both real and imagined, to countering insurgency. For ■ non-specialist who works closely with the contemporary British military in what has become a densely congregated area of study, it is most obviously apparent that he confirms what must surely be the key aspect of the historical COIN experience. While Malaya and even Kenya are often referred to as having been successful operations, as he concludes "in neither case did the British win because they began by laying down timetables for creating independent states to succeed colonial rule." At the start of both commitments the last thing that was on the mind of Britain's leaders was the need to make political concessions (p. 192). The only claims made by the author that might be queried are where he suggests that Thompson's principles still form the basis of teaching about COIN at the contemporary United Kingdom Staff College (p. 3) and that prior to 2006 the Malayan experience had formed the basis for these studies (p. 7). My experience, during the last decade spent at the current Joint Services Command and Staff College (JSCSC), has been that both Thompson and Malaya have formed part of a much wider historical and contemporary examination, albeit perhaps on oc-

casation with some sense of *primus inter pares*. There has in fact been considerable depth and rigor in this aspect of studies, particularly in terms of seeking to prepare students for the operational challenges ahead of them.

Victoria Nolan's well-researched and readable study touches on a number of similar themes to those scrutinized by French. Drawing on the empirical evidence provided by three case studies spanning the period 1948–1960—specifically Malaya, Kenya, and Cyprus—the text is very clearly based upon her postgraduate thesis and sometimes lacks the eloquent, crisp language and reflective impact provided by French's grand survey. At the same time there are instances where Nolan reaches very different conclusions from French, notably about the degree to which the British military attempted to incorporate lessons learned and develop doctrine (pp. 241, 244).

There are some areas where the book works very well. The nearly fifty-page account of the historical background up to the end of World War II contained within the second chapter provides a valuable basis for what follows, and each of the case study chapters offers many valuable insights. Extensive use is made of the records held in the JSCSC archives, and this allows for some insightful analysis and conclusions about curriculum development and the role of professional military education (PME). There is a particularly valuable section (pp. 101–110) tracing the evolution that took place in COIN teaching.

The book's obvious strength, and it is a considerable one, is the detailed examination it provides of military leadership and the role this plays in fostering effective organizational learning and a reflective culture. Indeed, in many respects Nolan's book is really more about this important aspect of the British military, as it notably seeks to identify the qualities most closely associated with charismatic leaders like Orde Wingate, Gerald Templar, and George Erskine. The author perhaps underestimates the degree to which what she terms "Command, Leadership and Management" is already studied by the modern British military, certainly at the intermediate and advanced levels of its education and training. The reality is that it has been ever present since the modern JSCSC's establishment and, as a module, continues to evolve and expand. As a learning resource this book would actually appear to have potentially great benefit to future courses, providing some useful questions for student reflection—not all of which have been entirely convincingly answered.

Extensively researched and often extremely well considered, French's study impresses on the reader not merely the depth and breadth of its review but also the writer's profound understanding and appreciation of his subject. Consequently, it demands close attention. As an addition to the rapidly expanding literature on COIN and "small wars" Victoria Nolan has made a worthwhile contribution, albeit one that may ultimately prove to be of greater value to those examining how

military organizations evolve and respond to particularly complex challenges.

ANDREW STEWART

King's College London

and Joint Services Command and Staff College

DAVID CANNADINE, JENNY KEATING, and NICOLA SHELTON. *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011. Pp. xiii, 306. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$24.00.

This well-researched book aims to explore the quantity and quality of instruction in history in English primary and secondary schooling over the past century, and to determine—where possible—the impact of that instruction. Its analytical method is to proceed from the level of government officials and their guidelines along with academic ideas about pedagogy, down through local educational authorities and their school policy, to actual teaching practice in the classroom. The authors' sources range widely from policy statements to instructional materials to oral interviews. Their conclusions are sobering. For most of the twentieth century, central government largely left the subjects of instruction in English state schools in the hands of local authorities and teachers; the oversight of education has in fact been a low status post within the national government, with few noteworthy ministers interested in reforms or in increasing or defending budgets. And while instructional methods evolved to reflect changes in the views of professional and academic educationalists, they did so only slowly and unevenly, and often without making any measurable difference.

Strikingly, continuity rather than change characterizes both curriculum development and the content of English history instruction over the past century. As the authors note, while debate and disagreement about what history should be taught (and how) has characterized the period after World War I when the school leaving age was fourteen, young children were expected to be taught historical stories, which would gradually be expanded with the age of the student to an outline of the history of the nation, with some attention also given to Europe and the rest of the world. Despite changing emphases and alternative proposals in the intervening years and the creation of a "national curriculum," by the 1990s the compulsory study of history still ended at age fourteen, and instruction in history still began with the telling of stories to young children, expanded into an outline of the nation's history, and included a nod toward Europe and the wider world. More concentrated and longer attention on history was possible for some students by the end of the century, but the vast majority of students did not choose (nor were many encouraged) to follow that path. The authors also conclude that the evidence suggests that (dis)interest in history has usually been the result of the quality of teaching experienced by students, and that this too has not changed much over the past century. Against these continuities, the authors contrast two significant and

radical changes: the growth of mass post-secondary education since 1945, and the development even more recently of the information-technology revolution (especially multimedia and computer-learning technologies). Both developments have been far-reaching, but they are still too recent to make definitive claims about their impact.

The breadth and depth of this study are admirable, and it is without doubt the most comprehensive discussion of formal history instruction in England (but not Britain) in the twentieth century yet attempted. Yet one of the claims made in the conclusion—that this study is the first to detail the interconnectedness of formal pedagogy with wider culture—is jarring and rings somewhat hollow. The "culture" that is considered in this book is almost entirely that of the political and educational establishment and its impact (or lack thereof) at the level of everyday schooling. This definition of culture is oddly narrow if its aim really is to show how "schoolchildren come to learn about the past" and also "the sense of the past, if any, which they acquire, retain and remember in later lives" (p. 219). And so regardless of the authors' intentions, the book's structure—always starting at the level of high politics and elite theorizing about education and then moving "down" to the local—is symptomatic of this narrow conception of culture and its influence. After reading this concluding claim it was surprising to reflect on the degree to which this book ignores the wider context of local extracurricular and popular culture in the construction of a sense of the past amongst teachers, children, and adults. Admittedly, exploring that interaction would result in another kind of book entirely, less focused on teaching, but other notable historians have begun the process of understanding how consciousness of the past, and its reproduction, has worked in Britain. Raphael Samuel, for instance, spent much of his professional life detailing the extracurricular constructions of the past that resonated with ordinary people, yet Samuel merits barely one mention in this book, and that for being a leftist foe of the late-1980s national curriculum. Arguably then, this is not a book fully attentive to the ways in which the past has been understood, constructed, and contested by either those teaching or those taught within schools. But it is a very good survey of history "as a taught subject" in English schools in the twentieth century.

STEPHEN HEATHORN

McMaster University

RICHARD PURKISS. *Democracy, Trade Unions and Political Violence in Spain: The Valencian Anarchist Movement, 1918–1936*. (Cañada Blanch/Sussex Academic Studies on Spain.) London: Cañada Blanch Centre for Contemporary Spanish Studies. Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 304. \$74.95.

Since the late 1970s English-language scholarship on Spanish anarchism has focused on Aragon, Andalusia, and Catalonia, regions where the movement had its

deepest and most vibrant roots. Despite the fact that Valencia too was a major hub of working-class radicalism—particularly during the 1920s and 1930s—it has been ill-served by labor historians. Thanks to the appearance of Richard Purkiss's in-depth study of the relationship between anarchism and labor organizations in Valencia between 1918 and 1936, we now have the fullest account available of how libertarianism contributed to transforming this provincial capital into a "red city" during a particularly turbulent phase of twentieth-century Spanish history.

Purkiss adopts a hybrid model of analysis that combines the methods and techniques of both social and political historians. His assessment of cultural matters is more descriptive than analytical and his narrative is unencumbered by jargon or a highly specialized language.

Grounding his work in a wide array of primary and secondary sources, Purkiss demonstrates anarchism's development into a major revolutionary force in the Valencian region by exploring its political and cultural links to other labor organizations and political groupings. Of special significance in this regard was the *blasquismo* movement, a form of radical republicanism that was shaped by the ideas of the well-known Valencian author Vicente Blasco Ibáñez. Cultural and political collaboration between left-wing liberal parties and workers' groups was common in Barcelona, Valencia, and other urban areas, but it rarely produced a viable partnership between the middle class and labor organizations. This was particularly evident in Valencia, where the *blasquistas* were in direct competition not with the anti-political anarchists but with the reform-minded socialists. Despite their virulent anticlericalism, which appealed to the revolutionary segment of the working classes, the *blasquistas* were hard pressed to convince the majority of workers that electoral methods could advance their own class interests. As Purkiss makes clear, ultimately it was the militants of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo-Federación Anarquista Ibérica (CNT-FAI) who were most successful at channeling the workers' collective grievances into mass mobilizations aimed at overthrowing capitalism.

For Purkiss, the radicalization of the Valencian workers is best understood by exploring the various ways in which the anarchists projected their brand of revolutionary ideas and beliefs through cultural and social forms (chapter four). The appeal of their doctrine is not hard to comprehend. The anarchists pointed to the futility of the ballot box at both the local and national levels, offering instead a direct action strategy not only to challenge the anti-union authorities and factory owners but also to engender a sense of solidarity and revolutionary *esprit de corps* among the workers. Purkiss tells us that the anarchists also placed great stock in educational endeavors, through which they managed to inculcate anarchist values and beliefs among their mostly illiterate audience. In addition to establishing rational (secular) schools and centers of learning within union *centros* and similar labor orga-

nizations, the anarchists found other paths of introducing the workers to anarchist ideas. Purkiss provides a fascinating description of how young anarchist militants used outdoor gatherings and excursions (*giras libertarias*) to the beach or countryside to demonstrate to both converts and other youths the value of the "natural" or uncorrupted lifestyle advocated by the libertarians. According to Purkiss, such solidarity building activities proved so successful that the authorities resorted to "heavy-handed" measures to repress them (p.157).

The author's assessment of the anarchists' cultural activities is interwoven into a more broadly based analysis of the process by which Valencian workers became radicalized over a twenty-year period. Purkiss emphasizes the role of violence in creating a revolutionary atmosphere within the CNT and other labor unions. As he explains, violence ranged from the repression by local police and clashes between pro- and anti-union groups to the criminal activity of anarchist gangs. Particularly informative is the author's balanced account of the sectarianism that split the anarchist movement in the early 1930s into mutually hostile ideological camps. The early years of the Second Republic were characterized by a series of highly disruptive working-class rebellions spearheaded by the anarchist purists of the FAI. The results were nearly devastating for organized labor; small-scale insurrections invited severe reprisals from the government, which ultimately suppressed the kind of cultural and social activities upon which the anarchists relied to promote their cause.

The author's attempt to compress so many different themes into his narrative has its drawbacks. For example, while Purkiss is right to underscore the central role culture played in the development of Valencia's anarchist community, it is a pity that he does not attempt to place anarchist cultural projects during the 1920s and early 1930s in the context of the educational and literary activities of previous generations of libertarians in Valencia and elsewhere in Spain. It was in the late nineteenth century that anarchists throughout the country, but particularly in the towns and cities, began developing what they referred to as an "acritic" or libertarian cultural foundation for the workers. Newspapers, journals, and other forms of printed media were used to disseminate not only the anarchists' revolutionary message but also their views on literature, art, philosophy, and the social sciences. Because Purkiss does not have much to say about these antecedents, the reader may be left with the misleading impression that the anarchists' cultural presence in Valencia was a relatively recent phenomenon.

Such minor flaws hardly detract from the overall qualities of this solidly researched and carefully crafted study. The author has filled a gap in the historiography of Spanish anarchism and provides a valuable corrective to the long-held view that Valencia was never a center of working-class radicalism. Students of left-wing movements in general and Spanish labor history in particular will be indebted to Purkiss for having laid bare

the complexities of the radicalization of Valencian workers on the eve of Spain's Civil War.

GEORGE ESENWEIN
University of Florida

HELEN GRAHAM. *The War and Its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century*. (The Cañada Blanch/Sussex Academic Studies on Contemporary Spain.) Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 250. \$37.95.

This book consists of six essays that address the iniquity of the Francisco Franco regime and the failure to provide proper recognition to its victims. Helen Graham offers no new research but copious source references to memoirs and secondary literature, scholarly and non-scholarly, which can be marshaled on behalf of her theses. However, the lengthy literature, scholarly and non-scholarly, that might challenge or modify Graham's argument is almost entirely ignored.

The book's subtitle implies some kind of comparative or highly contextualized analysis, yet this is not offered. The text contains a fairly large number of very brief asides, as well as numerous footnotes referring to other countries (the most common references being to Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, Serbia, and Bosnia) that are never equivalent to systematic comparative study. The full context of the Spanish conflict within the numerous European civil wars from 1917 to 1949 is only briefly alluded to, never developed. Instead, the first essay, "A War for Our Times," tries anachronistically to set the Spanish conflict "in twenty-first century perspective" by redefining the civil war as a struggle of "nationalism" (p. 6). Thus there are almost as many references to the wars of the Yugoslav succession in the 1990s as to other European civil wars.

José Ortega y Gasset observed in 1938 that the most important thing to know about the Spanish Civil War is how it started. In this regard the author ignores the revolutionary process of the Second Republic, which she summarizes under the euphemism of "reforms." Although the book focuses on political violence, virtually nothing of substance is said about the origins of such violence during the five years prior to the civil war, when nearly 2,500 people were killed. Whereas nearly all the historiography dealing with other European cases recognizes the centrality of the revolutionary process and revolutionary violence, in this account the origins of the Spanish war and nearly all its violence stem from the great "fear" of "reforms" on the part of Spanish conservatives, which led to a "nationalist" campaign of ethnic cleansing. The almost equally great violence on the part of the revolutionaries is explained primarily by the oppression of the poor, although many of the Spanish revolutionaries were not poor and the vast majority of those oppressed did not kill. Most of the motifs found here were present in wartime propaganda between 1936 and 1939, to which comparatively little is added. The use of statistics is more accurate, and is approximately correct in reckoning the number of killings

by the revolutionaries and only somewhat exaggerated in estimating the total slain by their opponents. Of the relative volume and gruesomeness of these horrors there has never been any doubt.

The second essay, "The Memory of Murder: Mass Killing and the Making of Francoism," treats the program of repression of the Franco regime without adding anything to the very extensive literature in Spanish, and is followed by an essay on prison policies under the dictatorship. The third essay, however, recounts in detail the case of Amparo Barayón, slain wife of the novelist Ramón Sender. Though much of it is based on one published secondary study, it will interest many readers for its graphic detail and its attention to one of the female victims, who, though fewer in number than their male counterparts, have until recently attracted little interest.

The final essay, on "The Aftermath of Violence," deals with the "memory wars" in contemporary Spain. Here the author aligns herself with the Spanish "New Left" in her strong criticism of Spain's widely praised and non-violent democratic transition. Whereas for many years the great majority of the Spanish Left endorsed and participated in the democratization and the resulting political system, the author finds all this gravely wanting for its failure to overcome the "effects of Francoism." She indicts Spain's media and judiciary, as well as political conservatives and the two long Socialist governments, for their failure to recognize victims fully and extirpate "Francoism." Only contemporary Russia, she concludes, has done a poorer job with the aftermath of dictatorship.

This volume of advocacy history will be of use primarily to those unaware of the recent extensive literature in Spain, some of it scholarly and some of it non-scholarly, which treats repression from 1936 on, as well as the extensive debate over "memory," the latter term referring to politicized reconstructions of past events. For those seriously interested in "memory," the best scholarly account, Paloma Aguilar's *Políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política: El caso español en perspectiva comparada* (2008), should be consulted. It is ignored in the book under review.

STANLEY G. PAYNE,
Emeritus
University of Wisconsin-Madison

LIANA VARDI. *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 315. \$99.00.

The last four decades of the *ancien régime* saw a remarkable flowering of economic discourse in France. In hundreds of books and pamphlets French writers grappled with problems of understanding and managing agriculture, trade, manufactures, taxation, population, credit, and finance. Portions of this literature, especially those focused on the political economy of agriculture, are often equated by non-specialists with physiocracy—the political economic system theorized by

François Quesnay and elaborated by his followers between the 1750s and the 1780s. To show that such a conflation utterly distorts the meaning of physiocracy is one of Liana Vardi's principal objectives. Even specialists have conceived of physiocracy too broadly, she insists. Aside from Quesnay only four individuals emerge in her account as true physiocrats: Victor de Riqueti, marquis de Mirabeau; Pierre-Samuel Du Pont de Nemours; Paul-Pierre Le Mercier de la Rivière; and Guillaume-François Le Trosne. The book is a collective intellectual biography of the most significant of these—Quesnay, Mirabeau, and Du Pont.

There were so few physiocrats because, to count as one, an individual had to adhere fully to Quesnay's doctrine, and this was no easy feat. Vardi recounts Mirabeau's slow conversion to every aspect of Quesnay's vision, a painful trajectory that underlines how difficult it was even for the doctor's closest collaborator to embrace his perspective. In Vardi's telling, Quesnay arrived at the core insights of physiocracy through a flash of insight at the end of a long process of concentration and cogitation. Disciples needed to undergo a similar formation. The doctrine, expressed graphically and mathematically in the *Tableau économique*, was anything but evident to the uninitiated, and the rebarbative language the physiocrats used to present their views turned off all but the most committed. The profound intellectual obstacles to grasping physiocracy in its pure form, Vardi argues, are fundamental to understanding its ultimate marginalization and failure.

Yet that the doctrine be grasped—and not just by intellectuals or policy makers, but by everyone—was critical. As Vardi perceptively notes, physiocracy was only superficially a vision of an autoregulatory system: "No invisible hand was at work here. In order for the system of reproduction of profits 'that nature intended' to work, the entire population had to collaborate and understand that individual self-interest lay in adhering to this necessary order. They had to be taught, persuaded, and perhaps even stirred emotionally to accept physiocratic ideas" (p. 4). From this focus on the challenges of communicating physiocracy follows another of the central themes of the book—developed in a particularly rich way in the chapters on Du Pont—the discussion of physiocratic efforts to explain and disseminate the doctrine to a wider audience. The arts might play an important role here. Vardi explores Du Pont's special place as the cultural and artistic theorist of the group, making excellent use of his papers at the Hagley Museum and Library in Wilmington, Delaware. Through plays, festivals, journalism, painting, and poetry, Du Pont envisioned that the world (and monarchs in particular) might be brought to embrace physiocratic ideas.

This is a curiously circumscribed account of physiocracy. Vardi does not offer a systematic exposition of physiocratic ideas, generally taking for granted that the reader is familiar with the basics. She is not particularly interested in situating the physiocrats in the wider landscape of French political economy. There is not much

discussion of the economic context in which physiocratic ideas emerged, and political context is treated only in passing. Vardi argues that the tendency to focus on the political agendas with which physiocracy became associated blurs the specificity of physiocratic ideas.

It is a premise of the book that physiocracy should be understood as an intellectual phenomenon—that we know what it is once we understand its core ideas, and that only those who embraced those ideas in full should count as physiocrats. This is a coherent perspective and it yields brilliant insights into some of the arcana of the doctrine. But these insights come at a price. Equating physiocracy with its ideas is a little like identifying a religion with its theology; the behavior, and even the beliefs, of the faithful may be elided. Arguably, physiocracy was important in its own day not as a doctrine but as a movement. Vardi's approach does not explain why physiocracy enjoyed the enormous vogue it did: what the doctrine meant to the much wider group of intellectuals, royal officials, landowners, and others who saw in it something attractive and important, at least for a time. Separating its ideas from their reception may come at the cost of understanding why physiocracy mattered.

JOHN SHOVLIN
New York University

MICHAEL J. HUGHES. *Forging Napoleon's Grande Armée: Motivation, Military Culture, and Masculinity in the French Army, 1800–1808.* (Warfare and Culture.) New York: New York University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 285. \$50.00.

The devotion of Napoleon Bonaparte's soldiers to the emperor is legendary. It enabled them to perform near-miracles on the battlefield, even in the most desperate of situations and against the odds. What was the source of this dedication? Often this phenomenon is attributed to Napoleon's magnetic personality or his institution of merit systems such as the Legion of Honor, but the process of creating the *Grande Armée* was more sophisticated than any one or two factors might suggest. Building on the works of John A. Lynn, Rafe Blaufarb, and others, Michael J. Hughes explores revolutionary and imperial French military culture, ably demonstrating Napoleon's genius for synthesizing royal and revolutionary military culture while employing a host of strategies to motivate his officers and soldiers.

Hughes begins by exploring French military culture and, more specifically, the concepts of *honor* and *glory*. During the *ancien régime*, the concept of honor dominated the royal army but was a quality that only officers and nobles could exhibit. French officers were expected to be brave and audacious and display their honor in combat, and the crown rewarded displays of valor and honor with distinctions such as the Order of Saint Louis, the granting of noble titles, and promotion. Honor, however, was not a quality common soldiers could possess. The only sense of accomplishment and source of recognition for the latter was with their reg-

iments through *esprit de corps*. In the last decades of the monarchy, however, the concept of honor began to change. While deeds of derring-do by officers were still rewarded, so too was service to the state: "a new code of honor . . . combined traditional warrior values with a service ethic" (p. 55). The pursuit of honor, coupled with the quest for glory and a sense of *esprit de corps*, motivated the royal armies.

The revolution, as it did with so many things, first rejected and then reinterpreted these sources of motivation. A fear of all things associated with the *ancien régime* and especially the suspect loyalty of the army led the revolutionaries to incorporate volunteers from across the nation into the regimental structure, thereby hoping to break the *esprit de corps* of the old royal army and shift the loyalty of its soldiers from the unit to the nation. They did away with personal distinctions and suppressed awards associated with the monarchy, such as the Order of Saint Louis, the recipients of which either had to relinquish their medals or become suspect. The only recognition of military accomplishment was of an army, not of an individual. During the Directory, however, generals began to find ways to recognize individual accomplishments on the battlefield by distributing arms (and even musical instruments) of honor and encouraging *esprit de corps*. Napoleon was a master of such techniques, and his efforts only intensified when he became first consul and then emperor.

In 1802 Napoleon expanded the recognition of individual accomplishments through the creation of the Legion of Honor, which was open to officers and common soldiers alike and rewarded not only martial valor but civic contributions. No longer were honor and virtue reserved to officers and nobles: they were qualities that could be possessed by any Frenchman. Much ceremony surrounded the awarding of the medals, and Napoleon skillfully manipulated them to bind recipients, through an oath of loyalty, first to France and later to the emperor himself. Soldiers were also motivated by the possibilities for promotion in recognition of valor or mention in army or press bulletins. While these techniques are well known, Hughes does well to demonstrate how consciously the imperial regime employed them.

Another strength of Hughes's analysis is in his exploration of the effectiveness of Napoleon's efforts. Employing techniques developed by historian James M. McPherson in his study on the motivation of soldiers during the American Civil War, Hughes examined diaries, memoirs, and letters from officers and soldiers to assess their responses to Napoleon's motivational techniques. To compensate for the smaller volume of firsthand sources, Hughes also explores contemporary military and civilian reports that addressed the army's morale. Hughes's analysis certainly suggests that Napoleon's motivational strategies were effective. Hughes, however, did find limits: they were much more effective for officers than for enlisted men. For the hundreds of thousands of conscripts the motivation to become good soldiers had much less to do with Napoleonic incentives for glory, recognition, or advancement and much more

to do with coercion, comradeship, and the quality of their junior officers.

If there is a weakness in Hughes's arguments, it is the role played by the promise of sexual conquest. As part of his broader discussion of masculinity, he asserts that the Napoleonic regime promised its soldiers "that they would receive sex in exchange for their military service," citing a number of songs and anecdotes as evidence (p. 123). While no doubt some soldiers thought that their martial prowess may have entitled them to have their way with women, Hughes also notes that rape was punished, sometimes severely, and that the relationship between sexual prowess and military service was not unique to imperial France. And while some of the songs are strongly suggestive, others seem only to emphasize male virility. Hughes's larger argument of the Napoleonic regime playing on French concepts of masculinity with its constant references to the intrinsic martial qualities of Frenchmen is the more convincing part of that particular discussion.

Overall, Hughes succeeds at what he sets out to do, demonstrating that "no single attribute defined the armies of Napoleon. Rather, the Napoleonic regime incorporated elements of the Old Regime and Revolutionary military culture into a new military culture linked to Napoleon's rule and the preservation of French hegemony in Europe" (p. 12). His arguments are well considered and supported by the skillful use of available primary sources. His interdisciplinary and thought-provoking approach to the topic draws on the latest historiography of several related disciplines, making his work accessible not only to specialists on Napoleonic France but to a broader audience as well, including students of social, military, or gender history.

WAYNE HANLEY

West Chester University of Pennsylvania

MARTIN S. STAUM. *Nature and Nurture in French Social Sciences, 1859–1914 and Beyond*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Ideas, number 53.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 261. \$95.00.

1859, the year of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, also marked the founding of anthropological societies in London and Paris. "Anthropology" meant physical anthropology, focusing often on human measurement (anthropometry) and especially on skull data (craniometry). The founders of the London and Paris societies knew nothing yet of evolution by natural selection, and their simultaneous origins had more to do with racialized discourses of slavery in the United States than with nonhuman biology in England. Compounding the coincidence, an ethnographic society also was established in France in 1859. Like its English analogue, of much earlier provenance, the Société d'ethnographie américaine et orientale was more religiously oriented and much less vehemently racist than the anthropological societies. Darwin himself, an agnostic by this time, was the descendant of strong anti-

slavery campaigners, and he identified with the English ethnographers rather than the anthropologists. We see that the role of biology in these human sciences was not entirely straightforward. For the French anthropologists, as Martin S. Staum makes clear, Darwin was a peripheral figure, while Herbert Spencer provided a key inspiration and resource for the rest of the nineteenth century.

Staum's purpose here is to undermine simple oppositions and bring out the complexities of "nature and nurture" in French social sciences. His book is concerned especially with the implications of social and biological thought for racial-ethnic tolerance and, secondarily, for issues of sex and gender. His title phrase, "Nature and Nurture," comes from another prominent English practitioner of human science, Francis Galton, famous still as a pioneer of eugenics. Galton made it his mission to achieve recognition for *nature* as the more powerful force in forming human character, and his work was widely discussed in France, not least within anthropology. Staum finds a more diffuse polarity than we might suppose. Biological, especially hereditary, ideas were no monopoly of anthropologists and psychologists, but also were taken up, though less fervently, by ethnographers and sociologists. Similarly, few among the anthropologists were able to dispense with the nurture side of the equation. Staum's research shows, though he does not really call attention to this aspect, a shared frame of reference in studies and statistics of mental illness, which had increased alarmingly over the previous half century.

The conclusion that intellectual and social alignments are complicated is unlikely to come as a shock to historians, whether or not their research interests overlap with Staum's. Yet his topic has often been treated in a simplistic and moralizing fashion, most influentially in Stephen Jay Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981). Staum bends the bow in the other direction, downplaying the vitriol in racial discourses of the nineteenth century, and emphasizing throughout a long-term tendency to put more emphasis on the cultural. Although he plainly states that even the "most bizarre" hereditarian ideas of the Vichy period "echoed" a pattern that had been familiar since the late nineteenth century, he presents the brutality of Vichy ideas as exceptional (p. 205). The book jacket refers to Staum's "chilling epilogue" on the deployment of such theories by "extremist anthropologists outside the mainstream to deploy racial ideology as a basis of persecution." The scientific core of this racism was a measure of skull shape, the cephalic index, whose lowest values corresponded to the (generally) presumed superiority of longheaded "Nordics" or "Aryans." For the period up to World War I, we are shown this racialized craniometry mainly as an object of critique by the more humane ethnographers. Staum finally calls attention to the advocates of naturalized racial hierarchy in the Vichy chapter. Indeed, Vichy anthropometricians achieved a prominence that their predecessors did not, but the identification and ranking

of distinct European "races" was widely influential from the late nineteenth century.

Staum's extensively researched book is aimed mainly at fellow scholars of the French human sciences. The work is strongly focused on France, bringing in a few English writers insofar as they were read and discussed by the French. As befits a book in a series on the history of ideas, the contexts developed by this one are mainly intellectual. They extend, however, across a range of social and biological disciplines, as we can see from the cast of main characters, which includes Pierre Paul Broca, Théodule-Armand Ribot, Alfred Binet, Léonce-Pierre Manouvrier, and René Worms, representing neurology, psychology, and sociology as well as ethnography and anthropology. Lamarckian evolution and degeneration theories appear repeatedly and have an important role in this narrative. The book can be recommended for its depiction of rich exchanges among disciplines that have become quite distinct. I was particularly impressed to learn of discussions of biological heredity in more than 180 articles or reviews in that leading Third Republic philosophical journal, Ribot's *Revue philosophique*.

THEODORE M. PORTER
University of California,
Los Angeles

JACKIE CLARKE. *France in the Age of Organization: Factory, Home and Nation from the 1920s to Vichy*. (Berghahn Monographs in French Studies, number 11.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2011. Pp. x, 218. \$80.00.

The cover of Jackie Clarke's new book is illustrated with an intriguing advertisement for the tenth Salon des arts ménagers in Paris. The poster depicts, in crude outline, a woman wielding a broom; her arm is powered by a gear system originating in her torso that signals her efficiency and economy of effort, marking her as a modern technician of household enterprise rather than a domestic drudge. Clarke's book explores the scientific organization movement of the interwar years and the *nébuleuse organisatrice* that surrounded it, arguing that the French technocrats so much in evidence following World War II were not entirely new phenomena but were preceded by just such figures of rationalization and organization in the interwar years. While exploring the key players and ideas of these reformers, she challenges a number of historiographical assumptions about the "backwardness" of French industry and economy in the 1930s, as well as the distinctiveness of Vichy's technocratic projects for economic planning and human engineering.

Clarke's account follows a wide-ranging number of important figures in the scientific organization movement such as Henri Fayol, Hyacinthe Dubreuil, Jean Coutrot, Jean Bichelonne, Paulette Bernège, and Alfred Sauvy. Many were involved in the economic think-tank X-Crise or other organizations such as the Comité national d'organisation française or the Centre d'études des problèmes humains. A number of bio-

graphical profiles at the end of the book help to keep the extensive cast of characters and their respective organizations straight. Clarke conceptualizes the interwar and Vichy years as a period rife with debates about organization, a framework that “has the benefit of moving the discussion away from the hitherto dominant emphasis on backwardness or crisis” (p. 7). These reformers’ forward-looking proposals to combat the challenges of the 1930s contradict the notion of a moribund and immobile society that precipitated the collapse of 1940 and had to perish before the dynamic economic growth of the “thirty glorious years” could take off. Clarke demonstrates that scholars’ pathologizing of the interwar period has proved useful in constructing a triumphant narrative of postwar modernization but does not reflect accurately the historical context of the modernizing initiatives that did flourish during those years.

There was in fact a “cloud” of activists from different political perspectives and professional groups imagining new relationships among the built environment, human behavior, and labor rationalization long before the advent of the postwar *cadres*, and Clarke effectively complicates the prevailing myth of the unprecedented technocrats of the Fourth and Fifth Republics. Clarke argues that there is “no ideologically pure pedigree for the project that came to be called modernization,” but that this effort came out of disparate fields such as engineering and the human sciences and also fields that have fallen out of favor today such as collective psychology and eugenics (p. 169). *France in the Age of Organization* argues that we have not yet gained enough critical distance from concepts such as “resistance to modernity” in histories of twentieth-century France and suggests an alternative approach that considers the wide array of plans for constructing a new order embodied in the organizational mystique.

If historians are to move away from notions of backwardness, as Clarke rightly insists, the term nevertheless does have the virtue of providing a comparative perspective on what was happening in France in relation to the rest of Europe. Clarke suggests, for example, that the *planiste* movement emerging just after Adolf Hitler’s rise to power was a “response not just to the Depression but also to the rise of fascism” (p. 96). Considering the mass appeal of fascism in Germany and the threat of authoritarianism in much of Europe during the 1930s, the reader is left to wonder to what extent *planisme* and other manifestations of the organizational movement were engaging to the French or if they were mostly popular with a limited group of intellectuals and reformers. Did the innovation and dynamism exhibited at the Salon des arts ménagers really compete for the hearts and minds of citizens unhappy with the disequilibrium in economy and society? Even if Clarke’s rich and detailed account is mostly a story about the unrecognized interwar origins of the postwar economic miracle, it provides many thought-provoking arguments about the heterogeneity of this ancestry and suc-

cessfully challenges the central narrative of modernization in twentieth-century France.

KRISTEN STROMBERG CHILDERS

EMILE PERREAU-SAUSSINE. *Catholicism and Democracy: An Essay in the History of Political Thought*. Translated by RICHARD REX. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 185. \$45.00.

There is perhaps no more famous historical stereotype in modern French history than “the two Frances”: the one pro-French Revolution, democratic, and secular, the other pro-monarchy, reactionary, and Roman Catholic. The church, in this saga, as well as most practicing Catholics, remained largely intransigent until the mid-twentieth century when the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) reconciled Catholicism to democracy and modernity. In his dense, tightly argued analysis of the church’s encounter with liberal democracy in the modern age, Emile Perreau-Saussine seeks to refute that account. He does so not by minimizing the church’s resistance to democratic politics but by focusing on how that resistance gradually, and often paradoxically, evolved into an acceptance and ultimately an endorsement of democratic regimes as long as they championed freedom of religion. He traces this evolution by looking at official church doctrine as well as the arguments of such French Catholic thinkers—both reactionary and liberal—as Joseph de Maistre, Hugues-Félicité Robert de Laménais, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Charles Péguy.

Perreau-Saussine is acutely sensitive to historical irony, to how movements and ideas often yield their opposites. Thus, in discussing the Catholic response to the French Revolution, he notes that when a reactionary like de Maistre opposed the new regime, he abandoned the Gallican, or French national, Church, which had been wedded to the monarchy and maintained its distance from the Vatican, in favor of “ultramontan-ism,” which looked to the pope as the supreme Catholic power. In doing so, however, he had to argue for the freedom of the church from state control. Here Perreau-Saussine detects “a core of liberalism at the heart of ultramontan-ism” (p. 46) that would prove the church’s first step, as Laménais framed it in the 1830s, toward “wean[ing] itself from temporal power” (p. 59). Indeed it was Laménais’s “liberal ultramontan-ism,” he argues, “that ultimately triumphed in the Catholic Church” (p. 57).

Tocqueville, in Perreau-Saussine’s account, arrived at a similar position taking the opposite route. Assuming democracy to be inevitable, he advocated a neo-Gallican collaboration between Catholics and a French state that “would respect the freedom of its subjects and therefore also of the church” (p. 78). Only by embracing the democratic liberty offered by the new political regime, he argued, could French Catholics seek to Christianize it from within. Here again, Perreau-Saussine finds a pro-Catholic thinker employing liberal values to achieve the aims of the church. Catholics, for Tocqueville, must exchange their fantasy of reinstating Cathol-

icism as the nation's established religion for the freedom to remain potent players in its spiritual politics.

Perreau-Saussine detects a similar irony in the legal separation of church and state of 1905, which renounced Napoleon's 1801 Concordat with the church: "The anti-clerical republicans discarded a Concordat that had given them a degree of control over the Church, while the Catholics fought to defend a Concordat for which they never much cared" (p. 99). But liberal republicans like Émile Littré championed a separation based on *laïcité*—the free exercise of religion in a secular state—while Catholic republicans like Péguy proclaimed that "the Christian mystique has no need of state support" (p. 108). Once again, for Perreau-Saussine, the separation prepared the ground for "a free church in a free state" (p. 98).

Perhaps Perreau-Saussine's most provocative piece of dialectics is his contention that the First Vatican Council (1870), notorious for advancing the doctrine of papal infallibility, should be viewed not as conflicting with Vatican II so much as setting the stage for it. While linking the church to a strident anti-liberalism, Vatican I also "upheld a separation of the temporal from the spiritual" (p. 65). And if the alliance between the church and reactionary politics "proved contingent and provisional" (p. 67), Perreau-Saussine maintains, the "Papal centralism" of Vatican I represented the first step toward Vatican II's repudiation of "ecclesiastical control" (p. 148) in favor of a "freedom of religion" (p. 141) that would emancipate the church from any particular political order. Perreau-Saussine makes a strong case that Vatican II's final rapprochement with liberal democracy emerged from the church's experience with totalitarianism. A democracy that champions freedom of religion turned out to be "a valuable political safety precaution" against "political religions that aimed to take the place of Christianity" (p. 150).

Perreau-Saussine's work is provocative, brilliantly argued, and largely convincing, but it does leave some questions unanswered. Where would Pope Leo XIII's famous *Rerum Novarum* (1891)—which competed with socialism for the allegiance of the "dechristianized" working class—fit into his narrative? Perreau-Saussine applauds Pope Pius XII for his support for democracy in 1944, but what of the pope's public silence on the Nazis' treatment of the Jews? Owing to Perreau-Saussine's tragically premature death, we will never know how he would have addressed such questions. But the present work should go a long way toward shifting our understanding of the historical dialogue between Catholicism and democracy in modern France.

PAUL COHEN
Lawrence University

LAURENT KESTEL. *La conversion politique: Doriot, le PPF et la question du fascisme français*. (Cours et travaux.) Paris: Éditions Raisons d'Agir. 2012. Pp. 232. €20.00.

Jacques Doriot and his Parti populaire français (PPF), despite their relatively marginal role in the 1930s and

1940s, have continued to intrigue historians. The reasons are not difficult to discern. Doriot began his career as a young, dynamic firebrand in the French Communist Party (PCF) and ended up as a leading collaborationist. Along the way, his PPF, founded during the Popular Front era, moved rapidly toward the outer fringes of the prewar French Right. Even those historians who claim that France was relatively "immune" to the appeal of fascism have made an exception for Doriot's PPF. Given the historical attention lavished on Doriot and his party over several generations of scholarship, one might have assumed that there was not much left to say. Laurent Kestel, however, suggests that such an assumption is misplaced. Not only does Kestel view Doriot and his PPF from a new perspective, but, as suggested by his book's subtitle, he attempts to move beyond the long-running debate on the "question of French fascism."

Kestel offers this change of perspective by treating the PPF as something more than Doriot's biography writ large. Without minimizing Doriot's role, he pays attention to the two major components that came together to form the PPF: first, a small group of working-class militants who, along with Doriot, left the PCF and gravitated toward the extreme nationalist Right; and second, a contingent of "non-conformist" intellectuals whose writings helped publicize the PPF's message. Kestel, unlike previous scholars, is less interested in the justifications put forward by the militants or in a textual analysis of the ideological platforms articulated by the house intellectuals of the PPF. Using an essentially sociological approach, he examines the career trajectories of both militants and intellectuals whose opportunities on the Left were blocked, albeit in different ways, causing them to drift toward the radical Right in a concerted but unsuccessful attempt to find a political "space." Underlying the focus on career paths and political space is an approach, pioneered in France by Michel Dobry, that rejects the definition of political parties and movements in terms of ideological markers and instead focuses attention on their relation to other parties and movements competing in the same political force field.

Doriot's odyssey began with his exclusion from the PCF in June 1934. Ironically, this exclusion came not long before the PCF's adoption of a united front with the Socialists against fascism, a policy that Doriot had publicly advocated. The PCF punished Doriot's violation of party discipline by ensuring that he would also be excluded from the subsequent Popular Front mobilization. With political options closed to him on the Left, Doriot, along with his ex-communist renegades, drifted across the Left-Right political divide, where they saw, given the badly disunited state of the nationalist Right, opportunities to carve out political space. This led to the formation of first the PPF and then the Front de la liberté, the latter an audacious attempt to unite the parties of the Right under Doriot's leadership. This effort soon ran aground, in no small measure because the strongest party on the nationalist Right, François de La Rocque's Parti social français (PSF), was not taken in by Doriot's ploy. In all of this Kestel makes a

convincing case that paying close attention to electoral tactics explains a good deal about the strange transmigration of Doriot and his circle from the communist Left to the radical Right.

In the telling of this transmigration Kestel never loses sight of his larger concern—"the question of French fascism." In one respect, he adds his voice to the growing chorus of historians who challenge the claim that France was largely "immune" to the temptations of the extreme nationalist Right. For example, he agrees with Robert Soucy's and William Irvine's contention that the differences between La Rocque's PSF, traditionally seen as "conservative," and Doriot's PPF, conventionally classified as "fascist," were in fact minimal. In another respect, his argument is more radical. Following Dobry, he claims that too much scholarly ink has been spilt on the attempt to define an elusive "generic fascism" and to police the frontiers separating it from neighboring ideological positions. In doing so, he is among those scholars of the French Right who are moving away from an earlier overemphasis on ideological analysis and toward a more "functional" and "relational" approach. Yet one might question whether he is attempting to push the pendulum too far in seeing ideology in purely instrumental terms and in dismissing—a bit too hastily perhaps—the work of scholars who have argued for the usefulness of ideal type constructions in discriminating among various political parties and movements.

PAUL MAZGAJ
University of North Carolina,
Greensboro

MARC H. LERNER. *A Laboratory of Liberty: The Transformation of Political Culture in Republican Switzerland, 1750–1848*. (Studies in Central European Histories, number 54.) Boston: Brill. 2012. Pp. xvi, 371. \$136.00.

Marc H. Lerner begins the conclusion to his excellent monograph with a glance at Switzerland's recent past. In the mid-1990s, the Swiss government, parliament, and public engaged in a fiery debate over a commemorative year, namely 1998. The question was, which anniversary would be celebrated? On the one hand, the modern, federal, and democratic Swiss state is usually held to have been born in 1848. The constitution of that year was the result of an accommodation between conservative and liberal cantons, which had taken up arms against each other in a twenty-seven-day civil conflict, the Sonderbund War, in November of the previous year. On the other hand, some members of parliament suggested that a different anniversary be celebrated: the bicentenary of the Helvetic Republic, created in 1798 after the country was occupied by an army invading from revolutionary France. There was a public outcry against this proposal. One letter to the press described it as "perverse." The controversy raised such questions as the role of historical memory in modern Swiss political culture, but it also struck on one of the essential problems that beset Switzerland in Lerner's

hundred-year period: how to shape a federal political order in a century when European states moved, not without considerable pain and stress, from basing their legitimacy on notions of historical precedent, custom, and theological authority to foundations grounded in such principles as popular sovereignty, the individual citizen, and human rights.

In Switzerland, this shift was entangled with such issues as the balance between cantonal and federal authority (one of the constitutional problems at stake in the Sonderbund War) and with the place of older conceptions of liberty, which in Switzerland included the notion of self-rule for communities, freedom from outside interference, and an idea of collective liberty that left little space for the liberty of the individual, who was expected to submit to the communal will. Moreover, Swiss society (in common with other parts of Europe prior to 1789) was ordered along corporate lines—estates, communes, corporations, and orders—that enjoyed privileges and legal rights and that, to a great degree, defined an individual's social identity. These bodies enjoyed rights that were inalienable and could enter into binding legal contracts, the sort of autonomy that in modern rights-based societies are attributed to individuals.

During this era Switzerland was characterized by constitutional and cultural complexities, and it is a measure of Lerner's achievement that his book succeeds in tracking the emergence of the modern Swiss state without losing sight of these nuances. Throughout the study he keeps the reader in touch with cantonal differences and offers consistently subtle analyses of the debates over the meanings of rights, liberty, authority, and political legitimacy. He also never loses sight of the wider European (and indeed Atlantic) context, which was at points critical, not least during the French invasion of 1798, in the revolutionary waves of the early 1830s, and in 1847 when the Sonderbund anticipated but never received assistance from Europe's conservative powers. In fact, it is precisely because the Helvetic Republic of 1798 appears today to be a foreign imposition that proposals to commemorate it provoked such a vitriolic response from the Swiss public in the 1990s.

The various conceptions of liberty that existed in Switzerland ensured that the Swiss path to democracy was always ambivalent, but by 1848 the Swiss achievement was to have found a constitutional settlement that struck a balance between these notions of freedom. The French revolutionary model, in the shape of the Helvetic Republic of 1798, could not accommodate such diversity. The 1798 constitution imposed a centralized political system on the Swiss and insisted on a system of representative rather than direct democracy, both of which felt alien to most Swiss, many of whom saw liberty as being the inheritance from their ancestors and connected with their religious beliefs.

Lerner's lucidly written book is grounded in a deep seam of primary sources, both printed and archival, in German and French. There are simply not enough readily available studies in English on modern Swiss

history, so Lerner's book is especially welcome as a political history of a long transitional period in the country's past. The author is especially adept at combining his detailed analysis with passages that explain Swiss developments and events for the benefit of those readers unfamiliar with the history of Switzerland. The monograph will also interest readers concerned with broader issues such as the creation of modern political culture, which took place in many different places in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yet this is not just a study of political ideas. One of the great merits of Lerner's work is that it combines a discussion of ideological and cultural developments with practice on the ground, frequently drawing examples from different cantons, so that a highly sophisticated picture emerges. Indeed this excellent book stands alongside other recent work on political transformations, such as Annie Jourdan's book on the Netherlands, *La Révolution batave entre la France et l'Amérique (1795–1806)* (2008), another state where the question of federalism and the friction between provincial and central authority arose in precisely the same period. Moreover, by studying a hundred-year period, Lerner is able to contextualize critical and symbolic moments of upheaval and change, such as 1798, 1814, 1830–1833, 1839, and 1847–1848, and so place them in perspective against longer-term developments in political culture. In this respect, too, Lerner is in fine company, bringing to mind the work of Michael Broerson on the Savoyard monarchy and Michael Rowe on the Rhineland. Lerner's book on Switzerland is a superb piece of scholarship that will interest historians whose subjects lie way beyond the frontiers of that fascinating and intriguing country.

MIKE RAPPORT
University of Glasgow

YAIR MINTZKER. *The Defortification of the German City, 1689–1866*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) New York: Cambridge University Press. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute. 2012. Pp. xv, 285. \$99.00.

Every historian knows that European cities were once surrounded by walls but that by the end of the nineteenth century, except for a few curious holdouts, those walls no longer existed. Few historians, however, have given much thought to how or why city walls disappeared. After all, the answers seem intuitively obvious: walls no longer offered cities much military protection, and they were obstacles to urban growth and industrialization. So somebody must have torn them down. In fact, as Yair Mintzker demonstrates in this startlingly insightful study of urban defortification in central Europe, the process was far from straightforward. The timing, motivation, and implementation of wall demolitions proved to be full of surprises for contemporaries and will prove just as surprising to seasoned historians of the European city.

This book defies easy categorization. It is about cit-

ies, of course, but it is far from a conventional work of urban history. The author is equally at home in military history, geopolitical theory, and literary exegesis. The result is a set of strikingly original answers to questions most historians have not even thought to ask.

Mintzker begins by evoking the significance of city walls for the culture and self-understanding of cities in the Holy Roman Empire. Walls protected townspeople from the incursions of outsiders, but they also performed important symbolic functions in demarcating the boundaries between urban and rural ways of life. The princely rulers of the German states did not like city walls, but for centuries they had to put up with them. The impulse for change, Mintzker argues, came not from within Germany but from across the Rhine in France. To both Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIV, city walls implied a lack of confidence in the king's ability to guarantee security to his subjects. They held that powerful fortresses should ring France's frontiers to protect the kingdom from external invasion, but that within France fortifications were no longer necessary. Similar notions were soon adopted by German princes. Fortresses were needed on the borders of the Holy Roman Empire, especially along the Rhine, but behind that barrier new cities could be designed without cumbersome moats, gates, and walls. Over the objections of burghers who considered a city without walls to be lacking in dignity, absolutist princes pressed for the destruction of existing urban fortifications.

It was only during the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, however, that what the author calls a "perfect storm" of urban defortification erupted. This had to do with the French quest for secure fortresses inside Germany. Cities with strong fortifications were coveted by the invading French, while "open" cities were not. As a result, walls and bastions no longer protected cities; instead, they practically invited sieges and bombardments. Under those circumstances, townspeople began to press for the demolition of their once cherished city walls.

Following 1815, many burghers continued to favor the razing of walls that they now regarded as antiquated inconveniences. But rulers sometimes strove to preserve the walls. Surprisingly, it was often in the largest cities that the authorities sought to maintain physical barriers to regulate the flow of newcomers or facilitate the collection of customs payments. Barrier systems continued to surround cities like Berlin until the middle of the nineteenth century. It was only after the 1860s, Mintzker argues, that rulers and townspeople alike came to fully appreciate the economic and cultural advantages of physically accessible urban space. Modernity had triumphed.

Mintzker lays out this trajectory of change with a depth of interpretation and elegance of style to which no brief summary can do adequate justice. Yet even the most admirable books are rarely without flaws, and that is certainly the case here. In particular, the author's usual precision eludes him when he discusses the role of fortresses in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries. In fact there were two kinds of fortresses, or *Festungen*, in Germany. There were great battlemented structures whose only function was military. There were also whole cities whose traditional fortifications were extended in order to turn them into military strong-points. Mintzker elides both types of fortresses into a single category in ways that more than once muddle his argument.

Take Ehrenbreitstein. This massive military fortification stood on a hill across the Rhine from the important city of Koblenz. The author provides a fascinating description of the techniques used by French engineers to blow up this fortress in 1801. But he then cites this episode as “a painful blow to the very notion of the city as an organism” (p. 133). In fact there was nothing organically urban about this fortress: the real city, Koblenz, lay across the river.

One could find other quibbles. But this ambitious book will withstand all attempts to defortify it. In fact it is one of the most original works of German urban history in our generation. The author makes frequent reference to an inspiring earlier work with which, despite a very different focus, his own book has much in common: Mack Walker’s *German Home Towns: Community, State and General Estate, 1648–1871* (1971). Mintzker’s book is a worthy successor to Walker’s classic. It, too, will restructure our understanding of the internal and external forces that reshaped the German city during the transition from early modern to modern times.

CHRISTOPHER R. FRIEDRICH
University of British Columbia

DENISE PHILLIPS. *Acolytes of Nature: Defining Natural Science in Germany, 1770–1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 356. \$45.00.

In *Acolytes of Nature* Denise Phillips presents a compelling account of the development of modern scientific culture in late Enlightenment and early nineteenth-century Germany. Two interrelated tales merge into a single narrative. The first is the emergence of the concept of *Naturwissenschaft*, broadly signifying scientific investigation of nature, and the second is the development of new types of scientific societies. The result is an original and nuanced work combining scientific, intellectual, and social history in impressive fashion.

Phillips begins her account with late eighteenth-century Germany, concentrating on the activities of natural history societies rather than on specific figures, although the book is peppered with delightful short accounts of various scientists and other intellectuals most often unknown to all but specialists. The focus, however, is on how the changing praxis of such societies resulted in a new conception of science. In contrast with countries such as Britain or France, German scientific activity in the nineteenth century was more locally than nationally organized. Scientific societies in Germany, more than universities, enabled a fruitful dialectic of professionalization and popularization of scientific ac-

tivity. The earlier republic of letters was transformed from the end of the eighteenth century into a new community of *Naturforscher*, researchers of nature, who, notwithstanding various intellectual disputes, fostered a growing sense of partnership in a collective enterprise. Scientific societies were increasingly open not just to academics but also to members of the educated public, which encouraged the development of a vibrant network of intellectual communication. The Enlightenment emphasis on practical science made room for a more unified and general science of nature influenced by romantic philosophy. Scientific activity also played a part in building a sense of German nationality, though according to Phillips less than is often claimed. In the early nineteenth century, scientific publishing became increasingly important. In the politically decentralized German lands scientific journals were often local publications, enabling researchers to validate their accomplishments in an increasingly crowded public-scientific world, though one that was able to afford women at least some participation in scientific activity.

From the 1830s a new type of scientific society began to emerge, one more inclined to study local natural phenomena than general science. These societies were more socially diverse in their membership compared with prestigious private societies. Professional scientists became impatient with what they considered the disorganized empiricism of this low scientific culture, which in their view was insufficiently preoccupied with studying the general laws of nature. In the liberal atmosphere of the first half of the nineteenth century public scientific education was conceived as a necessary prerequisite for economic development, even though science did not begin to significantly influence industrial production until the late nineteenth century. In the process, earlier German romantic idealism was not discarded, but rather combined with a more practical approach to nature. Before the late nineteenth century, aesthetic and scientific appreciations of nature were not mutually exclusive.

In contrast with what most historians claim, Phillips argues that Germans in the first half of the nineteenth century viewed the popularization of science, not its professionalization, as the reason for its cultural dominance. Private, not public, scientific societies concentrated on specific topics of research. Science, *Wissenschaft*, became a public practice and not just a body of knowledge, thus fulfilling the earlier Enlightenment vision of public education. At the same time there was a growing attempt to define the concept of natural scientific method as distinct from traditional philological classical scholarship. In the second half of the century *Naturwissenschaft* consequently influenced various intellectual endeavors in search of similar methodology, not just purely scientific research. Phillips depicts how nineteenth-century German culture saw a modernizing process of separation between high science and popular science that enabled both types of activities to play crucial cultural roles.

This impressive book combines outstanding scholar-

ship with methodological originality and a focused interpretative approach. Phillips navigates a very complex topic and provides fascinating insights into the emergence of the role that science—professional and popular, private and public—plays in modern culture. Her book should interest scholars from many fields, not just the history of German science. One could of course look for faults, such as the need, perhaps, for more detailed comparisons with scientific developments in other countries. Yet in a work of such quality, lacunae of this sort are not so much inadequacies as proof of a potential to influence future research. Moreover, Phillips writes in a fluent and pleasing style that makes reading *Acolytes of Nature* not just an instructive experience but an entertaining one as well.

NATHANIEL WOLLOCH
Haifa, Israel

BARRY A. JACKISCH. *The Pan-German League and Radical Nationalist Politics in Interwar Germany, 1918–39*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2012. Pp. viii, 212. \$119.95.

Mostly dormant since the 1980s, scholarly interest in the Pan-German League has recently undergone a renaissance. During the past decade, Rainer Hering and Peter Walkenhorst have explored anew Pan-German ideology from the 1890s to 1945, and Stefan Frech, Julia Schmid, and Johannes Leicht have illuminated the connections among leading Pan-Germans, networks of radical nationalists, and right-wing political organizations, including the Nazi Party. Barry A. Jackisch adds to this literature with his intelligent study of the Pan-German League from 1918 to 1939. In contrast to historians who identify the League as the ideological precursor to and ally of the Nazi party, Jackisch argues that it competed with the Nazis and contributed to Nazi success indirectly by generating tensions within the field of right-wing politics during the Weimar era. For Pan-German efforts to forge a unified opposition to the Weimar Republic out of the diverse and often mutually hostile constituencies of the German Right, he maintains, involved attacks on the forces of “moderate conservatism,” which might have served as an “alternative to Hitler’s radicalism and broad popular appeal” (p. 7).

These efforts can be traced to the ideological reorientation signaled in the League’s Bamberg Declaration (1919), which committed the Pan-Germans to a program of “völkisch rebirth” involving a broadly based nationalist mobilization, the restoration of the “monarchical ideal,” and the elimination of “Jewish influence” from all aspects of public life. In pursuit of these aims, the Pan-Germans re-energized their local chapters and aligned them with the antisocialist “citizen’s councils,” supported the newly founded, anti-republican German Nationalist People’s Party (DNVP), and created their own openly antisemitic, mass-based “protection” organization, the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund. Along the way, however, League Chairman Heinrich Claß fell out with the organizers of the Kapp

Putsch (March 1920); wrestled with Erich Ludendorff and his circle over the direction of the *völkisch* movement; entered into a bitter feud with Pan-German Reinhard Wulle and the founders of the German-Völkisch Freedom Party (1922); and put off Adolf Hitler, who rejected Claß’s attempt to control the Nazi movement.

It was the conflict between the Pan-Germans and “moderate” conservatives within the DNVP itself, according to Jackisch, that proved most damaging to the prospect of creating a viable conservative Right as a bulwark against the Nazis. The Pan-German decision to support the DNVP was coupled with efforts to radicalize the latter along *völkisch* lines and to shore up its opposition to the Weimar Republic. This involved the formation within the DNVP of a National Völkisch Committee, which pushed Pan-German positions on race and antisemitism, state organization, and economic policy; campaigns against the Dawes Plan and the DNVP delegates who supported it in 1924; and the mobilization against DNVP participation in Hans Luther’s government and its acceptance of the Locarno Accords in 1925. After 1925, Claß promoted Pan-German Alfred Hugenberg as potential DNVP leader and succeeded in his efforts in October 1928, when Hugenberg was elected party chairman. Under Hugenberg’s leadership, the DNVP attempted to build a nationalist front in opposition to the Young Plan in 1929 and Chancellor Heinrich Brüning in early 1930 but, according to Jackisch, succeeded only in fatally damaging the party by driving out its moderate leaders and eviscerating its electoral appeal by September 1930. Subsequent attempts to bring the Nazis into a unified right-wing movement, including the formation of the Harzburg Front in October 1931, merely accentuated tensions between the Pan-Germanized DNVP and the far more successful Nazi Party and confirmed Hitler’s independence from the established Right. By 1933, Jackisch argues, the Pan-Germans had destroyed “any real hope for the emergence of a responsible, popular, governmental conservatism” (p. 134) and commanded a right-wing party that was easily overtaken by the more popular and dynamic Nazi movement—a disastrous outcome that meant Pan-Germans would be targeted as “opposition” in the Third Reich.

Suggesting that the Pan-Germans, who produced nearly the entire ideological arsenal of Nazism, were opponents of the Nazi regime might not seem convincing at a time when historians of the Third Reich routinely stress the widespread participation of Germans from all walks of life and political-ideological persuasions in its projects. Indeed, Jackisch’s conclusions derive from his analytical and methodological choices, which downplay the constitutive role of ideology in political action, largely reduce the history of the Pan-German League to the history of Claß (and his political memoir), and overemphasize the elitist dimensions of League politics. But this criticism should in no way discredit a fine study. Jackisch has produced a penetrating analysis of Pan-German political strategy that successfully places Claß at the center of right-wing politics dur-

ing the Weimar Republic in a way that prompts important questions about the relationship between the old and new German Right.

DENNIS SWEENEY
University of Alberta

SHARON GILLERMAN. *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 238. \$50.00.

Sharon Gillerman's concise study documents German Jews' creation of an extensive interventionist social welfare program during the Weimar Republic. The study covers initiatives that reinvigorated families, disciplined wayward youth, aided war veterans, orphans, widows, and Eastern European immigrants, and ultimately sought to reverse demographic decline.

Bedeveled by the weakening of traditional identities, the perceived unraveling of communities in large urban centers, and losses of the war, Jewish leaders sought to revive the community. Already before World War I, the urban environment was viewed as the cause of lowering birthrates and other challenges. Statistical evidence indeed pointed to a decline of the community. Contemporaries attributed the unraveling of social bonds and loss of traditional values in society to the weakening of the family. Jews married later and had fewer children, numbers of marriages decreased, and intermarriages increased (p. 59). Jews believed particularly that the "new woman" furthered the loss of male authority. The experience of World War I and the inflation of 1923 only intensified the sense of crisis and compelled Jews and Germans into collective action to heal the nation.

To many participants from a wide array of political and religious backgrounds, the "social quickly emerged as the locus for middle-class anxieties" (p. 9). Jewish and other German activists shared a common language that couched demographic, social, and moral concerns in biological vocabulary. Anti-urban discourses, national sentiments, and biological concepts converged in the newly emerging population policies. Ideological differences mattered less, and there existed common ground between Zionists and the liberal German Jewish community (p. 165).

Welfare organizations cared for orphans, veterans, and mothers-in-need; they also provided funds for marriages, offered medical assistance and sought to re-educate wayward adolescents. Above all, social welfare promoted ideals of physical culture, hygiene, and health. Initiatives multiplied not solely in response to an unprecedented scale of needs—welfare reformers expanded the meaning of needs to legitimize large-scale interventionist politics. Inscribing modern social welfare with biblical ideals provided additional impetus to intervene in the lives of tens of thousands. Far from simply aiding and assisting individuals, Jewish welfare aimed to advance health, fertility, productivity, and morality to revive the "social body" (*Volkskörper*). Social work addressed therefore not simply social issues but

sought to reshape the nature and function of the Jewish community (p. 104).

Engaging in social welfare also became a launching pad for women's public careers. Social workers predominantly came from the middle class and represented the equally celebrated and often berated new woman. Viennese women's activist Bertha Pappenheim was traditionally religious, non-Zionist, and viewed social work as the quintessential female occupation (p. 98). Becoming engaged with social work, she aimed to turn modern and independent women into new Jewish women. Equal and modern, but also committed to aiding and rebuilding the Jewish community, social work became a vocation. Pappenheim and Berlin expert in social welfare and pedagogy Siddy Wronsky exemplified this transformation as they advocated the creation of a new public sphere in which women would assume central and not subordinated roles (p. 100).

What remains unexplored by Gillerman is the extent to which active participation in social welfare not only liberated middle-class women from a purely domestic existence but also disciplined women in a new manner. Insofar as social welfare became an arena for the self-fashioning of women, community ideals became infused with biological concepts. The individual body became intertwined with the social body; ideals of community grated against the cherished ideals of *Bildung* as a process of individual self-formation. Instead, Gillerman views the social welfare initiatives largely as creative and positive responses to the social crisis. Less important to her argument are both the disciplining nature of the social activism and the persistence of anti-semitism. Yet Weimar's debates about the nation's health were never far removed from eugenics and racial thinking.

Gillerman also refuses to view the Weimar Republic as the "final denouement at the end of a one-way trajectory of assimilation that began with Emancipation" (p. 5). Along with others, she argues that German Jewry articulated and refashioned their community "through Germanness and the categories of nation" (p. 109). This is indeed convincing but not quite novel since Michael Brenner's *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* appeared in 1996. Rather, Gillerman's book uncovers in fascinating manner the extent to which the renaissance of Jewish cultures overlapped with equally decisive social welfare activities to rejuvenate the body of the Jewish community.

NILS H. ROEMER
University of Texas,
Dallas

CHRISTOPHER J. PROBST. *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2012. Pp. xiv, 251. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.00, e-book \$22.99.

In this book Christopher J. Probst investigates the use of Martin Luther's writings about Judaism and Jews by

German Protestants during the Third Reich. He discusses representatives and spokesmen of three distinct groups in the Protestant established church: the German Christians, the Confessing Church, and a "middle group" formally affiliated with neither. Probst undertakes to go beyond the study of academics and major figures to examine the views of pastors and religious publicists who can be inferred to have shaped the opinions of German Protestant laymen. Although he gives some attention to the waning years of the Weimar Republic and the war years after 1939, he focuses on pre-war Nazi Germany.

Probst disavows any grand "Luther to Hitler" interpretation of German history. Nevertheless, he definitely emphasizes continuity between Luther's writings about the Jews and the climate of antisemitism that he believes was dominant in German Protestantism of the 1930s. Such a view has to contend with two strands of interpretation that seem to point to discontinuity between Luther's writings about Jews and Judaism and German Protestant antisemitism in the 1930s. They are, first, the distinction between religious anti-Judaism and the pseudoscientific racial antisemitism characteristic of the early twentieth century, and, second, the explicit hostility of the Confessing Church and various other influential German Protestants to the adoption of a vaguely Christianized form of Nazi antisemitism by the German Christian movement.

The conceptual tool Probst uses to contend with these two obstacles to his stress on continuity between Luther's discussions of the Jews and German Protestant opinion in the 1930s is borrowed from Gavin I. Langmuir's writings on antisemitism. Langmuir distinguishes three types of discourse by non-Jews about Jews and Judaism: rational, non-rational, and irrational. The crux of Langmuir's approach is his distinction between the non-rational and the irrational. He classes the non-rational objections to Judaism as purely theological; for example, Christians oppose Jews because they affirm the Trinity and Jews do not. However, to accuse Jews of ritual murder, of a preference for the exacting of usury to "honest work," or even of harboring ill will to Christians is, according to Langmuir, irrational (implying not only error but malice and derangement). The problem here is that the New Testament, which Christians hold to be canonical, contains many elements of polemic against Pharisaic rabbinical Judaism, including primary responsibility for the crucifixion of Christ.

For various reasons a Jewish minority was tolerated in Christian Europe from the conversion of Constantine to the Enlightenment, although it could surely have been stamped out had Christian rulers wished to do so. Nevertheless, throughout the Middle Ages hatred of Jews was considered totally appropriate for Christians, and many vicious descriptions of Jewish behavior and intentions were embedded in Christian popular culture. Probst singles out Anthonius Margaritha's *Der gantz Jüdisch Glaub* (1530) as a source for Luther's accusations about Jewish usury and Jewish blasphemy against Jesus and Mary.

Probst illuminates the grim reality of Germany from 1933 to 1939, an era in which the Nazis disavowed Enlightenment humanitarianism and internationalism in its various forms and turned the secular state against the most prominent beneficiaries of the Enlightenment, assimilated German Jews. He demonstrates that the internal Protestant controversy between the essentially Nazi German Christians and the Confessing Church offered support to German Jews only if they were willing to be baptized and become Protestants. Such converts were defended by the Confessing Church and rejected by the German Christians. Luther's late anti-Jewish writings presented a dilemma to the Confessing Church. They rejected Nazi racism, which they correctly suspected of being at base anti-Christian, in the name of Luther and the Protestant confessions, both Lutheran and Reformed. Yet in his last years Luther clearly hated the Jews and held little hope for their conversion.

German Protestants had already learned from the tradition of modern Biblical scholarship that Luther and classical Protestantism had disseminated an insufficiently rational exegesis of the Hebrew Bible. In the wake of the Holocaust, which Protestants were to some degree complicit in, they had to consider whether the exclusivist claims of Christianity and the ambitions to make the twentieth century a "Christian century" were not in themselves a cultural imperialist project in which non-rationalism faded into irrationalism. Probst presents us with an instructive panorama of a shameful time, but his assertions of the historical continuity between Luther's anti-Jewish writings of the 1540s and antisemitism in Germany during the 1930s are not convincing.

JAMES M. STAYER
Queen's University

ROBERT LOEFFEL. *Family Punishment in Nazi Germany: Sippenhaft, Terror and Myth*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. x, 258. \$85.00.

Robert Loeffel's new book examines the Nazi use of *Sippenhaft*, or family punishment, as a lens through which to view the broader implementation of terror in German society. Using governmental decrees, Wehrmacht and SS directives, Gestapo records, and the records of individual cases pursued by the Wehrmacht, Heinrich Himmler, and the Reich Security Main Office, together with prisoner of war conversations and newspaper reports, Loeffel offers "an account of how local agencies used threats against family to terrorize their fellow countrymen" (p. 8). He also incorporates oral interviews and correspondence with forty former victims of *Sippenhaft* in his analysis. The chapters examine, respectively, the early years (1933–1935), the Wehrmacht, the League of German Officers and the National Committee for a Free Germany, the attempted assassination of Adolf Hitler on July 20, 1944 and its aftermath, and finally the children's home at Bad Sachsa. Loeffel is specifically interested in those cases

in which punishment was meted out without any attempt to determine the guilt of individual family members. Throughout the book he asks whether the Nazi use of *Sippenhaft* was preventive or reactive.

Loeffel begins by examining the “hot terror” of the first years of Nazi power, when *Sippenhaft* was used primarily against political foes (communists and social democrats) and against the families of those who fled Germany. The exact nature of *Sippenhaft* remained uncoded, a fact that inspired fear among the general public. After the Nazis had solidified their control, the use of *Sippenhaft* declined within the Reich and rose in the Wehrmacht. Initially intended to discourage desertion among troops conscripted from outside Germany, primarily the *Volksdeutsche*, its effectiveness lay in its being maintained as a general threat potentially applicable to any soldier or groups of soldiers.

Once the military situation on the eastern front turned against the Nazis, *Sippenhaft* was applied more widely to deter desertion and acts of cowardice. During and after Stalingrad its usage was extended to include host agencies within the military such as the party and security services. But, as Loeffel makes abundantly clear, the Gestapo, which bore the responsibility for imposing *Sippenhaft* punishments, was far more willing to punish family members who could be linked to other transgressions. They also punished men more frequently than women and the working class more than the middle and upper classes. The League of German Officers and the National Committee for a Free Germany posed a further challenge to Nazi military control as their success at persuading German soldiers and even officers to shift their allegiance to the Soviets increased. The Nazis’ fear that publicizing these groups’ effectiveness would undermine their own military strength discouraged them from taking visible action against families. Instead, they focused their punishments on individual families, like that of General Walter von Seydlitz.

Sippenhaft was applied with a new intensity in the aftermath of the July 20, 1944 attempt on Hitler’s life. The Nazis immediately arrested the families (including infants and elderly parents) of the men who were executed for their involvement in the assassination attempt or who had committed suicide. They also confiscated property from families and took many of the children to a children’s home in Saxony, where their names were changed and attempts were made to erase their pasts. After July 20, 1944, however, new problems also arose in the implementation of *Sippenhaft*. Some officials acted with such zeal that in November 1944 Himmler was made responsible for approving all *Sippenhaft* cases. This was designed to make its usage less arbitrary and inconsistent, but it slowed the *Sippenhaft* process. At the same time other officials became less enthusiastic about applying *Sippenhaft*; some even defended the victims and established financial support for affected families. Finally, the Nazis worried that arresting too many people in the aftermath of the attack or publicizing the cases would increase awareness of the

extent of the opposition. As a result, only some *Sippenhaft* cases were pursued and few were publicized.

Loeffel’s book draws attention to an understudied area and contributes to ongoing historiographical debates about Nazi efforts to control German society and the military during World War II. He demonstrates that the use of *Sippenhaft* changed over time. Initially cases against political enemies were publicized to instill fear in German citizens. By 1944, however, the regime worried about exposing the extent of the opposition. Loeffel argues that throughout the era, the Nazis benefitted from not codifying *Sippenhaft*, both because it allowed flexible implementation and because it increased levels of fear among German civilians and soldiers. He also reveals that even when the Wehrmacht identified a family for *Sippenhaft*, local Gestapo members did not necessarily carry out the punishments, a reality which adds to our understanding of the Gestapo and relations between different branches of the Nazi regime. The uncoded nature of *Sippenhaft*, however, prevents him from fully explaining why individuals applied *Sippenhaft* when they did and how effective it was as an element of terror in Nazi Germany.

MICHELLE MOUTON
University of Wisconsin,
Oshkosh

DANIEL PICK. *The Pursuit of the Nazi Mind: Hitler, Hess, and the Analysts*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 357. \$35.00.

Very little of the history in Daniel Pick’s book on the study of the Nazi mind takes place in Germany, but the content of the book—the origins of the people, the problems, and processes—is very much German. Pick rightly observes that already by the spring of 1941, when Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess flew to Scotland in a mad bid to make peace, “a diagnostic political language about Nazism was already in circulation” (p. 49). According to Pick, because of the vigorous growth in Europe since the late nineteenth century of a variety of “sciences of the mind,” the role of Hess “as emissary or intelligence source was to be complemented and eventually eclipsed by his status as patient” (p. 44). Hess became the subject of psychiatric interviews, Rorschach tests, and drug hypnosis. This was not just because Hess’s behavior and beliefs were marked by obsessions and delusions. For by the time Hess landed in Scotland, the West was just about to enter a crisis of modernity. This crisis, spawned largely by German wars and Nazi atrocities in the twentieth century, was one in which rational solutions to human problems would, to many, prove to be illusory.

One can take issue with Pick’s claim that “the significance of the Second World War for psychoanalysis is still generally less well known than the implications of earlier periods for the development of the Freudian tradition” (p. 2). Nonetheless, *The Pursuit of the Nazi Mind* extensively documents many lesser-known ventures in psychoanalysis during this era. While the Hess

case dominates several chapters on wartime Britain and the Nuremberg Trials, the author also covers the employment during and after the war of psychoanalysts and other social scientists by the American Office of Special Services, which in 1947 became the CIA. Most impressive is Pick's analysis of primary sources from the Wellcome Library (especially the case notes of Henry Dicks on Hess), the National Archives, and the Library of Congress. His knowledge of the secondary literature on the history of psychoanalysis and World War II is impressive, although there are some odd omissions in his suggestions for further reading. Psychiatrist Douglas M. Kelley's *22 Cells in Nuremberg* (1947) and psychiatrist G. M. Gilbert's *Nuremberg Diary* (1947) are not listed, although the work of both men is discussed in the text and notes; also missing is the flawed but relevant book on Nuremberg by Eric Zillmer et al., *The Quest for the Nazi Personality: A Psychological Investigation of Nazi War Criminals* (1995).

The value of Pick's book is enhanced by his examination of the methodological and historiographical problems with applying psychoanalytic theory to historical personages and events. While affirming the value of psychoanalysis "as a form of understanding psycho-social . . . relations, and the problems of power, love, and hate that they entail," he carefully and critically assesses the inherent problems in its many political and scholarly applications in the mid-twentieth century (p. 258). The crucial issue for Pick is the historian's concern with context. There is a great deal of low-hanging fruit in this regard; Pick criticizes earlier stereotypes and psychiatric labels applied to "incurable" Germans (p. 104) and their "psychopathic" Führer (p. 239). He is more appreciative—though still somewhat wary—of later psychobiography that balances psychological causality with historical context. Even some wartime "national character" stereotypes about German "hyper-masculinity" have been rendered substantive by careful study of modern German society and culture, such as David Blackbourn's *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780–1918* (1997).

While Pick's book is generally excellent in terms of the care taken to contextualize, there are a few occasions when more context would be welcome. Hess's fear of being poisoned by the British (and "the Jews") is revealing of his "paranoia," but his related enthusiasm for the Nazi version of "natural health" is not discussed. There is also no mention of the fact that Hess had seen a psychotherapist in the 1930s, breaking off treatment because he could not get along with his therapist. An accusation by one of his Nazi rivals that Hermann Göring was a "dope addict" was useful grist for Allied investigators' mills, but the fact that it was to an extent true goes unmentioned. The book is nicely produced, although the endnotes do not include the titles of the chapters, the inclusion of which would make it much easier to navigate the rich citations and helpful elaborations in the notes.

GEOFFREY COCKS
Albion College

SEAN BRENNAN. *The Politics of Religion in Soviet-Occupied Germany: The Case of Berlin-Brandenburg 1945–1949*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2011. Pp. xxix, 235. \$70.00.

Sean Brennan's concise book about the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches in the Soviet occupation zone of Germany will interest those keen on learning about the wrangling and tensions within the East German and Soviet leadership and the responses of the churches to an increasingly repressive state. How did policies of religious toleration, however limited, pursued by the Soviet occupation authorities in 1945 and 1946 give way to a crackdown on the freedom of the churches between 1947 and 1949 by both the Soviet military administration in Germany and the newly created Socialist Unity Party (SED)?

In answering this question, Brennan enters into debates about whether Soviet occupying authorities intended to create a Soviet-style Stalinist state in the eastern zone from the outset or whether they were forced into this position because of Western belligerence. He ultimately comes down on the side of the former. Soviet policies of religious toleration in 1945 and 1946, he convincingly shows, were chimerical, and at most, a display of tactical flexibility. The Soviet authorities had no intention of giving up their goal of creating a German Marxist-Leninist state that would grant the Christian churches, at best, a minimal place. It was only when their hopes of creating a communist state for all of Germany were dashed that they put the eastern zone on the fast track to Stalinization, with the loss of freedoms that entailed for the churches.

What adds luster to Brennan's account is his ability to draw on Russian-language documents from Russian state archives in addition to a smattering of church and state archives in Germany. These documents allow him to bolster an argument made by Norman M. Naimark in his study of the Russians in Germany: it was the victory of the faction in the Soviet military government led by the propagandist Sergei Tiul'panov, who had close ties to Andrei Zhdanov and Joseph Stalin in Moscow, that accelerated the push toward socialism. Tiul'panov played a significant role in the removal of Andreas Hermes, Ernst Lemmer, and Jakob Kaiser from their positions as heads of the eastern branch of the Christian Democratic Union in December 1945 and December 1947, respectively.

Equally impressive is that Brennan's account of the churches in postwar Germany is one of the few to cross confessional lines. He focuses on Berlin-Brandenburg, and accordingly, places the spotlight on the Protestant bishop F. K. Otto Dibelius and the Roman Catholic bishop Konrad Graf von Preysing. Though both chose to steer a course of confrontation with the regime, Dibelius, in particular, had to reckon with divisions within the church over both strategy and tactics. At the one extreme were Kurt Rackwitz and his League of Religious Socialists, who sought to reconcile theology with socialism. They were the functional equivalent of the

German Christians who had so bedeviled the Protestant churches during the years of National Socialism. In the middle were those like Heinrich Gruber, who sought to cooperate with the Soviet authorities, often in the hopes of gaining concessions on issues such as the return of church bells and religious services in internment camps.

What limits the utility of Brennan's otherwise fine scholarship, however, is the fact that he seems unaware of much of the vast secondary literature on the struggle of the churches against the two German dictatorships of the twentieth century. His bibliography of secondary sources amounts to only three pages, and most of the scholarship cited consists of English-language books and articles. And even there, he did not include seminal works such as Alan Nothnagle's monograph on the East German youth organization, the Free German Youth. His most significant omission, however, is Wolfgang Tischner's 600-page monograph from 2001 on the Catholic church in the Soviet zone and the German Democratic Republic from 1945 to 1951, though he does mention a brief essay by Tischner in an edited volume. Tischner's tome, in fact, covers some of the same terrain as Brennan's book. It focuses on conflicts over religious instruction in the schools, the freedom of religious youth organizations, and cooperation in charitable work, albeit without recourse to Soviet or Russian-language sources. Through his deft analysis of the conflicts between and within the Soviet occupiers and the SED, Brennan might have either added greater clarity to Tischner's pioneering work or muddled the waters. One might also wish that more energy had been invested in proofreading, as German names and terms are frequently misspelled.

Brennan's book adds notably to our understanding of Russian-German relations as the Cold War heated up, even if the Russian side receives a more satisfying treatment than the German. It also points to the larger reality that battles over the religious nature of public schools, the press, and the ideological platform of political parties were also fought in the Western zones, where the outcome was fundamentally different than in East Germany.

MARK EDWARD RUFF
Saint Louis University

QUINN SLOBODIAN. *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany*. (Radical Perspectives.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 304. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

With the exception of Ingo Juchler's *Die Studentenbewegungen in den Vereinigten Staaten und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland der sechziger Jahre* (1996), historians have only recently become interested in the "Third World Politics" of 1968 in Germany. In the last ten years authors such as Bastian Hein, Niels Seibert, Moritz Ege, and Dorothee Weitbrecht have reevaluated the student movement's international outlook, particularly toward liberation movements from the so-

called Third World and other non-white revolutionary groups such as the Black Panthers in the United States. To this body of scholarship Quinn Slobodian now adds an important contribution. He places students from Africa and Asia at the center of his research and asks how they used Germany as a "Foreign Front" from which they could advance critiques of authoritarian regimes in their home countries. Thoroughly explored on the basis of the latest research and new archival material, Slobodian's cases are convincingly chosen. After a very useful overview on the number of foreign students in West Germany, their countries of origin, and their scope for political activism, the book features chapters on the gradual orientation toward Third World ideas and tactics within the Socialist German Student Union and other left-wing groups, the caesura of the Vietnam war, the hitherto overlooked role of Iranian students in the West German student movement, left-wing activists' use of shocking pictures of victims in Third World countries, and the rise of Maoism.

Slobodian reconstructs all these important aspects of his topic with care and splendor, but he is not consistent in his theoretical approach. On the one hand, he programmatically puts Third World activists at the center of his account. He gives credit primarily to politically active, left-leaning students of non-German origin (no more than four percent of all students in West Germany, we learn from his book, have come from so-called "developing countries"), while downplaying German activists' role in raising awareness of Third World politics among the political left in West Germany.

On the other hand, Slobodian also shows how Germans could construct new identities even in the absence of encouragement from student activists from the Third World. For instance, he shows that Maoism had an impact on German Third World activism even though Germans had no direct contact with students of Chinese origin. Here it becomes clear that the media played an important role, serving the needs of its audience and left-wing students' interest in a certain cultural and political habitus. There is no doubt that it is important to make activists from Third World countries visible as major historical agents, but it is still legitimate to investigate Europeans' multifaceted identity constructions. To counterbalance them with the perspectives and activities of Third World activists is necessary, but to play them off against each other would be wrong.

As a scholar working in this field, I am irritated by the way Slobodian approaches those who have come before him. Instead of regarding waves of scholarly attention as responses to societies' diverse and shifting epistemological interests, he puts the findings of much previous research into question by attributing negative motives to its practitioners. For example, he blames scholars operating within the "Westernization" paradigm for "systematically marginaliz[ing] the productive nature of the West German encounter with the Third World" (p. 171). Instead of a willful marginalization I see this as an example of a well-known pattern: historians, like other scholars, pose new questions as they

become relevant or more appropriate, at the inevitable risk of seeming insufficient to later generations. This has nothing to do with vicious political strategies, but with the constantly changing framing of scholarly work in the humanities.

Foreign Front is a good book, even if it lacks a sense of its own historicity. Historiographical work cannot be other than time-bound. Let us hope that Slobodian's book will for a long time be spared from critics like himself.

DETLEF SIEGFRIED
University of Copenhagen

ANDREAS GLAESER. *Political Epistemics: The Secret Police, the Opposition, and the End of East German Socialism*. (Chicago Studies in Practices of Meaning.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. xxxiii, 606. \$35.00.

Andreas Glaeser's book on the sociology of political understanding will disappoint historians because it offers them very little that is new. It is overlong and uses slender research to reach familiar conclusions.

Glaeser's subject is the formation and decay of political conviction. He examines the political convictions both of the Stasi officers who sought in the late 1980s to suppress dissent in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and of the oppositionists who then challenged the Socialist Unity Party (SED) regime. He argues that the regime, which collapsed in 1989, had a deeply flawed understanding of itself that left it unprepared to deal with the upsurge in popular opposition, whose causes it was unable to understand. It collapsed because its propaganda utterly failed to describe reality and yet the regime and its security police could not abandon their propaganda. Conversely, the oppositionists were greatly encouraged by the support they received from one another and from the West. The youth culture of the late 1960s, the peace, environmental, and civil rights groups of the 1980s, and the counter-culture of Prenzlauer Berg at that time all encouraged criticism of the regime.

Glaeser's arguments are very familiar. He stresses the importance to Stasi officers of "self-objectification" (demonstrations of loyalty, or political correctness) and the anti-fascist tradition; he also argues that the political convictions of both Stasi officers and oppositionists were cemented by "validation" of their views by their life experiences and the agreement of others. This adds nothing to the historical literature on the Stasi and the GDR. Many historians have also argued that the Marxist-Leninist regimes of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were severely deluded. They have long recognized that Marxist-Leninists divided the world into friends and enemies and that this Manichean understanding of politics forced the SED regime to deny the obvious—that an opposition existed in the GDR which was a natural result of its own policies—and greatly to exaggerate the threat posed by the outside world.

An important source for the book is a series of forty-

four interviews that Glaeser conducted with former Stasi officers (twenty-five of them), former informers (three) and former oppositionists (sixteen). He also attended meetings of a discussion group of former Stasi officers. The interviews do not add to what is already known about either the Stasi or the opposition. Oddly, given the reliance he places on the interviews with the Stasi officers, nowhere does Glaeser ask himself either whether they were telling the truth about how they came to be communists or whether, in coming to believe communist propaganda, they were simply gullible or stupid. The slenderness of this source weakens Glaeser's findings. He argues that dissidence did not start as ideological disagreement, but as confrontations with the authorities that then grew into something bigger. How persuasive is this finding when it rests on a few case studies? Moreover, if the support provided by others was so important to the development of opposition, why did the peace groups that emerged in the 1980s keep on splintering?

Glaeser's use of the historical literature on the Stasi, the history of the GDR regime, and Marxist-Leninist ideology is too selective. It is regrettable that only one book by Hermann Weber, the leading authority on the history of German communism, is referred to in the bibliography. Equally selective use is made of the work of historians who have analyzed the Stasi and opposition to the regime such as Hans-Hermann Hertle, Jens Gieseke, Konrad Jarausch, Stefan Wolle, Armin Mitter, Helmut Müller-Enbergs, and Karl Wilhelm Fricke. Hertle, in particular, has published much on the collapse of East Germany; none of his works appears in the bibliography. Glaeser's discussion of how "self-objectification" required the information the Stasi reported to the GDR's political leadership to be "castrated" (made acceptable to the readers) would have profited from the analysis of this process in the recent series of document collections entitled *Die DDR im Blick der Stasi*. Much of Glaeser's book addresses the same theme—the political conviction of Stasi officers—as Jens Gieseke's *Die hauptamtlichen Mitarbeiter der Staatssicherheit: Personalstruktur und Lebenswelt 1950–1989/90* (2000). Gieseke's book rested on very thorough research into the Stasi's records and remains a much better source than Glaeser's book on this subject. Regrettably, Glaeser made little use of Stasi records.

PAUL MADDRELL
Loughborough University

PHILIP GAVITT. *Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 280. \$90.00.

Philip Gavitt's work offers a compelling view of the role that charitable institutions played in the lives of sixteenth-century Florentine women and men. He argues that charity was negotiated and manipulated through the politics of family and state and in particular through a lineage ideology furthered by the tension between an inheritance system that enforced patrilineal transfers of

property and broader economic and demographic distress. Gavitt's argument rests on evidence that in the course of the sixteenth century the number of young children needing institutional care increased dramatically and new quasi-religious institutions to assist unmarried women multiplied. Both state and family molded their policies of preservation and consolidation by relying on the support of charitable institutions.

The policies and practices of charitable institutions are well known to Gavitt, who, in a previous publication, studied one of the largest institutions for the protection of foundlings and children, the Ospedale degli Innocenti, established in the early fifteenth century. While the Ospedale degli Innocenti continues to provide the connecting thread that holds the book together, his new book offers a broader thematic and chronological focus. Following a thematic and historiographical introduction, Gavitt explores the social role of other Italian charitable and conventual institutions during the sixteenth century, a period characterized by great social change. Three important features of this period shape the backdrop for Gavitt's analysis: the process of state building initiated by the first Medici dukes, Cosimo I and Francesco I; wars, social turmoil, economic hardship, and diseases; and intensified aristocratic ideals that promoted the worth of a noble life and education. All three impinged dramatically on state, family, and charity.

Gavitt links the changes in the policies and practices of charitable institutions to the reorganization of the Tuscan state undertaken by Cosimo and Francesco, and to Tridentine legislation that emphasized the responsibility of the state to assist the needy across the cities of central and northern Italy. Cosimo's reform agenda heightened state jurisdiction over these institutions' superintendents and their property. He also centralized their administration under the new magistracy of the Buonomini del Bigallo. Rather than improving the lives of abandoned and needy children or advancing state bureaucratic organization, these reforms placed charity at the mercy of state interest and demographic and social forces. The need to fill the government's coffers without increasing taxes transformed these institutions into "savings banks" from which the Medici drew financial resources. Concurrently recurring famines and social dislocation led to an increase in the number of institutions for the care of young children and women. According to Gavitt, placing the system of charity at the service of state did not transform charitable agencies into more efficient "organs of state," nor did it advance administrative bureaucratization and centralization (p. 21). Instead, the Medici principate was neither absolutist nor centralized and Florentine charitable-turned-financial institutions were "undermined by a grand ducal administration that pursued all-encompassing personal rule while confusing the hoarding of cash with bureaucratic centralization" (p. 65). Ultimately, according to Gavitt, it was the combined power of state and lineage that altered the existing charitable structure by placing it at the center of an emerging system

of social discipline with both civilizing and penalizing implications.

Gavitt also provides fresh insight on scholarship's contention that women's poverty was the key factor in driving changes to poor relief and that gender ideology played a central role in shaping strategies of family preservation. During the sixteenth century, while poverty was the critical factor in the surge in the number of abandoned children, it was unmarried women, many over the age of forty and from elite and prosperous professional families, that filled the new self-enclosed conventual institutions. Also, although gender played an important role in the practice of charity, it was an ideology of lineage that, in the face of mounting financial concerns, led to tighter inheritance practices that relegated the surplus of daughters and sons to institutional enclosure.

The role that charitable and quasi-religious institutions played in the lives of sixteenth-century Florentines resonated in the literature of the period about education and the values of honor and shame, as well as in emerging codes of civility and decorum, and in relationships between state and church, to name just a few of the many topics that Gavitt addresses. While the richness of Gavitt's research greatly adds to understanding shifting constructions of charity, more attention to how women viewed the negotiation and manipulation of charity could have revealed to a greater extent the complexity of family affairs and could have given voice to important participants. Through inheritance and lineage norms the state guaranteed social order, families pursued their interests, wealthy elites perpetuated their privileges, and fathers imposed their authority, but women also pursued both their self-interest and their understanding of family. In certain respects, family and state were social disciplining forces wherein men had authority over women. Despite inequalities and imbalances, however, family was also the space where women's agency played out.

In tackling critical concepts such as state centralization, family strategies, gender ideology, patriarchal ideals of honor and shame, and social discipline, Gavitt provides stimulating insight into crucial issues that although long debated in the historiography of Renaissance Florence have been only sporadically addressed for the history of the city in the sixteenth century.

GIOVANNA BENADUSI

University of Southern Florida

GABRIEL GUARINO. *Representing the King's Splendour: Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms of Power in Viceregal Naples*. (Studies in Early Modern European History.) New York: Manchester University Press, distributed by Palgrave Macmillan. 2010. Pp. xiv, 217. \$90.00.

In this book, Gabriel Guarino focuses on the court of the Spanish viceroy in Naples, particularly in the seventeenth century, to determine the degree to which the Spanish Habsburgs were able to impose a "Spanish cul-

tural model" in that territory. Through examining a range of primary sources, including festival books, chronicles, and diaries, Guarino demonstrates how Spanish viceroys attempted to use rituals to project an idealized image of power and political unity but experienced mixed results. As Guarino writes, the viceroy's ability to control the ritual life of Naples was "curbed by various degrees of local resistance coming from different social groups" (p. 178). At the same time, however, the viceregal court became a model for Neapolitan society, which adapted many Spanish festivals and fashions. This is a decent book, but it suffers from unfortunate timing, as it appeared almost simultaneously with another, more authoritative work on the same subject: John A. Marino's *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples* (2011). Guarino's work, while perhaps better organized, does not have the same depth of analysis as Marino's study. Nonetheless this is a valuable exploration of political rituals in early modern Naples.

The book has five main chapters. Chapter one introduces the functions of the office of viceroy and his role in Neapolitan civic rituals. The viceroy's position was inherently ambiguous: in theory, he was the king of Spain's alter ego, but his actual power was limited. This ambiguity is revealed in civic rituals in which the viceroy held a central and privileged role and yet was clearly subordinate to the absent king. The fact that so many state-sponsored rituals emphasized the power of the viceroy indicated how insecure his position actually was.

Chapters two and three examine specific political rituals and celebrations in more detail. Chapter two focuses on the question of precedence—how the order in which officials marched during civic processions expressed the social and political hierarchies in Naples. Guarino's analysis mostly depends on the Neapolitan chronicler Domenico Antonio Parrino (1642–1716), who wrote detailed descriptions of the city's famously elaborate rituals. Guarino notes that these processions literally revolved around the viceroy and that proximity to his person symbolized social status. Guarino draws an interesting distinction between social status and political power: while the Neapolitan nobility dominated the processions, members of the *popolo* occupied many of the ceremonial positions close to the viceroy. This was part of a deliberate (and not always successful) Spanish strategy to tame the nobility and curb popular unrest.

Chapter three further explores the problematic nature of the viceroy's position. Most of the state-sponsored celebrations highlighted the power and accomplishments of the Spanish king, rather than that of the king's representative. The viceroy was also a target for popular resentment, most obviously during the great 1647 revolt, which first erupted during a festive occasion. The following year the new viceroy, the Count of Oñate, altered many civic rituals by adding obvious displays of military might, as well as inaugurating an annual celebration of the defeat of the uprising. Although

the evidence is sketchy, Guarino claims "Neapolitans proved quite receptive to [Oñate's] restorative messages" (p. 77). Guarino also insists that many Neapolitans enthusiastically participated in state-sponsored festivities, despite lingering social tensions.

Chapter four describes the introduction of Spanish fashions of dress into Neapolitan society and viceregal attempts to impose sumptuary laws. As Guarino argues, this is one of the areas where Spanish influence on Naples is most evident, as the Spanish style of dress triumphed there (as it did in much of Western Europe), at least until French fashion became all the rage in the later 1600s. Spanish viceroys led by example, using their "power to represent the monarchy . . . through ostentatious dress" (p. 114). Chapter five examines another type of ostentatious display, the use of *imprese* (complex pictograms) by the viceregal court. Guarino focuses on the royal obsequies that the viceroys organized and paid for, which used increasingly complicated iconography to extol the virtues of deceased Habsburgs. He notes that the particularly Baroque imagery evident at the funerary rites for Philip IV in 1666 reflected wishful thinking: the themes of triumphant Spanish power already seemed quaint and outdated.

Guarino concludes by reiterating his main theme of the limitations on the power of the Spanish viceroys, while also stressing their ability to exert "cultural influence" on Naples. For the most part, he makes a good case, although he needed to think more critically about his primary sources and not always accept them at face value—chronicles and festival books often have their own agendas that need to be taken into account. The book could also have benefitted from more aggressive editing; it is a little too obviously based on Guarino's doctoral dissertation. Despite these weaknesses, however, the author has made a valuable contribution to the growing literature on Spanish Italy.

MICHAEL J. LEVIN
University of Akron

DOMENICO BERTOLONI MELI. *Mechanism, Experiment, Disease: Marcello Malpighi and Seventeenth-Century Anatomy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 439. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$45.00.

Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694), Italian anatomist and physician, is one of the leading lights in the history of early modern science. With unparalleled determination and focus, he applied all the technical resources available at the time—such as animal vivisection, chemical assaying, vascular injection, and microscopy—to explore the principal functions of life in both the vegetable and animal kingdoms. In the decades leading to Malpighi's outstanding contributions, three important anatomical discoveries had shaped the medical field: William Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood, Gaspare Aselli's findings about the milky veins, and Jean Pecquet's discovery of the thoracic duct. Malpighi used these and other discoveries as the starting point for his attempt to redefine plant and human life in

mechanistic terms, including such delicate vital processes as sensory perception, respiration, secretion, generation, growth, and diseases.

As Domenico Bertoloni Meli shows in his wide-ranging and well-researched account, Malpighi had a profound impact on the making of early modern medicine as it was disentangling itself from the institutional clutches of Galenism. From the *Risposta*, polemically addressed to Michele Lipari's *Galenistarum triumphus* in 1665, to the controversy with Giovanni Girolamo Sbaraglia in 1689, Malpighi's position evolved from an original view of medicine understood as a conjectural and fallible art to one in which anatomy became the conceptual and technological glue that could finally bridge the gap between medical theory and practice. As a historian who is at ease in the fields of both early modern medicine and physics, Bertoloni Meli provides an absorbing analysis of the complex relationship between anatomy and mechanical philosophy. In his nuanced and contextualized understanding of mechanism and mechanical anatomy, Bertoloni Meli attributes great importance to the dispute between Sbaraglia and Malpighi as a defining moment in the history of Italian anatomy, with lasting reverberations on the wider European scene. In *De recentiorum medicorum studio* (1689), Sbaraglia had denied that comparative, plant, and microscopic anatomy could be of any medical use. His objections were indeed quite sensible: What can the smallest structures of the body tell us about the purposes and functions of the organs? What do plants, insects, and other nonhuman animals have to do with human beings? Finally—and most importantly—what can dissections of dead bodies reveal about the nature of living bodies? Behind Sbaraglia's objections, as Bertoloni Meli convincingly argues, was a coherent defense of medical empiricism based on the systematic and comparative study of countless individual patients.

It is true that in the early modern period a diffused skeptical attitude toward invasive techniques and anatomical dissection often prevented new medical theories from being applied to the field of therapy. From an epistemological and methodical point of view, the traditional anatomy of temperaments, faculties, and uses was considered much safer than one relying on artificial anatomical preparations and the "false appearances" created using microscopes, injections, and other instruments of observation. The great merit of Bertoloni Meli's book is to show how closely intertwined techniques of investigation, visual representation, and medical therapy were in Malpighi's anatomy. More than anyone else at the time, Malpighi expanded the scope of mechanical explanations toward the domains of pathology and therapy, arguing that the great majority of illnesses derived from the malfunctioning of hydraulic and glandular devices—i.e., the organs.

Like Sbaraglia, many historians tend to doubt whether early modern practical medicine was in fact abreast with anatomical progress. There is certainly some foundation for this skepticism when we read that seventeenth-century pharmacopoeia was still heavily

reliant on "human urine, ground human skull (used against mental disorders), spirit of human blood, viper's meat, crab eyes, pulverized red coral, broths with frogs and tails of river crabs, hartshorn jelly, and the application of warm animal viscera" (p. 332). And yet Bertoloni Meli is absolutely right in speaking of a "double anachronism" every time Malpighi is presented as a modern laboratory scientist while performing anatomical dissection, and as a "pre-Galilean charlatan" when he provides cures following traditional *materia medica*. It is the double anachronism that perpetuates the view of early modern medicine as a discipline puzzlingly characterized by a fundamental split between theory and practice. By contrast, relying on his unrivalled knowledge of Malpighi's case histories and medical consultations, Bertoloni Meli is able to show that, in fact, medical practice was being gradually reformed as a result of anatomical progress. Malpighi's consultations shed light on his daily practice, the social status of his patients, the geographical provenance of the letters and current taxonomies of diseases—"a wealth of written evidence that would not have otherwise survived" (p. 338). Countering a widespread assumption that consultations were stylized and conventional responses to patients' queries, Bertoloni Meli emphasizes the many ways in which Malpighi's consultations reflected his cutting-edge approach in anatomy: the relationships between vital functions and post-mortem dissection; the view of disease as resulting from an impairment in the filtering mechanisms of the glandules; the key role played by digestive processes in producing the right balance of acid and alkaline particles in the blood; and, finally, the association of pathological symptoms with possible changes in anatomical structures, above all glands and ducts, cerebral cortex and nervous juice, all parts of the body on which Malpighi had focused his attention as a lifelong anatomist.

GUIDO GIGLIONI
The Warburg Institute,
University of London

EMMA FATTORINI. *Hitler, Mussolini, and the Vatican: Pope Pius XI and the Speech That Was Never Made*. Translated by CARL IPSSEN. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 260. \$25.00.

Emma Fattorini's first-rate study of Achille Ratti, Pope Pius XI, and his relations with Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini leads the reader to the pontiff's unpublished condemnation of National Socialist racism—a document written on his death bed. Originally published in Italian in 2007, the book is now available in English thanks to Carl Ipsen's able translation. Fattorini bases much of her study on recently opened Vatican documents and the notebooks of Pius's Secretary of State, Eugenio Pacelli, who succeeded him as Pope Pius XII in 1939. Her book engages other scholars in the ever-lively debates on the Vatican and the dictators and, to her credit, directs the reader's attention to important new research and arguments.

Pius XI worked toward a re-Christianization of society, an impulse revealed, among other places, in his 1925 encyclical *Quas primas*, which promoted the idea of "Christ the King"; and toward that end he preferred lay organizations such as Catholic Action over political parties. To the leaders of Catholic Action in 1938 the pontiff stated that Christ did not walk on earth "to promote a political regime in the usual vulgar sense of the word, but rather to bring to all souls the benefits of the Kingdom of God" (p. 49). His mistrust of politics led to his "sacrifices" of the Italian Popular Party in the 1920s and the German Center Party in the 1930s. Fattorini traces much of Pius's approach to the dictators from that triumph of spirituality over politics, a victory affirmed in a "spiritual conversion" as he faced his own mortality during the final, painful years of his life. Some of the most interesting passages of this book link the pontiff's illness to his actions.

While Ratti may have undermined Catholic politics, Fattorini also illustrates quite clearly that he was no friend of the Italian Fascist and the German National Socialist regimes. Of the two, relations with the Duce's government were more complex. As an Italian, the pope spoke of his shame regarding Fascism's conduct, and the Vatican's geographical location meant that its contacts with Mussolini's (or any Italian) government held a certain degree of familiarity. And while Fattorini lists many occasions where Pius excoriated Mussolini, and vice versa, she points out that the dictator, perhaps searching for possible breaks on his pro-German course, could make the incredible suggestion to Pius that he excommunicate Hitler.

Pius's disdain of Nazi Germany was straightforward from the start. He displayed his contempt again and again, most famously in his 1937 encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge* and in 1938, when he left Rome for Castel Gandolfo, thereby snubbing Hitler's visit to Mussolini. Fattorini shows how in the latter case, however, some of Pius's anger may have come in reaction to Hitler's apparent lack of interest in a call on the Vatican. This nevertheless reinforces Fattorini's central point in that the Führer's indifference came from the fact that he loathed Pius XI. Any more forceful papal stands against Nazism, however, were mitigated by the actions of others within the church, among them the nuncio to Berlin, Cesare Orsenigo, and Secretary of State Pacelli. Fattorini dismisses the embarrassing Orsenigo as a political idiot who simply did not measure up to the demands of his position. Pacelli, of course, was a more challenging story. His fondness for Germany and his desires to pursue a more diplomatic track acted as brakes on the hot-headed pontiff. A turning point that quieted the doubters came with the 1938 Anschluss that brought Austria into the Third Reich. The Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Theodor Innitzer, led the nation's episcopacy in brazenly welcoming the Nazis, placing his signature at the bottom of the document that concluded with "Heil Hitler!" No one could defend such actions. Pius could not contain himself and immediately ordered Innitzer to the Roman carpet. After the dressing

down, the hapless cardinal returned home, issued a retraction, and suffered a Nazi attack on himself and his palace. By this time the ailing Pius resolved to issue a more pointed condemnation of Nazi racism, and to compose it he contacted the American Jesuit John LaFarge, Jr. The pope stated that he had read and admired the priest's book, *Interracial Justice* (1937), and therefore placed him in charge of a small group tasked with forging such an encyclical. Pius was working on the final touches but died before it could be released. His successor, the overly cautious Pacelli, ensured that it never would.

ROY DOMENICO
University of Scranton

BEN SHEPHERD. *Terror in the Balkans: German Armies and Partisan Warfare*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. vi, 342. \$45.00.

The title of Ben Shepherd's new monograph on German anti-partisan warfare is misleading. The book does not handle the entire Balkan region but rather the territories of former Yugoslavia, more specifically Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia. Shepherd demonstrates a clear understanding of the ethnic complexities of the region and provides the reader with an extremely detailed, blow-by-blow account of the counterinsurgency operations of German infantry divisions in Yugoslavia between spring 1941 and early 1943. In the opening three chapters Shepherd performs an effective juggling act in tracing the parallel development of mentalities within the Austrian and the German officer corps, respectively, from the late nineteenth century to World War II. The next seven chapters deal with the period from 1941 to 1943 and as such constitute the study's core. The author notes that 1943 saw the largest German anti-partisan operations in Yugoslavia, and it was not until this year that the Germans committed genuinely powerful forces to combating Josip Broz Tito's partisans. It was also in 1943 that the Western Allies formally switched their support from Draža Mihailović's Chetnik movement to the partisans. Despite this, only one of the seven chapters constituting the study's core actually focuses on 1943. This seems odd at first glance, yet it is never Shepherd's objective to provide a comprehensive treatment of German counterinsurgency operations in Yugoslavia. His main concern is not why the Wehrmacht's anti-partisan campaign there ultimately failed but rather to determine "what motivated German army commanders to conduct the campaign in the way that they did" (p. 236). To this end, Shepherd provides case studies of four different divisions between spring 1941 and early 1943: the 704th, the 342nd, the 718th, and the 369th Infantry Divisions.

The German invasion of Yugoslavia (April 6–17, 1941), in particular the German response to the Serb uprising of July 1941, set precedents for brutality against real and alleged partisans, and as such acted as something of a prelude to the subsequent German campaign in the Soviet Union. On April 2, 1941, before the

military campaign against Yugoslavia had even begun, Chief of the General Staff Franz Halder set the tone for what was to come by explicitly ordering that “communists and Jews”—as potential “dangers to security” (p. 100)—should be seized. On May 19, General Maximilian von Weichs, commander of the Second Army, ominously stipulated that one hundred Serbs should be shot for every German soldier who “came to harm” in any Serb attack (p. 88).

Shepherd’s central thesis for explaining the different degrees of brutality in the divisional commanders’ conduct of the anti-partisan campaign is twofold: “ruthlessness of a more exceptional kind,” as contrasted with “‘mainstream’ ruthlessness” (p. 250), according to Shepherd, was more likely to be displayed by a commander who had served in the East during the Great War of 1914–1918 and/or who had been born in Austria-Hungary and not Germany, as it was the former who had experienced years of confrontation and conflict with Serbia prior to and during the Great War (though not all of these divisional commanders had necessarily experienced this at first hand). While Shepherd’s sample of nine divisional commanders is too small to provide definitive answers to the questions he poses, he does offer plausible explanations for the conduct of mid-level commanders, at least in Yugoslavia, and stimuli for future research. Although his main thesis is clear, he perhaps weakens the impact of some of his arguments on occasion by excessively issuing caveats. This also on occasion leads Shepherd to appear to contradict himself, for example in his discussion of whether poor fighting power led a division to conduct itself more ruthlessly or not (pp. 228–229).

Although Shepherd notes that SS and police forces were “assigned a prominent role in countering sabotage, insurgency, and other forms of subversion” (p. 80), those SS and police units deployed in Yugoslavia are never mentioned more than fleetingly in the study. That is a shame, as this would have provided a valuable insight into the interaction between regular army units and SS/police formations. Shepherd deserves credit for attempting to find explanations for the extreme brutality of some Wehrmacht divisional commanders in German-occupied Yugoslavia. He furthermore demonstrates the importance of individual decision-making. This is an important finding in light of attempts evident in some recent literature to emphasize environment, circumstance, and social dynamics at the expense of intention, individual attitudes, and human choice in explaining the causes of mass crimes under National Socialism. Shepherd helps return our attention to the actions and motivations of the actors themselves.

ALEX J. KAY
Frankfurt am Main

ARMINA GALIJAŠ. *Eine bosnische Stadt im Zeichen des Krieges: Ethnopolitik und Alltag in Banja Luka (1990–1995)*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 142.) Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag. 2011. Pp. 352. €44.80.

2012 marked the twentieth anniversary of the start of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992–1995), a conflict that has already generated a voluminous body of literature. To date the scholarly writing has been dominated to a significant degree by studies focused on the high politics of the war, be it the role of the international community or the domestic political leaders. Armina Galijaš’s account of everyday life in the town of Banja Luka on the eve of and during the Bosnian war is therefore a welcome addition. Galijaš looks at the local dynamics of the Bosnian war and reveals how a small town was transformed from a multi-ethnic regional center to a homogeneous ethnic space and the current administrative capital of the Republika srpska (Serb Republic), the Bosnian Serb statelet whose existence was sanctioned at Dayton in 1995.

The town of Banja Luka has long been the principal town of the “Bosnian Frontier” (*Bosanska krajina*), the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional region of north-western Bosnia. In the last prewar census, conducted in March 1991, the town had a population of approximately 143,000, of whom roughly forty-nine percent were Serbs. The remaining fifty-one percent of the population consisted of Bosnian Muslims (later called “Bosniaks”), Croats, “Yugoslavs,” and others. Between the first post-communist elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina (November 1990) and the start of the war (April 1992), nationalizing policies and the ethnic principle were enforced in Banja Luka by the Serb Democratic Party. These policies at first targeted everyone, including Serbs, who opposed the new nationalist paradigm, but as the war began in early April 1992, they were directed almost entirely at local non-Serbs, who were compelled to leave the region. As many as 70,000 non-Serbs fled the town and region; the fleeing Bosnian Muslims and Croats were replaced by Serb peasants, thus fundamentally altering the national composition of the region and initiating a complete transformation of society and everyday life (p. 299).

Alongside the violence came the “sanitation” of the town’s history; streets and even villages were renamed to honor Serb national heroes and to proclaim the region’s Serb character, and historical memories were reconfigured through new commemorative exercises. For example, in the socialist era April 22 was celebrated as Liberation Day—the collective victory of the peoples of Banja Luka against fascism in 1945—but since the Bosnian war it has been celebrated as City Day, as a symbol of the victory of the Serb people against fascism. The victory against fascism and the town’s liberation are still commemorated, but they are memorialized in a manner that underscores the newly homogeneous character of Banja Luka. The subject of Galijaš’s analysis is thus the methods by which the local Serb political authorities ethnically cleansed the town and its environs as part of their wider campaign to create a homogeneous Serb society.

Galijaš’s research is based primarily on publicly accessible documents, including interviews, the wartime local media (print, radio, and television), witness state-

ments, and trial testimony at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. Her book consists of six chapters and an appendix. Chapter one is an introduction, while the political and institutional framework is covered in chapter two and the city's ethnic matrix is the subject of chapter three. In chapter four, Galijaš examines the instruments used by local Serb elites to create a homogeneous town, while chapter five looks at the impact of these policies and the war on the town and its changing population. Chapter six, entitled "The Ethnic Matrix Lives On—Results and Outlook," serves as a conclusion.

Galijaš has written an important book. Through its attention to everyday life, it succeeds in demonstrating how, during Yugoslavia's turbulent post-communist transition, everything was so quickly reduced to the level of the nation and explained away on the basis of ethnicity. Her study shows not only how a population was mobilized in support of an official nationalist discourse, but how communities were ethnically cleansed and how a tradition of peaceful coexistence was shattered. Twenty years later, neither Banja Luka nor Bosnia-Herzegovina has yet recovered.

MARK BIONDICH
Carleton University

PATRICK HYDER PATTERSON. *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2011. Pp. xvii, 351. \$39.95.

In this deeply researched monograph, Patrick Hyder Patterson addresses the link between consumer culture and political cohesion in Yugoslavia. The main argument is that consumer culture became a major source of legitimacy for the socialist political system in the 1960s and 1970s but a source of instability in the 1980s and 1990s.

The book starts with a description of the changes in the Yugoslav communist system in the 1960s, which transformed the country from a backward agrarian society into a modern consumer society. After the break with Joseph Stalin in 1948, Josip Broz Tito introduced a new system of "worker's self-management" that liberalized Yugoslavia's economic system and introduced elements of a market economy. Hence, from the 1950s there was a remarkable growth of production, real income, and living standard, which formed the economic basis of a lively culture of mass consumption. The outcome, according to Patterson, was a hybrid form of consumer society that embraced elements of the socialist and capitalist systems.

Various aspects of advertising and marketing figure prominently in the following chapters, showing how new commercial activities shaped consumerist values among the party establishment and the broader public. Mainstream Marxist critique, the author argues, was finally accommodated, and most government officials acknowledged the need to satisfy consumer desires. The study also reveals the emotional attachment of ordinary

people to consumption and discusses what that meant for the making and unmaking of Yugoslavia.

Patterson approaches the subject from a cultural history point of view. His main focus is on how the consumerist course was advocated, approved, and put into practice. The study shows how consumerism created "a new New Class" that was predominantly defined by lifestyle, attitudes, values, feelings, and behaviors that were linked symbolically to the more advanced capitalist societies. This consumerist class embraced a large part of Yugoslavia's population in all parts of the country. Shopping and spending as well as enjoying new leisure activities produced a set of meanings that became central to Yugoslav social life. Moreover, they contributed to shaping the identities, self-understanding, and status of individuals. At the same time, consumer culture served as a means of distinguishing the Yugoslav system of workers' self-management from the grim and gray Soviet-style communisms. As a result, mass consumption legitimized Yugoslavia's political system and thus served as a stabilizing force in an extremely complex and heterogeneous multiethnic society while, at the same time, enhancing the principles and values of the Western capitalist way of life. Patterson says that memories of the perceived "good life" during the Tito era lie at the heart of the Yugo-nostalgia that is present in all of the successor states.

But consumerism also created expectations of continued economic growth that could not be satisfied indefinitely. In view of the deep economic crisis of the late 1970s and 1980s, Patterson argues, consumption became critical for the destruction of Yugoslavia. Following the oil crisis in 1979, foreign lending and deficit spending reached its limits. International financial organizations demanded economic reforms and reduced their loans. Yugoslavia entered a vicious circle of high indebtedness, skyrocketing inflation, unemployment, and shrinking productivity and incomes. Personal consumption fell dramatically. According to Patterson, "because the culture of plenty and pleasure had been so much of what made the country a success and held it together, the undoing of that culture in the 1980s was felt all the more acutely when Yugoslavia at last fragmented and fell to pieces" (p. 17).

The book draws on a huge variety of published material, while archival sources figure less prominently. It is nevertheless a fine piece of empirical research that yields new insights into the functioning of Yugoslavia's socialist system while offering alternative interpretations to its crisis and final demise. It should be noted, however, that the strong emphasis on cultural aspects has its analytical limitations in that it tends to neglect both political and socioeconomic dimensions. The questions of how the Communist Party leadership discussed the role of consumption during the reforms of the Yugoslav system starting in the 1960s, and of how decisions were made and by which actors, remain largely unanswered. They are mainly taken as a fact. Also, the economic processes and needs that triggered market-oriented reforms from the 1960s onward, and

the critical consequences of securing consumerism by way of extreme foreign lending in the 1970s, could have received more attention. Finally, it was consumerism that drove Yugoslavia into the trap of extreme foreign indebtedness. These observations are by no means meant to minimize the merits of this very valuable study, which undoubtedly enriches our understanding of everyday lives and mentalities in socialist Yugoslavia and the causes of the state's violent dissolution.

MARIE-JANINE CALIC
University of Munich

ERIC LOHR. *Russian Citizenship: From Empire to Soviet Union*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. 278. \$59.95.

In the 1830s, bribes extorted by Russian border guards were a regular item on Prussian officials' expense accounts. By taking as much money from foreigners as they could, Russian officials contributed to making their country appear as Europe's least welcoming. The bulk of recent work on the history of modern citizenship policies and migration control shares this view. Either it fails to consider Russia at all, or it focuses on onerous passport requirements and instances of discrimination against foreigners that seem to foreshadow Soviet practices.

Eric Lohr's brilliant study, based on a reading of laws, instructions issued by central governments, and ministerial debates on policies and practices, begs to dissent. Far from simply radicalizing tsarist policies, he argues, the Soviet Union set up an entirely new migration and citizenship regime, "a half-century detour" that lasted from the 1920s to the early 1990s (p. 10). As in many recent studies of citizenship regimes, the focus is on developments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a prologue on the early modern period and an epilogue leading up to the present.

Lohr characterizes Russia's citizenship policy as "attract and hold" (p. 12). Russia's tsars wished to attract Christian foreigners as merchants, officers, and administrative experts or farmers, and did what they could to prevent natives from leaving. An elaborate internal passport system made it difficult for serfs to escape, while the price of external passports limited foreign travel to the very wealthy. Once attracted by tax breaks, commercial monopolies, high salaries, and security of land tenure, foreigners could seek to integrate into Russian society by taking the oath of subjecthood, converting to Orthodoxy, or joining the appropriate status group of Russian society. There were relatively few restrictions on immigration in Russia from the 1830s onward, and they focused on specific countries, particularly France, which was considered the source of revolutionary ideas. Restrictions of this type mirrored privileges granted to other immigrants. The privileges were variants of the "separate deals" that constituted another salient feature of Russia's citizenship policies. Like the various groups of immigrants, residents of areas annexed during the Russian Empire's rapid expan-

sion also became Russian subjects with distinct statuses. Finns enjoyed a particularly wide range of privileges, while Chinese residing in the area acquired by Russia in Central Asia from 1858 to 1860 did not even become Russian subjects, a fact that contributed to their expulsion in 1900.

During the post-1860 reform era, the citizenship boundary between natives and foreigners all but disappeared. Foreigners were granted equal civil rights, some restrictions on entry were lifted, and surtaxes on foreigners ceased. If anything, foreigners were now better off than subjects, as they were exempt from conscription and free to emigrate. Under these circumstances, naturalization was not attractive. That many foreign experts and entrepreneurs chose to remain aliens contributed to suspicions of disloyalty. The "hold" tradition proved equally strong. Though it came under increasing attack, the ban on emigration was not overturned. In order to leave legally, Russians had to acquire an expensive set of documents, renounce their citizenship, and promise not to return. It was far simpler to slip across the border for temporary work in eastern Germany or a better life elsewhere. In practice, this favored the emigration of non-Russians (Jews, Germans, or Poles), a result that Russian political elites largely approved.

World War I resurrected the citizenship boundary, though formal citizenship became less decisive than ethnicity as the war wore on. Naturalization ceased, individuals classed as enemy aliens were interned or moved to the interior, and foreigners were placed under greater surveillance.

The communist revolution, Lohr argues, broke with Russian policy traditions. Attempts to attract working-class immigrants and foreign communists soon foundered. The revolutionary regime denaturalized substantial numbers of ethnic Russians and reneged on the "special deals." Instead of holding national minorities, Soviet authorities encouraged or forced them to move to prevent interaction across borders that were ultimately sealed off. In this narrative, imperial traditions of relative openness ended abruptly in the 1920s.

So how different was Russia? Lohr hints at an answer but stops short of explicit comparisons, which remain difficult until more is known about citizenship practice in Russia. Nothing about Russian policies around 1900 was unique. The United States also maintained entry controls, foreigners could be better off than citizens in France, and the list continues. Yet, the absence of legal routes out of the country remains striking. Whether this proves the long-term survival of a particularly slanted vision of the responsibilities of subjects to the state and of the state to its subjects remains a question worth pondering.

ANDREAS FAHRMEIR
Goethe University

TRACY McDONALD. *Face to the Village: The Riazan Countryside under Soviet Rule, 1921–1930*. Buffalo,

N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 422. \$75.00.

Recent years have seen a spate of regional studies treating the development of the Soviet village during the New Economic Policy (NEP), on the eve of the Stalinist collectivization of agriculture. Tracy McDonald's book on Riazan province is an excellent contribution to this literature. Her aim is to explore the local reality, to take it as seriously, if not more seriously, than the center—the political actors and central state structures of Moscow. She aspires to breathe life into peasant life at the village and county (*uezd*) level. One of the study's leit-motifs is that peasants were not merely the mute subjects of an all-powerful center, but rather shaped state power as it was exercised in the countryside. Indeed, in many ways, McDonald argues, the peasantry *was* state power in the village, and this reality had a great impact on the way that collectivization was carried out at the end of the 1920s. This rich study has a great deal to say about the rural background to collectivization, and about the way that party leaders responded to, and were frustrated by, peasants' actions and attitudes.

A key element of McDonald's approach is to examine points of contact between peasants and the state, including the courts, the rural soviets (village councils), and the police, each of which was integral to the state's "civilizing mission." In so doing, she focuses on interaction and negotiation between the Bolshevik regime and the Riazan peasantry. In particular, she wishes not to see the peasantry as the state saw it, but rather to see the state through the eyes of the peasantry. McDonald aims to draw out the complexity of village life, challenging stereotypes about its backwardness and stagnation. Paying much-needed attention to the cadres who staffed the state bureaucracies at the local level, she concludes that the regime found the "peasantness" of local administrators "horrifying." Villagers seemed to have more allegiance to their communities than to the goals of the Bolshevik party-state. Central party leaders, McDonald argues, were increasingly concerned about local administrators' loyalties and their ability to become the modern representatives of a socialist state.

The second and third parts of the book examine various types of crimes in the village and the state's reaction to them. Part two includes chapters on non-violent crimes such as tax evasion and the illegal pilfering of wood and conflicts over forest resources. Part three takes up the violent crimes of hooliganism, "banditism," and vigilante justice (*samosud*). McDonald describes a panic about rural lawlessness and backwardness unleashed by the "Face to the Village" campaign of 1924–1925. The book closes with a very interesting study of a local rebellion in the Pitelino district in January 1930 during the collectivization drive.

One of the great strengths of this book is the close focus on life in the village. McDonald has read a wide variety of sources and creatively teases from them multiple meanings. She wants to know "how local life, pol-

itics, and power were experienced" (p. 21). Inspired by the work of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, McDonald pays close attention to legal disputes (focusing "less on the spectacular and more on the mundane"), which she supplements with peasant letters, complaints, and various other petitions (p. 23). She also uses secret police reports (*svodki*), especially those from the district level, and ethnographic studies.

An examination of the ambiguities revealed by the prosecution of moonshiners highlights McDonald's approach, emphasizing the Bolsheviks' civilizing mission as it conflicted with a local interest in limiting the attacks on the production of a highly desired product. By 1929, central party authorities labeled the production of moonshine as one of the characteristic features of the hated "kulak" counterrevolutionaries; local village authorities, trapped in their "backward" peasant culture, were producing it. A very interesting chapter on the courts furthers McDonald's argument that one can barely make a distinction between peasants and state officials in Riazan in the 1920s. Peasant judges were seen by the Bolsheviks as unreliable throughout the period. One of the most interesting aspects of McDonald's book is how she shows that reports about local problems were magnified as they were passed up the bureaucracy. By the time they reached Moscow, relatively mild reports about corruption among judges became nearly hysterical claims of pervasive and dangerous malfeasance among "class enemies."

McDonald argues more than most historians that peasants fully participated in the rural soviets—the lowest rung of the state administration—and used them to further their own ends and find redress. They used the soviets "as a platform in negotiations with the state over crucial issues," and especially taxation (p. 122). She also argues that by 1929–1930, peasants used the soviets as a body for resisting collectivization. Cases of banditry, hooliganism, and vigilante justice are examined in a fascinating way, shedding light on local power relations (which were often entangled with kinship relations) and the image of the "lawless" localities found in the national press. McDonald argues that the more the state looked at the village, especially after 1924, the more party leaders were alarmed by what they understood to be a countryside sliding into mayhem.

Indeed, McDonald states repeatedly that the Soviet regime in the 1920s was afraid of peasant backwardness, deviance (especially hooliganism), and unpredictability. Such "fear fed on itself and played itself out at a fever pitch in the carnival of violence that was collectivization" (p. 21). Some readers may find the references to these fears somewhat exaggerated. There is perhaps more evidence of the party's disgust, angry impatience, and frustration with the peasants' failure to produce what the state needed. McDonald occasionally discusses the central state as if it were an undifferentiated and monolithic entity. The book also says little about how most peasant households spent the great majority of their waking hours: farming the land and raising livestock. These points aside, this is a thoughtful,

penetrating, and important contribution to our understanding of the Soviet village during NEP and collectivization.

JAMES W. HEINZEN
Rowan University

STEPHEN VELYCHENKO. *State Building in Revolutionary Ukraine: A Comparative Study of Governments and Bureaucrats, 1917–1922*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 434. \$75.00.

Social history is a latecomer among the genres in which the revolution in Ukraine has been narrated, and it is fitting, if somewhat counterintuitive, that bureaucrats are the first social stratum to receive monographic treatment in English. The leaders of the Ukrainian Revolution, including the great Ukrainian historian and chairman of the revolutionary parliament Mykhailo Hrushevsky, claimed that their defeat at the hands of both the Whites and the Bolsheviks was due to the lack of native administrators. In his diligently researched book, Stephen Velychenko shows persuasively that this was no more than a convenient excuse.

In fact, even before the revolution roughly half of the sixty thousand tsarist officials in the Ukrainian provinces declared their native language to be Ukrainian (p. 21). There was no shortage of educated administrators willing to work for independent Ukrainian governments, but they failed to create a functioning civil service, in part because of the civil war, but also because of their ideological convictions. The influential Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries in particular endorsed the concept of a decentralized authority based on a plethora of elected representative and non-government public organizations rather than on a centralized administration.

Moreover, Velychenko demonstrates that the ethnic identity of bureaucrats did not always determine their political loyalty. He paints tsarist officialdom in the Ukrainian provinces as accustomed to balancing professional interests and bilingualism with faithful service to the tsar. The famous Ukrainian realist writer Panas Myrny spent a lifetime in the tsarist civil service, rising to the rank of state chancellor, all the while actively publishing abroad in the Ukrainian language, which was formally banned in print in Russia. During the revolution and the civil war, he continued serving all the regimes that controlled his native province.

United primarily by professional interests, the bureaucracy was understaffed and underpaid. Like elsewhere in the former Russian Empire, the phenomenal increase in the number of administrative personnel that started during World War I continued well into the civil war period, driven primarily by exemptions from army service and access to food rations. With frequent changes of political regime, there was remarkable continuity in lower-level administrative personnel, who were often summarily dismissed and then rehired. Only the Bolsheviks systematically vetted applicants before rehiring them. In Podillia province in the summer of

1919, 51 of 93 clerks had been employed before the revolution (although on page 126 the author clearly miscalculates their share at 79 percent; it is actually more like 55 percent). Velychenko stresses that, along with the Bolsheviks and other regimes, the bureaucracy of Ukrainian national governments suffered from overstaffing, corruption, and sloth. Government offices of the Ukrainian People's Republic stayed open from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m., with frequent, generous tea breaks (p. 140).

Velychenko agrees with the traditional view that the civil service of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (in former Austrian Galicia) was a stark exception in its efficiency. Yet, his explanation rejects the traditional notions of more developed national patriotism as the reason for better governance in that region. Unlike in eastern Ukraine, in the west the Ukrainian national government relied on centrally appointed, full-time staff rather than on civic organizations. The Austrian tradition of respecting civil servants and the fact that the western republic was from the beginning a military dictatorship are also better explanations than the vague concept of national loyalty.

Velychenko's book is structured as a succession of chapters without concluding summaries, but it ends with a more substantial conclusion. Nevertheless, he maintains an analytical and comparative approach throughout. The reader will find particularly illuminating the chapter comparing the Ukrainian case with the other new governments in Europe that succeeded in building a functioning civil service: Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Ireland. However, the book's very division into chapters corresponding to political regimes imposes on the author's immensely interesting primary material a traditional political (and often national) framework. For this reason, two excellent chapters—on officials' everyday life and on prices and wages during the revolutionary period—ended up being included as appendixes at the end of the book, precisely because they represent social history written across political and national divisions. The chapter about the daily life of functionaries, in particular, is rich in metaphorical insights into revolutionary Ukraine. Did we think of it before Velychenko's book as a society "drowning in garbage and excrement" because of the collapsing waste disposal infrastructure (p. 302)? Did we realize that every change of political regime also meant moving the clocks back to "Central Europe" or forward to "Russia"?

Velychenko's book will be of great interest to historians of the modern state, Eastern Europe, and what many of us still call misleadingly the "Russian" Revolution.

SERHY YEKELCHYK
University of Victoria

ALI İĞMEN. *Speaking Soviet with an Accent: Culture and Power in Kyrgyzstan*. (Central Eurasia in Context.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 236. \$27.95.

The ambition of the Russian Bolsheviks was truly astounding. They threw a tremendous amount of resources and money into transforming all the peoples of the former Russian Empire into Marxist proletarians. This project of cultural revolution included even nomadic herders like the Kyrgyz of Central Asia, whom Karl Marx would have dismissed as savages had he ever heard of them. Ali İğmen examines the artistic aspects of the Soviet effort to create a modern culture that was both distinctly Kyrgyz and fully communist, focusing on the activities of workers' clubs, theater, and to a lesser extent film and literature. He uses Kyrgyz archival material in both Russian and Kyrgyz and also a number of oral histories from Kyrgyz informants. Like most recent scholarship on Soviet Central Asia, the book focuses on the Stalinist period of the 1920s and 1930s. While İğmen's study contains some interesting information on this little-studied corner of the USSR, its loose organization and unclear use of analytical terms make the overall argument hard to follow.

In 1900 the Kyrgyz were Turkic-speaking Muslims, largely nomadic, who inhabited a huge, mountainous area straddling the border between Russian Turkestan and China. Unlike the settled Uzbeks and Tajiks, the Kyrgyz did not have an established literary tradition or a formal government. Their most distinguishing features were the portable wool felt yurts they lived in and their oral epic poem, *Manas*. In 1916 Kyrgyz tribes fought with Russian settlers in a bloody guerilla war that ended with thousands of Kyrgyz dying as they tried to escape over the mountains into China. In other words, they were unpromising candidates for the Bolshevik revolutionary project.

İğmen's title plays off Stephen Kotkin's concept of "learning to speak Bolshevik": the Kyrgyz would be assimilated into a new culture while remaining themselves. The fulcrum of the book is the government's use of performing arts to create a Soviet "Kyrgyzness." The nature of this Kyrgyzness is hard for the reader to pin down, however. İğmen refers to sedentarization campaigns, although we know very little about them, and he does not examine the movement of rural Kyrgyz into collective farms. He refers to the Jadid intellectual movement's modernization project, but apparently there were no Kyrgyz Jadids. He discusses language policies (the Soviets formed a standard literary Kyrgyz out of several dialects and changed their alphabets three times), the liberation of women from traditional patriarchy, and the creation of Kyrgyz plays and films. These artistic productions, however, had solidly Soviet themes of poor people fighting against bourgeois oppression. Whatever Kyrgyz identity had developed into by the end of the 1930s, it was profoundly shaped by the Communist Party. While İğmen refers several times to "the official definition of Kyrgyzness," he does not examine what this definition consisted of (p. 31).

One might logically look for the essence of Soviet Kyrgyzness in the recitations of the *Manas* epic that were promoted by workers' clubs. The clubs were intended to be the front line in fostering a communist

culture. In theory workers would gather there for lectures, readings, films, and edifying performances. In reality the clubs never had enough money to meet half of their goals, and workers preferred less edifying leisure activities. In Kyrgyzstan most club managers and cultural administrators were not Kyrgyz and did not speak the language, which did not help make the clubs more attractive to their target audience. So while the state allowed recitations of *Manas* from the early 1920s, the performances were limited to public stages where they could be controlled. Cultural organizations also encouraged traditional bards to create new, Soviet epics, which they did, but İğmen also comments that "Soviet administrators never allowed these [bards] to attain positions of any meaningful power" (p. 26).

The book will be confusing for anyone not already versed in the basics of modern Central Asian history. It is organized thematically rather than chronologically, with unclear ordering of topics. The basic structures of Kyrgyz society are tucked into the end of the introductory chapter rather than its beginning, there is no focused discussion of the establishment of the Kyrgyz Soviet republic, and the post-Stalin fiction of Chingiz Aitmatov is used to shed light on the social changes of the 1930s. İğmen alternately says that there were no Kyrgyz government officials in the 1920s (p. 26), that the original Kyrgyz leaders were replaced in 1930 (p. 30), and that the *korenizatsiia* policy (that nationalities should rule themselves) took effect in 1934 (p. 102). It is good that someone is investigating the history of Kyrgyzstan, but there is a great deal of basic work still to be done.

SHOSHANA KELLER
Hamilton College

MICHAEL DAVID-FOX. *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921–1941*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 396. \$55.00.

Michael David-Fox's book offers the first comprehensive analysis of Soviet cultural diplomacy in the interwar period since the opening of previously inaccessible Soviet archives. This work should be considered in the wider context of the current scholarly task: the reconceptualization of Soviet and international history in the new post-Soviet (post-Sovietological) era. However, the topic of the book goes far beyond the disciplinary boundaries of Soviet history. In the end, as David-Fox argues, "inventing Eastern Europe was inseparably dependent upon the reciprocal process of inventing Western Europe" (p. 18).

David-Fox's book skillfully combines Soviet and international, political and institutional, and cultural and intellectual histories. Biographical sketches of famous visitors to Stalinist Russia (among them Theodore Dreiser, Romain Rolland, George Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Andre Gide, Henri Barbusse, Louis Aragon, Gyorgy Lukacs, and Lion Feuchtwanger) and stories of their visits are interwoven with

the book's broad historical narrative, but the author refers to them only when the archives reveal new facets to already well-known stories. The book also examines in detail the role of those whom the author calls "Stalinist Westernizers": Olga Kameneva, Alexander Arosev, Maxim Gorky, Ilya Ehrenburg, Ivan Maiskii, and Mikhail Koltsov.

In the first chapter David-Fox considers "Cultural Diplomacy of a New Type," as it was formed in the early 1920s. Here he reveals the specifics of the Bolshevik approach to cultural diplomacy, which was distinguished by the fact that "the Bolshevik Revolution aspired not to catch up but to overtake, to leap over the industrially advanced countries into a new, alternative modernity. Yet even to pass through and leap beyond the bourgeois stage meant to assimilate, accept, or reject the experience of the 'advanced' countries. This dictated a continuing obsession with the West" (p. 9). The author concludes that "in cultural diplomacy, as in propaganda, in numerous respects the Soviet regime became an innovator different or ahead of its Western counterparts" (p. 15).

Chapter two, "Going West: Soviet Cultural Operations Abroad," deals with this innovation, focusing on developments in Germany, France, Red Vienna, Prague, London, and America. The next two chapters—"The Potemkin Village Dilemma" and "Gorky's Gulag"—are dedicated to the instrumentalization of foreign Soviet propaganda and the "cultural show" of Soviet reality that was produced for domestic consumption. In chapter five, "Hard-Currency Foreigners and the Campaign Mode," the author examines the role of Intourist, the Soviet foreign-tourist agency, in the sphere of cultural diplomacy. The chapter "Stalin and the Fellow-Travelers Revisited" is dedicated to the most interesting aspects of celebrities visiting the USSR and their meetings with Joseph Stalin. This theme is continued in the chapter "Going East: Friends and Enemies," which deals with some unexpected aspects of Soviet cultural diplomacy, such as visits to the USSR by representatives of the German radical right. Finally, in chapter eight, "Rise of the Stalinist Superiority Complex," and an epilogue on the cultural Cold War, the author argues that just before the war and in its aftermath "the era of intensive Soviet engagement with Western visitors and the influential interactions of the Western pilgrimage to the Soviet experiment had definitively come to an end" (p. 311).

The last statement seems somewhat emphatic and stems from the fact that, from the author's point of view, almost all Soviet cultural diplomacy started and ended with the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS), which began a long period of decline right before the war. On the contrary, with the weakening of VOKS, cultural diplomacy did not end, just as the closure of the Comintern did not lead to the curtailment of Soviet influence abroad. These functions were simply taken on by the International Department of the Central Committee, a huge

diversified institution that carried out the same functions as the Comintern.

It is indisputable that in the 1920s and 1930s VOKS virtually monopolized this sphere, but after the war its demise did not lead to the end of Soviet cultural diplomacy. Quite the reverse, cultural diplomacy flourished; it was simply conducted through entirely different institutions. Suffice to mention the entire network of sports, labor, cooperative, cultural, scientific, youth, women, veterans, and other organizations, each with its own international departments that sent and received large numbers of delegations. Yet it was not only the institutions, scope, and function of cultural diplomacy that changed after the war: its purpose changed. If before the war the Soviet Union was trying to "sell" to the West, so to speak, its internal political system, then after the war it sought to sell its foreign policy, known as "the policy of peace and friendship between peoples." This was a different type of cultural diplomacy, with organizations such as the Soviet Peace Committee engaging in the very same cultural diplomacy—and on the same scale—as VOKS had done before the war.

These points of contention aside, David-Fox's book is a tour-de-force of scholarly writing: erudite, well-researched, at once pathbreaking and definitive, stylistically vibrant, and captivating as narrative history. No responsible student of modern Russian history can ignore this book.

EVGENY DOBRENKO
University of Sheffield

ANNE E. GORSUCH. *All This Is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin*. (Oxford Studies in Modern European History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 222. \$110.00.

The main title of Anne E. Gorsuch's rich new study rings with the peculiar optimism shot through with defensiveness that characterized the Soviet Union in the 1950s and 1960s. One of the signal changes of the new, post-Stalinist Soviet order was its opening up to the non-Soviet world, and this meant opening exit doors—with both bluster and great unease—to Soviet tourists. By the mid-1960s, Gorsuch estimates, at least 500,000 Soviet citizens had travelled outside the USSR; by the 1970s, figures ran to over one million Soviet tourists traveling annually to Eastern Europe alone (p. 19).

Mass tourism was a calculated risk for the Soviet regime. Many American readers steeped in Cold War melodrama may imagine that defection was the regime's greatest concern; in fact, as Gorsuch deftly shows, the situation was more complex and far more interesting. The overwhelming bulk (roughly seventy-five percent) of Soviet tourists went to *socialist* Eastern Europe, yet even this carried its own set of risks. For many Soviet travelers, a first-hand encounter with the superior living standards of Eastern Europe—a region officially cast as grateful junior partner—raised uncomfortable questions about Soviet superiority and the socialist model of development. Moreover, all Soviet

tourists abroad, and especially those traveling in capitalist countries, were understood to be cultural ambassadors of the Soviet way of life and under considerable pressure to perform well—or at least not to embarrass themselves, as judged by the authorities. One of the many fascinating sources Gorsuch taps for her account are the reports of tourism officials, who fretted over everything from Soviet travelers' table manners (crude, they thought) to their conversations with locals (uninformed and fawning) to their interest in shopping (excessive). But if Soviet tourism had a message to carry, it was also, Gorsuch shows, a message directed at the folks back home. Not everyone was allowed to travel—far from it—and Gorsuch offers a revealing discussion of the labyrinth of approvals involved for most trips in the 1950s and 1960s. (By the 1970s, travel to Eastern Europe, importantly, had been simplified.) Nevertheless, she argues convincingly that mass tourism became officially patriotic: “exposure to difference, be it controlled, was now part of what made ■ good Soviet citizen” (p. 93).

Gorsuch explores the question of Soviet tourism from a variety of angles—cultural, political, organizational, and experiential—and draws on a correspondingly impressive range of sources. The book includes chapters on domestic tourism in the late Stalinist period, travel to the Baltic republic of Estonia (widely understood as the USSR's “inner abroad”), Eastern European tourism, travel to the capitalist West, and on cinematic representations of travel, guiding the reader skillfully from the center outward and back again. Although Gorsuch's analysis is always rigorous and her presentation lucid and engaging, the reader sometimes longs for more: more of the emotional texture of the Soviet tourist experience and more resonant conclusions about its impact. No doubt part of the issue here is sources. In many ways, the work is at its best using institutional/political sources to document and analyze institutional/political dynamics; the realm of personal experience comes through far less clearly, and the conclusions Gorsuch advances about it are sometimes cautious and unsatisfying.

The discussion of the 1970s and 1980s is also, to my mind, overly schematic. Gorsuch is very clear about her vision of the Khrushchev era as the “key period in the transition to late ‘socialism’” (p. 3) and in an epilogue emphasizes continuity over change in Soviet tourism after Joseph Stalin. Yet the numbers for participation alone—tens of thousands annually in the 1950s versus millions in the 1970s and 1980s—point to something qualitatively different (an experience democratized, normalized, even banalized, we might ask), as does the dramatically expanded media environment that allowed Soviets a sort of armchair tourism in the 1970s and 1980s. This book, the first major study of tourism in the Soviet Union, will inspire much further research. It deserves a wide audience among readers interested

in the history of leisure, culture, post-Stalinist Soviet society, and the Cold War.

KRISTIN ROTH-EY
University College London

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

IAN S. MOYER. *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 347. \$110.00.

This is a learned, stimulating, and challenging book. It seeks to correct the view that in the Hellenization of Egypt, the older culture was for the most part obscured or even finally overtaken by Greek *paideia*. Ian S. Moyer attempts to show how Egyptian culture survived, even thrived in the Greco-Roman period, and thereby to place limits on the role Hellenism played in the dialogue between cultures in antiquity. At one level, Moyer has largely succeeded in proving his point. In a series of thoughtful case studies, beginning with Herodotus and his encounters with the Egyptian priests of Persian-occupied Egypt in the fifth century B.C.E. and extending down to the Roman Empire of the second century C.E. and one Thessalos, the author of a treatise on esoteric Egyptian magic, Moyer shows how in texts that have been seen as signal episodes in the distorting mastery of Greek culture over Egyptian, one can actually trace significant arcs of continuity back to a living and vibrant Egyptian scholarly and religious culture. But at another level, Moyer's theoretical and ideological positions compel him to practice his own distortion of evidence and the views of other scholars.

Moyer describes the plan of the book as a “decentering” of the Egyptian subject away from the “assimilating histories of Greek-Egyptian relations to modern Western narratives,” in the “hope” that by “reading against the grain” through these “micro-histories,” he can discover “the ‘subaltern histories’” of the ancient Egyptians (p. 35). Thus Moyer sets himself up as the discoverer of these histories, replacing an older colonial perspective with a postcolonial one. To his credit, the author recognizes the limits of his own approach and the impossibility of being able “to allow ‘the [Egyptian] subaltern’ to speak” for himself (p. 34). And yet, in the interests of casting his study against older views of “Greek-Egyptian relations,” Moyer equates “Greek representations” of Egypt as “European” as if this were an unproblematic identification. For him there is no substantive difference between ancient Greek views of Egypt and modern Western views of colonial (or rather, formerly colonial) subjects (pp. 34–35). Such an approach seems to run the risk of performing its own distortions of the very contexts Moyer is examining.

A case in point is the subject of chapter two: Manetho and his Greek-language history of Egypt (the *Aegyptiaca*), written in the first quarter of the third century B.C.E. In fairness I should note that Moyer takes issue with my own scholarship in a number of places in this chapter. He claims that scholarly treatments of the *Ae-*

gyptiaca suggest that Manetho attempted to “conceal” the influence of the Greek historian on his own work (p.103). Not only does this assertion misrepresent earlier scholarship (including my own), it also betrays a lack of understanding of the nature of ancient literary polemic. The “concealment” of influence was not usually an element in the engagement by a later author with the work of an earlier one: ideas and language were routinely adapted, corrected, or refuted outright, but never with a view toward hiding debt. And yet to characterize modern studies of Manetho’s engagement with Herodotus in this way suggests that Manetho has been accused unfairly of a kind of primitive cultural mimicry (p. 182), as though he belonged to a civilization that lacked any historical practice of its own. This position is a caricature of much recent scholarship on Manetho and is precisely indicative of Moyer’s tendency to let his methodology lead him to unfortunate claims.

Elsewhere Moyer is more successful. In chapter three he makes a compelling case to view the poet Maiistas’s interplay of Egyptian and Greek cultural forms as evidence not for a failed attempt at “the emulation of a Greek literary parent,” but for a declaration of “a dual literary and mythical heritage, one that claims legitimacy through both lines, Greek and Egyptian” (p. 194). This important observation will play a key part in the attempt to understand the dialogue of Greek and Egyptian elements in Hellenistic poetry—a topic of major scholarly interest and debate. Perhaps most insightful is Moyer’s treatment of Thessalos and Egyptian magic in chapter four. It was during the period of the Roman Empire that the authentic Egyptian priestly voice became truly obscured by “others to whom the cultural identity of the Egyptian priest had become available” (p. 273).

In addressing the meeting of two cultures in antiquity, Moyer’s argument was bound to turn ultimately to a kind of cultural calculus. Put crudely: which culture, Egyptian or Greek, explains better the literary productions of the men Moyer has studied in this book? For years disproportionate emphasis was placed on how much more important and explicative, if also imperfectly realized, was the Greek element. Moyer gives us reasons to question this view, and the book he has written makes a major scholarly contribution to the study of the interaction of cultures in antiquity. For this he is to be congratulated and thanked. Some readers will wonder, however, if, in the timely attention paid to one side of the dialogue, a certain flattening of views has taken place with regard to the other.

JOHN DILLERY
University of Virginia

NELLY HANNA. *Artisan Entrepreneurs in Cairo and Early-Modern Capitalism (1600–1800)*. (Middle East Studies Beyond Dominant Paradigms.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 244. \$34.95.

This is a highly informative, original, and welcome book on the artisans of Cairo, focusing primarily on small-

scale entrepreneurship and based on extensive archival work, mainly in the Islamic Court Records of Cairo.

Nelly Hanna presents a colorful picture of artisan entrepreneurship in Cairo, where the craftsmen organized within the traditional guild structure were nevertheless able to adapt to the challenges and changing circumstances of their times. The book argues that modernity did not come about through contact with the West but had its roots in the inner workings of the society in question. As such, it provides substantial support to recent work claiming that Islam had its own capitalist system. Thus, what we actually observe in this book, although Hanna does not put it exactly that way, are the interactions of two capitalist systems, each functioning according to its own traditions, rules, laws, and institutions. Moreover, she looks at the whole process from the bottom up, as Fernand Braudel would have.

Hanna focuses on the longevity of a certain family of oil pressers, the Abul-Fuz, who continued practicing their craft in the same district for 150 years, thus casting doubt upon claims that Islamic law fragments family property and impedes longevity. Unfortunately, Hanna does not explain how this family business achieved its longevity. She does inform us that, some ninety years after its establishment, it was turned into a *waqf* (a charitable foundation), but we are still in the dark as to how it survived up until that time. In view of some work claiming that *waqfs* were stagnant institutions, a thorough analysis of the survival of the enterprise in that form would also have been of interest.

Because Hanna does not engage with recent work on the institutions of Islamic capitalism, particularly business partnerships and *waqfs*, it may be hard for readers to appreciate what she has found in the archives. She makes several observations about long-lasting partnerships but fails to provide a satisfactory explanation for their longevity. She informs us about women providing finance to their husbands but is silent about the details of their collaboration. Court records do not inform us directly about the specific types of partnerships, but from the relative capital contributions of each partner the exact type of relationship could have been deduced, which would have yielded important information on the causes of longevity. The section on “commodifying *iltizam*” betrays a lack of understanding of the evolution of Islamic public finance, a subject well explained in secondary sources. Market transactions involving tax-farming were familiar practice.

Hanna provides us with valuable information on the involvement of the Mamluks in business and trade. Her explanation of hybrid combinations (guild, Mamluk, and capitalist partnerships) with the Ottoman state is simply fascinating. These complex relations eventually led to a conflict between capitalism from above and from below, which culminated not in a linear development but in co-existing pockets of capitalism—a situation that lasted until the nineteenth century, when under Muhammad Ali and his coercive policies capitalism from above won out. Although Hanna does not say so, it is these pockets that appear to have given ■ new dy-

namism to the private sector within the relatively stagnant Ottoman quasi-socialist economy.

There are very interesting references to partnerships established within a putting-out system (p. 94). One of these concerns a *mudaraba*, where Hanna claims that the *rab al-mal* implicitly took the main decisions. This cannot be assumed. Profit sharing in a *mudaraba* partnership is subject to mutual agreement, and the degree of the *mudarib*'s freedom depends on the mandate granted by the capitalist. In view of the difficulties of communication, this mandate was often unlimited, granting considerable freedom to the agent. Hanna appears to be surprised by the frequency of such partnerships during the eighteenth century (p. 101), but secondary sources have already documented its resilience and survival until the twentieth century. Even today, all modern Islamic banks are designed as multiple *mudaras* in their liability sides.

The most interesting part of the book, which appears at the end, is its explanation of how artisans managed to survive by combining various structures such as guilds, *waqfs*, and partnerships. Hanna's observation that capitalist practices in Egypt emerged from the traditional institutions of guilds and *waqfs* (pp. 174–178) adds a new and important dimension to our understanding of Islamic capitalism. We should all be grateful to her for the highly original information and insights she has provided.

MURAT CIZAKCA

International Centre for Education in Islamic Finance,
Kuala Lumpur

ZIAD FAHMY. *Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation through Popular Culture*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 244. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95, e-book \$24.95.

Egyptian nationalism has been the subject of numerous scholarly studies, most of them locating its origins in intelligentsia-led debates, khedivial reforms, capitalist integration, European colonization, or some confection thereof. Ziad Fahmy does not dispute the significance of these impulses, and he highlights khedivial railway and post office systems as particularly important aids to national unification. But his book poses probing questions about the sources used to trace the emergence of Egyptian national identity, as well as the cultural and linguistic assumptions underlying the reading of these sources. How, for instance, was the “imagined community,” to use Benedict Anderson's famous phrase, of an Egyptian nation evoked for a population that was overwhelmingly illiterate? Compounding the problem is the fact that the sources commonly examined are written in a form of Arabic that, while understood by an educated elite and preserving classical legacies, was largely alien to the discourse of ordinary people and was, even for the elite, distinct from the normal medium of day-to-day interactions.

Thus, while allowing that a variety of ideas, institu-

tions, events, processes, and conflicts prepared the ground for Egyptian nationalism, Fahmy argues persuasively that the dissemination and to some extent even the formation of a distinct national identity were dependent on agents able to convey this ideology in colloquial Egyptian Arabic, more specifically Cairene Arabic, which came gradually to predominate over provincial dialects. The vehicles of dissemination were of many different kinds; an outstanding example was satire, especially the satirical dialogue, appearing in newspapers and magazines, and it is interesting that Fahmy views the florescence of this genre, beginning in the 1870s and peaking in the 1920s, as the mark of a golden age of publishing in Egyptian Arabic. The three vanguard nationalists examined in considerable detail here are ‘Uthman Jalal, Ya‘qub Sannu’, and Abdullah Nadim; the works of many less well-known media figures are also catalogued and summarized.

Perhaps the signal contribution of this book is its emphasis on the oral/aural dimension of the nationalist movement, which has certainly not been given its due in historical treatments of Egypt's identity debates. Fahmy is aware that the line between print and orality has always been blurred, for he supplies abundant evidence of printed work that was read aloud for the benefit of the coffeehouse crowd. But he also analyzes music, colloquial poetry, comedic theater, and vaudeville in order to recover something of the texture of popular culture and its imbrications with the street politics of Egypt. Colloquial media are enlisted to good effect in order to document popular activism and anger in four major episodes: the ‘Urabi uprising (1882), the Dinshaway incident (1906), World War I, and the 1919 revolution.

For World War I, Fahmy profiles Munira al-Mahdiyya and Sayyid Darwish, outstanding musical nationalists whose lyrics capture the mood of the era, including the burdens the war imposed on the common people. He notes that, while the British authorities succeeded in stifling protest in print, censoring music proved more difficult, which enhanced its importance as a means of venting anticolonial, antiwar sentiment. Moreover, Fahmy's focus on aural media, especially at a time when the recording industry was taking off, offers a valuable corrective to Anderson's understanding of how nationalist ideas are transmitted. Anderson's focus on “print capitalism” is justly criticized as presuming an individualized and cerebral encounter with ideas ill-suited to account for the profoundly communal and emotional aspects of nationalism.

Fahmy's critical application of Anderson's theory illuminates an important difference between nationalism in Europe and that of Egypt and other arabophone lands. Anderson (and many others) posited that the vernacularization of the sacred had played a crucial role in fostering national consciousness in European societies. This was certainly not the case in Egypt, where the bastions of faith, classicism, and (at a later time) pan-Arabism fought with considerable success against colloquial Arabic's bridgeheads into print culture. But

here again Fahmy is well served by his pioneering use of oral/aural sources, since the guardians of high culture and language were mostly indifferent to the colloquial character of new media, albeit sometimes outraged by its alleged impact on morals.

While sometimes overstating the “counterhegemonic” nature of popular culture, *Ordinary Egyptians* offers a stimulating and valuable re-examination of the formative decades of Egyptian nationalism. The acknowledged utility of colloquial media in Egypt’s 2011 uprising strengthens the plausibility of the book’s central thesis. The conclusion suggests, with justice, that studies of nationalism elsewhere, particularly in the Arab world, would stand to gain from the adoption of similar methods and sources.

MICHAEL J. REIMER
American University in Cairo

NADER SOHRABI. *Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 447. \$95.00.

This is a meticulously researched study on how and why constitutional revolutions first occurred in the Middle East. Moving beyond the simplistic cultural diffusion model that silences the agency of local actors, Nader Sohrabi develops a multilevel explanation ranging from the global to the regional and then to the local. He extensively employs the rich Ottoman imperial archives to examine the 1908 Young Turk revolution and then tests his theoretical model on the less successful 1906 Iranian revolution. Sohrabi contends that even though the global context provides the repertoire and the regional context informs the narrative, the shape that a particular revolution takes relies almost exclusively on the local context—namely on the inherent elements of the indigenous social structure. In short, Ottoman modernizing reforms generated a middle class that streamlined the army and bureaucracy, which in turn sustained constitutionalism; since no such middle class emerged in Iran, constitutionalism was doomed in the long run.

What Sohrabi has undertaken is very original in three aspects. First, he historicizes revolutions by considering contemporaneous ideologies as the chief organizing principle. Second, he approaches the 1908 Young Turk and 1906 Iranian revolutions not chronologically, but as comparative cases in relation to how each one negotiated ideologies. And third, he simultaneously engages the insights provided by the social sciences, history, and area studies on the one side and global, regional, and local level analyses on the other. As such, the theoretical approach Sohrabi takes is Weberian: he locates the origins and dynamic of social change in ideas rather than material conditions. The amount of archival analysis is breathtaking; Sohrabi relies heavily on original archival documents and contemporaneous periodicals to recreate the local conditions in the Ottoman Empire and Iran. The result is a first-rate study that scholars

working on the Middle East in general and those studying the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, and Iran in particular will use as a reference book for years to come.

The lengthy book is organized into seven chapters, with the first five articulating the Ottoman Empire during the 1908 constitutional moment, and the other two focusing comparatively on Iran during its 1906 moment. It is evident that such chronology is predicated on the origins and course of constitutionalism. In the Ottoman Empire, the systematic institutional reforms created modern cadres that not only generated but also sustained the elements of constitutionalism until the end of the empire and into the Turkish Republic. Yet in Iran, the constitutional revolution was almost accidental, appearing at a particular historical conjuncture without the necessary cadres there to sustain it at the expense of the monarchy. Hence, the course of events in the Ottoman case provides the elements of revolutionary success against which the earlier Iranian outcome is then analyzed.

Sohrabi concludes the book by discussing first the affinities of the Iranian and Ottoman constitutional revolutions at the global level: the shared global master-frame instigated radical reforms that in turn generated counterrevolutions in both empires. At the regional level, the intelligentsia in both empires likewise invented a constitutional tradition for Islam, regarding it as a panacea for state weakness. Locally, however, differences in the social structures ultimately determined the different outcomes. In Iran, religion and kingship interacted with constitutionalism, but the notion of monarchical justice remained relevant. In the Ottoman Empire, constitutionalism came to serve as shorthand for the equality of all Ottoman elements, an ideological development lacking in Iran. In the end, the generation of the Ottoman middle class sustained constitutionalism; whereas its lack in Iran curtailed constitutionalism.

It is hard to take issue with a meticulously crafted and executed analysis based on such rich archival documentation. Indeed, once the theoretical framework set by Sohrabi is accepted as the starting point, the analysis works out beautifully, highlighting very significant similarities and differences between the rarely compared Ottoman and Iranian cases. In the Turkish case, however, Sohrabi’s narrative appears too closely aligned with that of the official Ottoman state, ultimately identifying the constitutional revolution with the Sunni Muslim middle class that dominated not only the end of empire but also the Turkish Republic. As such, not enough attention is paid to those who were gradually marginalized over the same course of time, namely non-Muslim minorities, the Kurds, or the religious clergy. Hence Sohrabi’s narrative privileges ideas in general and Western revolutionary ideas in particular, and that privileging in turn directs our attention to the middle class present in the emerging state-controlled public sphere. But then again, this points to a future research project, one that would not have emerged had it not

been for this excellent initial study into historical change by Sohrabi.

FATMA MÜGE GÖÇEK
University of Michigan

NOGA EFRATI. *Women in Iraq: Past Meets Present*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 236. Cloth \$45.00, e-book \$35.99.

Noga Efrati's study of the women's movement in Iraq under the British Mandate and the monarchy during the first half of the twentieth century focuses on an important facet of Iraqi modern history. She places the struggle of Iraqi women for political equality and the amelioration of their position in the areas of personal status and family law in the context of Iraqi political history and illustrates the complexities of that struggle due to the interconnection of politics, religion, and culture.

That women first voted in Iraqi elections only in 1980 under Saddam Hussein's authoritarian Ba'ath regime is ironic. First occupying then awarded Iraq as a League of Nations Mandate after World War I, the British established a constitutional monarchy there but were determined to rule the country "on the cheap," in essence ensuring loyalty to the state by outsourcing local authority to tribal leaders. But, by giving such leaders authority to settle local disputes according to methods and customs that were not necessarily Islamic, the British essentially revived a tribal system that was becoming increasingly moribund by the end of the Ottoman Empire.

For women, this resulted in a sacrifice of their well-being. The laws the British introduced, notably the Tribal Criminal and Civil Disputes Regulation (TC-CDR) and the Exposition of Family Law, transformed a vast and complex literature of custom in the first instance and, in the second, an extreme view of Islamic Shari'a into a modern legal code that relegated women to second-class status. The British also left in place and inserted into the constitution the Ottoman practice of delegating family law to the religious authority. Under the Mandate and throughout the monarchy, not only were women denied the right to vote, but harsh tribal codes and an extreme interpretation of Islamic practice legally enshrined the definition of women as property controlled by male kin in areas of child marriage, inheritance, and honor disputes.

Many Iraqis opposed British policy from the outset, including women, urban intellectuals, members of the newly emergent Iraqi middle class, and even some tribal sheikhs. Efrati's important contribution to our understanding of modern Iraqi history is her analysis of the struggle for women's rights that took place before the revolution of 1958 and not solely after the fall of the monarchy. She demonstrates how, through the 1930s and 1940s, in the press and politically, Iraqi women and their supporters fought unsuccessfully to change laws that approved of child marriage and the personal status code that relegated women solely to the home. After

World War II during the brief interlude of political liberalism, the struggle gained steam as the women's movement expanded, was strengthened and institutionalized, only to split into national and universal approaches pitting national liberation against women's rights.

In the 1950s, the national focus on modernization sidelined the women's suffrage issue when the government created linkages between modernization and gender relations that complicated the struggle for equality and political participation. Women's "progress," or literacy, was linked to the question of suffrage, a connection that exacerbated gender issues because the government had to come to terms with the fact that socially assertive, politically astute women were seen as threatening to Muslim men. The government's solution to broaden the definition of home and family, so that rather than strive in the "narrow" realm of politics women would work for the common good or the care of all of Iraq's children, may have been seen to be compatible with Islam, but it did not result in the vote. Nevertheless, despite the political setbacks, the groundwork laid set the stage for the new gender discourse that emerged after the fall of the monarchy in 1958 and continued well into the second half of the twentieth century.

Based on meticulous analysis of the writings of Iraqi actors as well as on British archival materials, Efrati's book incorporates the work of individuals, parties, and institutions and integrates the competing national and universal narratives of political reform into an important history of the early period of the Iraqi women's movement.

REEVA SPECTOR SIMON,
Emerita
Columbia University

JONATHAN CONANT. *Staying Roman: Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439–700*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 438. \$99.00.

This is an important book, one that will now be essential reading for anyone interested in the history of North Africa in the period after the Vandal conquest. Jonathan Conant answers two key questions: first, what it meant to be "Roman" in North Africa in the aftermath of the fall of the empire; and, second, how and why the region's Romanized inhabitants, and the elite in particular, maintained their Romano-African identity in the face of foreign (first Vandal, then Byzantine) rule. Conant's analysis draws on an impressively wide array of literary and epigraphic sources, as well as a prosopographical database he created that comprises nearly 2,000 people, mostly men, who lived in, or had close connections to, North Africa in the period between 439 and 700. Inevitably then, his focus is on the region's elite and, even more narrowly, on the "higher echelons of power" (p. 15). Conant is acutely, and appropriately,

aware also of the serious methodological problems inherent in identifying and in measuring what he calls "Romanness" (p. 3). His customarily deft solution is to categorize as Roman precisely those things that Africans themselves deemed to be undeniably Roman: "the empire itself, its history and army, its greatest poet (Virgil), and the Latin language," certain ways of expressing power, and the acceptance of Christianity (p. 4).

The book opens with a characteristically measured account of the ways that the Vandal kings tried to legitimize their power, often by casting their kingship in a "very Roman light" (p. 44). At least from the time of Huneric (ruled 477–484), it seems, in what was undoubtedly a conscious decision to imitate a Roman imperial title, the kings styled themselves *dominus noster rex* ("our lord king"). Similarly, the Romano-African elite continued to employ the honorary titles of late antiquity: *illustris*, *spectabilis*, and *clarissimus*. Some measure of assimilation is indicated also by the Latin-Germanic names that are attested under the Vandals, like Flavius Vitalis Vitarit, a two-and-a-half-year-old boy who was buried at Aquae Caesaris (modern Youks, Algeria) sometime in the fifth or sixth century (*L'Année épigraphique* [1974], p. 198 n. 705). Conant is surely right also to conclude that the literature of the period is "permeated with a clear sense . . . that Africans were Romans by descent" (p. 190).

Conant also examines North Africa's social and cultural connections to the larger Mediterranean world, with particular attention to the movement of people, letters, and books, and to other cultural traits, such as personal names. He is able to trace the movements of more than fifty North Africans who traveled outside the Vandal kingdom in the fifth and sixth centuries. Not entirely clear is how travelling to, say, Constantinople would have contributed, in any meaningful way, to their identification with Roman practices and institutions (other than the church, perhaps). Some data sets are even smaller, like the record of certain Romano-African names, such as Adeodatus, in the period before and after the Vandal capture of Carthage. What Conant does succeed in demonstrating is that, at least into the sixth century, North Africa remained "remarkably well integrated into the larger Mediterranean world" (p. 128).

After a detailed description of the ways that Romano-Africans tried to accommodate or resist the Vandals, and a nuanced exposition of the nature of the Byzantine presence in North Africa, including the origins of its civil and military administrators, and the patterns and terms of their appointments, Conant embarks on a truly ground-breaking study of the so-called "Moorish" kingdoms of the interior, which aims, in part, at determining whether they had "become somehow un-Roman in late antiquity" (p. 253). What Conant demonstrates incontrovertibly is that the Moorish "kings" adopted a Romanized political identity, one that employed Roman symbols as a kind of "vocabulary of power" (p. 284). So Masties, a Moorish ruler who was buried at Arris in the western Aurès Mountains in the sixth cen-

tury, at some point styled himself *dux* ("general"), and later, apparently, *imperator* ("emperor"). In what is now western Algeria, urban populations continued to rely on the Roman provincial dating system, used Latin at least occasionally, and preserved distinctively Romano-African names, like Donatus and Emeritus. Funerary monuments indicate that even into the seventh century, the urban elite continued to participate in a "commemorative culture that was predominantly Christian and Latin" (p. 338).

Missing from the surviving record is, as Conant acknowledges, any evidence whatsoever for the cultural self-identification or aspirations of the poor, who constituted the vast majority of the population. It is unclear even how the Vandals conceived of their own identities, or what Vandal cultural traits, if any, may have survived. It is tempting to believe, with Conant, but nearly impossible to prove, that over time the Vandals themselves may have become "more and more like Romans" (p. 142).

DAVID CHERRY

Montana State University

RICHARD J. REID. *Frontiers of Violence in North-East Africa: Genealogies of Conflict since c.1800*. (Zones of Violence.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 310. \$99.00.

Richard J. Reid is arguably the most gifted historian of Northeast Africa today, and *Frontiers of Violence* is undoubtedly his most significant work yet. Beautifully written and rigorously argued, this is essential reading for scholars of the Horn of Africa. Reid's command of broad trends and contested details represents a genuine step forward in comprehending a complex region. This monograph may well be definitive for regional scholarship in need of a new canon; for that reason it is also troubling.

With four parts containing two chapters each, framed by a prologue and epilogue, the book rapidly moves past the scholarly stalemate that dominated Horn studies through the 1990s, in which "Greater Ethiopia" confronted the strident nationalisms of marginalized groups. Reid's approach is satisfying for its regional scope and attention to interfaces between and among contending populations, identities, and discourses. Critically scrutinizing local claims to destiny and authenticity, Reid weighs in on contentious issues in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and, to a lesser extent, Somalia and Sudan. His unflinching conclusions are bound to irritate some and relieve others, including a generation of scholars weary of picking through academic minefields.

Reid's central point is that a deep historical view—an accounting for *la longue durée*—is necessary for understanding conflicts of the past and present, as well as the kaleidoscopic elements of state-making projects (especially Ethiopia's and Eritrea's). "Cyclical patterns of hegemony and subjugation, and the creation of militarized communities and identities based on alternating ideas about defence and aggression, are discernible

over a period of two centuries or more, and make it possible—indeed essential—to talk of genealogies of conflict” (p. 4). Reid charges anthropologists with seeing endemic violence as novel but himself appears like Paul Klee’s “Angel of Novus,” described by Walter Benjamin as grasping not a chain of events but “a single catastrophe that keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage.”

That history matters is undisputed. Moreover, philosophers from Niccolò Machiavelli to Karl Marx and social scientists from Max Weber to Immanuel Wallerstein have more or less agreed that violence is at the heart of all nation- and state-making projects. The second part of Reid’s central argument, that “states are ultimately defined by their turbulent borderlands, which are thus not ‘peripheral’ but are seedbeds, zones of interaction which are as constructive, creative, and fertile as they are destructive and violent” (p. 21) has also been amply (and historically) addressed in anthropologies of the state. While Reid cites Igor Kopytoff and Fredrik Barth, things have proceeded since then.

If Reid’s argument lacks novelty, the framework he develops to anchor his analysis is more nuanced and compelling. Focusing on “tectonics” as reality and metaphor, Reid examines how Horn societies, and especially state structures, were defined over the long term by militant identities and frontier mentalities built on regional fault lines, deep-rooted but shifting ethnic or national boundaries, and physical frontiers or borderlands between environmental and economic zones. At the epicenter has been the Eritrean-Ethiopian frontier, its preexisting violence aggravated by colonialism, drought, and economic exigencies.

While refreshing, Reid’s regional approach does not move beyond the particularism endemic to the Horn and its scholarship. There are few comparisons and little discussion of global contexts or influences. This becomes especially vexing when he refers to the “creativity” and “fertility” of frontiers and borderlands, where some “novel” approaches to politics ostensibly took place; these appear as mere variations on the theme of violence despite other existing evidence that individuals and movements (many of them in exile or borderland regions) have long struggled against authoritarianism and militarism. When he does note efforts to counter the latter, he dismisses them in almost the same terms as guerrillas and governments have done. Reid’s commitment to broad trends and dominant continuities thus prioritizes a few great men of history at the expense of fine-grained dynamics among everyday actors, linked to larger contexts and in pursuit of other possibilities.

By the end of the book, Reid’s constructivism appears to have been seduced by determinism. Violence becomes less a property of human action and more a “natural,” “essential,” even “evolutionary” feature of culture and sociopolitical life (chapter eight). Despite his earlier consciousness of how “destiny” and essentialist identities were constructed by contending groups, Reid’s analysis seems overpowered by the ev-

idence he presents, leading him perilously close to the colonial stereotype of primordialism and savagery he set out to dispel.

There is no denying that violence has been central to sociopolitical life in Northeast Africa, or that Reid’s book is a benchmark contribution. It is difficult, however, not to come away feeling like we can all pack up and go home. If Reid is correct, the Horn is a hopelessly violent place and always will be. Those who devote their lives to political struggle on other terms therefore fight an epic battle not only to change the status quo but to be seen and heard by those who write history.

TRICIA REDEKER HEPNER
University of Tennessee

RAYMOND JONAS. *The Battle of Adwa: African Victory in the Age of Empire*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 413. \$29.95.

This book describes and analyzes the 1896 battle of Adwa, which was, according to Raymond Jonas, “one of the great military victories of all time” (p. 233). The author compares Emperor Menelik, who led the Ethiopian army to victory over Italian invaders, to Napoleon Bonaparte and claims that “the history of African sovereignty in the modern era started at Adwa” (p. 320).

Jonas carefully probes the reasons why Italy decided to engage a vast African army only to face a colossal disaster. Not only were ambitious politicians in Rome, led by Prime Minister Francesco Crispi, pushing for what they thought would be an easy victory; there was also an intractable rivalry among the Italian army’s commanding officers, and Menelik’s tactical maneuvers were misinterpreted as a retreat. Ethiopians, initially presented as underdogs in the European and American press, were suddenly transformed into “whites” and descendants of “Phoenicians” after their brilliant victory. Jonas stresses the role the Adwa victory played in advancing Pan-Africanism. For some, he says, Ethiopia became “a new Zion” (p. 284).

Jonas recounts heart-rending anecdotes regarding the 1,900 Italian soldiers captured at Adwa and billeted by Emperor Menelik among his regional governors. Myths on both sides were dispelled when the European soldiers started to live with their black counterparts. The Ethiopians discovered that the Europeans did not have a “foul odor”; the Italians learned that their hosts were far from being “emasculators” and “barbarians” by whom they were going “to be eaten” (pp. 144, 226). Many Italian captives developed amicable relations with their Ethiopian captors, even becoming “occasionally, lovers” (p. 4). Some declined repatriation to Italy.

This book, despite its contributions, suffers from numerous errors that can be partly attributed to the author’s sole reliance on Italian sources. The most glaring of these is Jonas’s assertion that “the ambiguity of Article 17, was a convenient fiction Menelik was aware of” (p. 91). The discrepancy between the Italian and Amharic versions of the treaty text was reported by Afe-

work Gabre Yesus, Menelik's biographer of the period, who claimed that the emperor angrily told Count Salimbiéri, the Italian envoy, "I have never even dreamt of Ethiopia being an Italian protectorate." That Menelik abrogated the treaty unilaterally goes unmentioned by Jonas, as does Italy's subsequent proposal of an even more sweeping protectorate, which was also rejected by the emperor. A distortion has crept into the author's quotations of Ras Mekonnen's address to the Italian king in Rome, which asked for "protection" (p. 73). Had Jonas consulted Ethiopian sources (e.g., Heruy Wolde Selassie, *Ye-Etiopia Tarik* [1934]; G. M. Atseme, *Yegalla Tarik* [1925]), he might not have made such errors. In fact, many of Jonas's sources for the treaty of Wutchalé, as he admits elsewhere, were found to have spun fantasies about the courageous death of prisoners of war who were still alive (pp. 305–306).

The book sometimes digresses from the main subject. The first section of chapter two (pp. 23–27) focuses almost exclusively on the exploits of individuals barely related to the battle, as do the second and third sections, which describe in detail the geography of the port of Massawa and everyday life in its red-light district (pp. 27–33). In chapter five Jonas dwells at length on love affairs between Eritrean and Italian soldiers. Only in chapter six does he begin to discuss matters pertaining to the dispute that led to the battle of Adwa.

The author's conclusion that Italy's pursuit of an African empire was driven by "failed characters seeking sanctuary of redemption in overseas exploits" (p. 5) is overly simplistic. Jonas ignores what really fueled Italian imperialism: the spirit of the Risorgimento (Italian reunification) and the economically depressed *Mezzogiorno's* (southern Italy's) land-hungry peasantry. He is curiously silent regarding the Treaty of Addis Ababa, which stated that "The treaty of Wutchalé . . . is and will remain definitely annulled, with its annexes . . . [and Italy] recognizes absolutely and without reserve the independence of the Ethiopian Empire." Ethiopian names plucked from Italian sources are occasionally unintelligible (e.g., Tuavense for Tewabetch [p. 257]; Zandietu for Zewditu [p. 360]). Putting the bibliography on a website instead of appending it to the book is an inconvenience for those readers who are not computer savvy.

Despite the above mentioned shortcomings, Jonas has woven an intricate work from government documents, personal diaries, and journalistic reports to show the role Adwa played in bringing to an end the widespread belief in the inevitability of European dominance of Africa.

PAULOS MILKIAS
Addis Ababa University

BRUCE S. HALL. *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960*. (African Studies, number 115.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. xvii, 335. \$90.00.

Bruce S. Hall's justly acclaimed study contributes to a decisive shift in scholarship. Read alongside other re-

cent works, Hall's book makes it clear that racial thinking in Africa cannot be seen as an exclusively foreign implant.

Despite the official anti-racism of Islam, tropes of racial difference circulated in West Africa through religious stories and the classical theory of climes. Muslim scholars in the Sahel responded to local political and economic processes by mobilizing these tropes to weave claims about ancestry, lineage, and status into beliefs about collective inequality. To be sure, racial categories in the precolonial Western Sahel often did not match physical cues in the style of European racism. A fluid relationship to phenotypic difference meant it was possible for groups to shift their racial identity. This seems to have taken place in waves, such as during the cultural arabization of many Berber-speakers during the 1600s and 1700s; after the development of new legal norms that permitted collective inheritable servility; and after the French arrived with their own ideas about race.

Nonetheless, Hall makes it clear that these categories were racial insofar as they reflected a practical framework that "privileges certain types of human difference (often arbitrarily) and ascribes to them meanings which are objectively false"; the complex relationship between Sahelian racial thinking and phenotypic difference reminds us that it is by investing bodies with false attributes that all racial thinking "loses its relationship to . . . real differences between human beings" (pp. 36–37). Still, Hall cautions that even when well-developed, racial theory never saturated all aspects of social life nor did it always pass uncontested. Subtle distinctions within categories—such as those among terms for different kinds of blackness—could take on great situational significance.

The first third of the book, which exposes the non-European roots of this particular form of racial thought, has attracted the most attention. But the remainder of the volume—on the consequences of French occupation of the Sahel—also has much to offer, especially to scholars of colonialism or of global intellectual history. French actions reinvigorated racial distinctions and pushed them in new directions. Early colonial administrators reinforced the idea that Berber-speaking Tuareg peoples were superior to (or at least profoundly different from) Songhai-speaking farmers. But French officers remapped these differences onto the terms of their own *mission civilisatrice* and their own biological theories. Here again, however, African scholars played a major role in giving racial tropes local significance, as Berber-speakers struggled to associate themselves more with "Arabs" than with "black" Africans, over whom climatic and economic changes gradually gave them dominance.

French ideas of social hierarchy in West Africa gradually became more complex, focusing on elites within ethnic groups whose authority (and thus utility for administration) they believed reflected inherent, transmissible superiority. In this, they converged with Sahelian ideas of moral genealogy and came close to local ways of using race to mark social inferiority. Hall here

contributes to the general picture of empire produced by the “new colonial history,” noting that the French *politique des races* thus “arose out of the arguments and accommodations of different people in the Niger Bend for position in the colonial hierarchy” (p. 174). Colonial and local categories shifted dialectically: in face of the perceived threat posed by French rule to slavery, slaveholders argued that the taint of servitude was inheritable and could circumscribe religious status. In reality, the French were content to allow racial categories to bolster slavery in areas where its dissolution might have caused unrest or interrupted labor flows. Yet in areas where France saw little threat of resistance, economic and social change fueled a reordering of racial categories.

This reworking of Sahelian racial thought persisted into the postcolonial era. Even as a new generation of social scientists began describing local differences in the language of “ethnicity,” decolonization brought a mandate to reassert blackness as such, ensuring racial categories would live on. While the leftist government of Modibo Keita attempted to confront the legacy of slavery directly, it engaged in its own racial typing in its suppression of the first of many Tuareg revolts, reinforcing the mutual suspicion of “whites” and “blacks.”

As recent events in the Sahel and the Sahara reveal, racial language is not easy to root out once deeply embedded in social practices, popular ideology, and political rhetoric. Anti-racist arguments that look to Islam or liberalism to ground critiques of social practice continue in the area, but run up against their own intellectual limitations—refusing, for instance, to critique social hierarchy itself.

The resiliency of these categories touches on one possible weakness in the book. Hall gives racial ideas little agency of their own, arguing instead that concepts become important “when they can be called on and developed by people to frame problems, define opponents, and mobilize support” (p. 317). More space could be given to consideration of the way that the availability of such tools can itself promote their use, or even prompt people to seek out uses for them.

Another limitation is a byproduct of the book’s greatest strength: its exhaustive use of Arabic source materials, above all Islamic legal opinions. These reflect the views of those who often felt the need to deploy racial thinking most urgently. Hall warns that he does not engage systematically with more anthropological accounts of race or difference in the region. It is understandable then that the sense we get of the significance of race is more conceptual and instrumental than, say, psychological or embodied. It will likely require a different set of sources to reveal the particular relationship between the social uses of racial thought and the personal experience of race. Furthermore, while Hall carefully limits his study to the “Muslim Sahel,” such a category may cause us to forget the complex religious geography and sociology of that region. The story of how the various non-Islamic vocabularies, legal norms, and patterns of hierarchy present in the Sahel may have contributed to

the formation and evolution of racial thought—that is to say, the intellectual history of those who were often most harmed by racism—remains to be told (and, due to source limitations, may be untellable). But the very fact that such questions may now be placed on the scholarly agenda reflects the huge conceptual and empirical leap forward made by Hall’s book.

SEAN HANRETTA
Stanford University

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

T. JACK THOMPSON. *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. (Studies in the History of Christian Missions.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2012. Pp. xviii, 286. \$45.00.

A vast number of photographs were taken by missionaries in Africa, or by expedition, professional and amateur photographers visiting mission stations. T. Jack Thompson asks why these photographs were taken, and how they were read by audiences in Africa, Europe, and the United States. He also asks how recent theory and debate in the field of the history of photography can be applied to the huge archive of mission photography. Thompson addresses this latter question in the introductory and final chapter, while presenting five case studies in the body of the book. The result is a collection of essays offering answers to his central questions: who took mission photographs, why, and for what purpose? *Light on Darkness* is an easy book to read, chatty in format and based on some impressive archival research.

The first two case studies on David Livingstone are followed by a comparison of the content and message implied in photographs shown to congregations in Scotland with those shown by Scottish missionaries in South Africa and Malawi to African audiences. This is followed by an excellent survey of propaganda photography in the campaign against Belgian King Leopold’s brutal regime in the Congo, focusing on “atrocities photography.” The final case study is a survey of the use of lantern slides, again contextualizing their use by comparing what was shown to African congregations and possible converts to those screened for fund-raising purposes back in Scotland and worldwide. It is pleasing to see a whole chapter devoted to lantern slides, a much overlooked aspect of the nineteenth-century history of photography. The text interrogates most of the book’s fascinating seventy-one photographs, etchings, and engravings based on photographs. The overall impact of these images, the detail in the case studies, and the critical analysis make the book a useful addition to the series “Studies in the History of Christian Missions,” now numbering twenty-one volumes.

Having argued that there were a number of scientific, ethnographic, political, and documentary reasons for the taking of photographs in southern Africa and Malawi, Thompson concludes that “the vast majority of Mission photography was concerned to show the work

of the mission itself for the benefit of supporters in Britain" (p. 273). He presents this photography as a record of transformation, but to me this undervalues what Thompson has done in contextualizing events in Europe to explain the European fascination with Africa. Thompson asks why neither Livingstone nor his discoverer, Henry Morton Stanley, carried a camera but he documents in detail the exploits of various missionaries and non-missionaries who after the 1870s created a huge archive of African mission photography. The book could have benefitted from some editing to remove repetition, as readers are told many times, for example, about the move to dry plate silver gelatine or that Thomas Baines was the "hardest worked" member of Livingstone's 1858 expedition (pp. 39, 63, 75). There are some contradictions, primarily caused by the chapters being separate, stand-alone essays, such as Thompson not being sure if missionary photography was initially "entirely confined to the coastal areas" (p. 56) or, a page earlier, evident "to a lesser extent in the interior" (p. 55). The chapters are in lecture format, with questions posed and then answered empirically and theoretically. This might seem annoying to some readers, but it is an approach that allows Thompson to identify which photographs were taken, by whom and how they were used, and to suggest what audiences might have made of these devout, adventurous missionaries, mission progress, "darkest Africa," and African peoples.

Thompson makes a deliberate effort to draw Africans into the story, discussing whenever possible portraits and *mise-en-scène*, subjects' lives and contributions to the mission, and their position inside the frame. He concludes by asking whether Africans would have agreed with the representations of themselves in mission photography. Thompson could have done more to apply "the academic study of photography" to allow a "better understanding of mission photography" (p. 275). Nonetheless, this book is a useful contribution to the historiography of missions, the history of photography, and African history, and will appeal to readers outside the confines of these areas of specialization.

MAX QUANCHI

University of the South Pacific

ERIC ALLINA. *Slavery by Any Other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique*. (Reconsiderations in Southern African History.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 255. Cloth \$49.50, e-book \$49.50.

Although the Portuguese arrived on the coast of Mozambique in 1498, it took them four hundred years to establish effective control over it. Only after the 1884–1885 Congress of Berlin did Lisbon attempt to impose its authority. Burdened with massive debt, divided by political factions, and unable to attract capital, Lisbon lacked the capacity to occupy and develop vast tracts of the Mozambican interior, forcing it to outsource the exploitation of substantial parts of Mozambique to concessionary companies. One was the Companhia de

Moçambique, the subject of Eric Allina's significant study. Under its 1892 charter the Companhia de Moçambique received a fifty-year concession to land in south central Mozambique about half the size of Portugal. The Company assumed state power—issuing laws, established administrative structures, developed the territory, recruited Portuguese settlers, and maintained a private police force to insure "law and order." In return, it paid Lisbon seven and a half percent of all net profits.

Despite its significant role in the history of colonial Mozambique, until recently we knew precious little about the Company. Only in 1977, two years after independence, did a team of investigators working for the Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique discover several thousand boxes of documents in outbuildings adjacent to Beira's Civil Administration. It took approximately fifteen years for the staff to organize and classify this material and place it in the public domain. Allina was the first scholar to mine these documents, which he uses to explore the effects of the Company's highly coercive labor regime on the lived experiences of the hundreds of thousands of peasants subject to its rule. Allina documents how, under the guise of civilizing the "natives" and instilling a work ethic, company police, sometimes assisted by local chiefs, regularly swooped down on villagers and marched them long distances to work on company projects (building roads and bridges and clearing swamps) or on European gold mines and maize farms. The captives typically labored under harsh conditions. Conscripts received poor, often rotting, food, lacked appropriate living conditions, and failed to receive compensation for injuries sustained on the job. To make matters worse, planters often withheld all or some of their wages. In violation of its own labor code, Company officials seized women, elders, and children when European farmers required additional labor, and the workday often exceeded the Company's twelve-hour maximum. Allina argues quite correctly that what was unique about the "outsourcing of empire" in Mozambique, as opposed to Kenya, Nigeria, the Congo, or Tanganyika, was that elsewhere concessionary companies enjoyed state-like power for only a decade or so, rather than for half a century—underscoring the Company's autonomy and the weakness of the colonial state.

The author does more than simply document labor abuses. Through his careful reading of documents, we learn how Africans coped, adapted, and sometimes resisted this harsh regime. Company accounts are replete with examples of Africans fleeing into the bush, crossing the border into Southern Rhodesia and relocating in state-controlled territory. Other peasants survived by signing up as *voluntarios*, which exempted them from forced labor. This strategy became particularly attractive after the Company's 1920 decision to extend the forced labor contract from six months to a year. *Voluntarios* could jump from one employer to another before the end of their contracts to secure better working conditions and retain their exempt status for longer. Some peasants cultivated and sold large quantities of

peanuts and millet for beer brewing, earning enough to pay their taxes and avoid forced labor. Others defied the Company and the state. In 1917 thousands of peasants joined in the Barue rebellion to protest increased demands on their labor and the sexual abuse of young women by African police and European overseers. There were also periodic work stoppages by road builders and plantation workers.

Two shortcomings detract from the book's high quality. Although Allina maintains that the hundred interviews he conducted were essential to his understanding of the Company and of colonial rule, he does not interrogate them critically. It would have been very helpful had he discussed their strengths and interpretive

challenges and contextualized them within the politics of memory. Moreover, most of the oral materials are short fragments that merely corroborate written sources. My other concern is that the labor regime is presented as static, and there is no discussion of what impact changes in Company policy or in the global economy might have had either on it or on the subject population.

These criticisms aside, *Slavery by Any Other Name* makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of concessionary companies and their reliance on bound labor in Mozambique.

ALLEN ISAACMAN
University of Minnesota

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

RILA MUKHERJEE, editor. *Oceans Connect: Reflections on Water Worlds across Time and Space*. (Issues in History.) Delhi: Primus Books. 2013. Pp. xvi, 286. \$89.95.

PAUL D'ARCY, *Sea Worlds: Pacific and South-East Asian History Centred on the Philippines*. RILA MUKHERJEE, *Chasing the Many Faces of a Marine Goddess across the Eastern Indian Ocean*. ARVIND S. SUSARLA, *Bypassed Oceans*. RYAN TUCKER JONES, *Pacific Currents, Maritime Empires, and Russia's Oceanic Moment*. ANA CRESPO SOLANA, *Networks and "National" Communities in the First Global Hispanic Atlantic*. J. B. OWENS, *Narrating Little Stories about the Portuguese in the Making of World History*. AMÉLIA POLÓNIA, *Jumping Frontiers, Crossing Barriers—Transfers between Oceans: A Case Study of the Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400–1800*. AMÂNDIO JORGE MORAIS BARROS, *The Portuguese in the Indian Ocean in the First Global Age: Transoceanic Exchanges, Naval Power, Port Organization and Trade*. ANTONI PICAZO MUNTANER, *A Global Dream: The Indian Ocean in the European Trading Horizon*. RILA MUKHERJEE, *Oceans Connect/Fragment: A Global View of the Eastern Ocean*. LIPI GHOSH, *Thai Trade in the Indian Ocean: The Contexts of Pre-Colonial Bay of Bengal Port Management*. RADHIKA SESHAN, *Human Networks in the Pre-modern World: Rumours of Piracy in Surat*. RUDY MALONI, "A Profitable and Advantageous Commerce": *European Private Trade in the Western Indian Ocean*. OM PRAKASH, *Connecting Seas: Indian Textiles in the Indian Ocean Trade in the Early Modern Period*.

RAPHAËLLE BRANCHE and FABRICE VIRGILI, editors. *Rape in Wartime*. (Genders and Sexualities in History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xiii, 237. \$85.00.

MARIANNA G. MURARYEVA, *Categorizing Rape in the Military Law of Modern Russia*. REGINA MÜHLHÄUSER, *The Unquestioned Crime: Sexual Violence by German Soldiers during the War of Annihilation in the Soviet Union, 1941–45*. KATHERINE STEFATOS, *The Victimisation of the Body and the Body Politic during the Greek Civil War, 1946–1949*. NAYANIKA MOOKHERJEE, *Mass Rape and the Inscription of Gendered and Racial Domination during the Bangladesh War of 1971*. NATALIA SU-

AREZ BINILLA, *Rape, Blaming the Victim and Social Control in Paramilitary Enclaves: An Approach to the Case of Colombia*. ANNE GODFROID, *After "Teutonic Fury," "Belgian Fury"? Fact and Fiction in the Revenge of Belgian Soldiers in the Rhineland in 1923*. MAUD JOLY, *The Practices of War, Terror and Imagination: Moor Troops and Rapes during the Spanish Civil War*. ALEXANDRE SOUCAILLE, *Promising Rape: Private Militias against Maoist Guerillas in the State of Bihar (India)*. AMANDINE RÉGAMEY, *The Weight of Imagination: Rapes and the Legend of Women Snipers in Chechnya*. NADINE PUECH-GUIRBAL, *Breaking the Silence: New Approaches to the Consequences of Rape in Some African Conflicts, 1994–2008*. TAL NITSÁN, *The Body that Writes: Reflections on the Process of Writing about Wartime Rape Avoidance in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. ADEDIRON DANIEL IKUOMOLA, *The Nigerian Civil War of 1967 and the Stigmatisation of Children Born of Rape Victims in Edo State*. ANTOINE RIVIÈRE, "Special Decisions" *Children Born as the Result of German Rape and Handed Over to Public Assistance during the Great War (1914–18)*. NORMAN M. NAIMARK, *The Russians and Germans: Rape during the War and Post-Soviet Memories*.

ASIA

ROBERT PECKHAM and DAVID M. POMFRET, editors. *Imperial Contagions: Medicine, Hygiene, and Cultures of Planning in Asia*. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press; distributed by Columbia University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 307. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$25.00.

CECILIA CHU, *Combating Nuisance: Sanitation, Regulation, and the Politics of Property in Colonial Hong Kong*. JIAT-HWEE CHANG, "Tropicalizing" *Planning: Sanitation, Housing, and Technologies of Improvement in Colonial Singapore, 1907–1942*. RICHARD HARRIS and ROBERT LEWIS, *Colonial Anxiety Counted: Plague and Census in Bombay and Calcutta, 1901*. DAVID M. POMFRET, "Beyond Risk of Contagion": *Childhood, Hill Stations, and the Planning of British and French Colonial Cities*. STEPHEN LEGG, *Planning Social Hygiene: From Contamination to Contagion in Interwar India*. ROBERT PECKHAM, *Matshed Laboratory: Colonies, Cultures, and Bacteriology*. SUNIL S. AMRITH, "Contagion of the Depot": *The Government of Indian Emigration*. RUTH RICHARDSON, *Carter and Contagion in India: Anatomy, Geography, Morphology*. SANDER L. GILMAN, *Epidemics of Famine and Obesity: China as the Modern World*. LAURENCE MONNAIS, "Rails, Roads, and Mosquito Foes": *The State Quinine Service in French Indochina*.

CHUNJUAN NANCY WEI and DARRYL E. BROCK, editors. *Mr. Science and Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution: Science and Technology in Modern China*. Foreword by JOSEPH W. DAUBEN. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2013. Pp. xxxv, 391. \$85.00.

DARRYL E. BROCK, *The People's Landscape: Mr. Science and the Mass Line*. CONG CAO, *Science Imperiled: Intellectuals and the Cultural Revolution*. MICHAEL A. MIKITA, *Screening the Maoist Mr. Science: Breaking with Old Ideas and Constructing the Post-Capitalist University*. YIBAO XU, *Dialectics of Numbers: Marxism, Maoism, and the Calculus of Infinitesimals*. YINGHONG CHENG, *Ideology and Cosmology: Maoist Discussion on Physics and the Cultural Revolution*. STACEY SOLOMONE, *Space for the People: China's Aerospace Industry and the Cultural Revolution*. CHUNJUAN NANCY WEI, *Barefoot Doctors: The Legacy of Chairman Mao's Healthcare*. DONGPING HAN, *Rural Agriculture: Scientific and Technological Development during the Cultural Revolution*. SUSAN GREENHALGH, *Missile Science, Population Science: The Origins of China's One-Child Policy*. RUDI VOLTI, *Worker Innovation: Did Maoist Promotion Contribute to China's Present Technological and Economic Success?* SIGRID SCHMALZER, *On the Appropriate Use of Rose-Colored Glasses: Reflections on Science in Socialist China*.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ROBERT ENGLEBERT and GUILLAUME TEASDALE, editors. *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630–1815*. East Lansing: Michigan State University. 2013. Pp. xxxiii, 219. \$25.95.

KATHRYN MAGEE LABELLE, "Faire la Chaudière": The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636. CHRISTOPHER M. PARSONS, Natives, Newcomers, and *Nicotiana*: Tobacco in the History of the Great Lakes Region. ROBERT MICHAEL MORRISSEY, The Terms of Encounter: Language and Contested Visions of French colonization in the Illinois country, 1673–1702. RICHARD WEYHING, "Gascon Exaggerations": The Rise of Antoine Laumet dit de lamothe, Sieur de Cadillac, the Foundation of Colonial Detroit, and the Origins of the Fox Wars. GILLES HAVARD, "Protection" and "Unequal Alliance": The French Conception of Sovereignty over Indians in New France. ARNAUD BALVAY, The French and the Natchez: A Failed Encounter. JOHN REDA, From Subjects to Citizens: Two Pierres and the French Influence on the Transformation of the Illinois Country. NICOLE ST-ONGE, Blue Beads, Vermilion, and Scalpers: The Social Economy of the 1810–1812 Astorian Overland Expedition's French Canadian Voyageurs.

MICHAEL J. PFEIFER, editor. *Lynching beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence outside the South*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2013. Pp. vii, 325. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$28.00.

HELEN MCLURE, "Who Dares to Style This Female a Woman?" Lynching, Gender, and Culture in the Nineteenth-Century U.S. West. CHRISTOPHER WALDREP, The Popular Sources of Political Authority in 1856 San Francisco: Lynching, Vigilance, and the Difference between Politics and Constitutionalism. BRENT M. S. CAMPNEY, "Light Is Bursting upon the World": White Supremacy and Racist Violence against Blacks in Re-

construction Kansas. WILLIAM D. CARRIGAN and CLIVE WEBB, The Rise and Fall of Mob Violence against Mexicans in Arizona, 1859–1915. KIMBERLEY MANGUN and LARRY R. GERLACH, Making Utah History: Press Coverage of the Robert Marshall Lynching, June 1925. SUNDIATA KEITA CHA-JUA, "The cry of the Negro should not be remember the Maine, but remember the hanging of Bush": African American Responses to Lynching in Decatur, Illinois, 1893. JACK S. BLOCKER JR., Race, Sex, and Riot: The Springfield, Ohio, Race Riots of 1904 and 1906 and the Sources of Antiblack Violence in the Lower Midwest. MICHAEL J. PFEIFER, Lynching in Late-Nineteenth-Century Michigan. DENA LYNN WINSLOW, "They Lynched Jim Cullen": Story and Myth on the Northern Maine Frontier. DENNIS B. DOWNEY, The "Delaware Horror": Two Ministers, a Lynching, and the Crisis of Democracy.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

JESSICA STITES MOR, editor. *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*. (Critical Human Rights.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2013. Pp. x, 305. Paper \$29.95, e-book \$21.95.

MARGARET POWER, The Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, Transnational Latin American Solidarity, and the United States during the Cold War. ERNESTO CAPELLO, Latin America Encounters Nelson Rockefeller: Imagining the *Gringo Patrón* in 1969. SARA KATHERINE SANDERS, The Mexican Student Movement of 1968: National Protest Movements in International and Transnational Contexts. RUSSELL COBB, Cosmopolitans and Revolutionaries: Competing Visions of Transnationalism during the Boom in Latin America. ALISON J. BRUEY, Transnational Concepts, Local Contexts: Solidarity at the Grassroots in Pinochet's Chile. CHRISTINE HATZKY, Cuba's Concept of "Internationalist Solidarity": Political Discourse, South-South Cooperation with Angola, and the Molding of Transnational Identities. BRENDA ELSEY, "As the World Is My Witness": Transnational Chilean Solidarity and Popular Culture. MOLLY TODD, The Politics of Refuge: Salvadoran Refugees and International Aid in Honduras. JAMES N. GREEN, Desire and Revolution: Socialists and the Brazilian Gay Liberation Movement in the 1970s.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MARY C. FLANNERY and KATIE L. WALTER, editors. *The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England*. (Westfield Medieval Studies, number 4.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell and Brewer. 2013. Pp. viii, 194. \$99.00.

HENRY ANSGAR KELLY, Inquisition, Public Fame and Confession: General Rules and English Practice. EDWIN CRAUN, The Imperatives of *Denunciatio*: Disclosing Others' Sins to Disciplinary Authorities. IAN FORREST, English Provincial Constitutions and Inquisition into Lollardy. DIANE VINCENT, The Contest over the Public Imagination of Inquisition, 1380–1430. MARY C. FLANNERY and KATIE L. WALKER, "Vttirli Onknowe"? Modes of Inquiry and the Dynamics of Interiority in Vernacular Literature. JENNY LEE, From Defacement to Restoration: Inquisition, Confession and Thomas Usk's *Appeal and Testament of Love*. JAMES WADE, Confession, Inquisition and Exemplarity in *The Erle of Tolous* and Other Middle English Romances. GENELLE GERTZ, Heresy Inquisition and Au-

thorship, 1400–1560. RUTH AHNERT, *Imitating Inquisition: Dialectical Bias in Protestant Prison Writings*.

Oxford University Press, for The British Academy. 2012. Pp. xiv, 415. \$125.00.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

CHARLOTTE ASHBY, TAG GRONBERG, and SIMON SHAW-MILLER, editors. *The Viennese Café and Fin-de-siècle Culture*. (Austrian and Habsburg Studies, number 16.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2013. Pp. xii, 244. \$95.00.

CHARLOTTE ASHBY, *The Cafés of Vienna: Space and Sociability*. GILBERT CARR, *Time and Space in the Café Griensteidl and the Café Central*. STEVEN BELLER, “The Jew Belongs in the Coffeehouse”: Jews, Central Europe and Modernity. TAG GRONBERG, *Coffeehouse Orientalism*. SHACHAR PINSKER, *Between “The House of Study” and the Coffeehouse: The Central European Café as a Site for Hebrew and Yiddish Modernism*. KATARZYNA MURAWSKA-MUTHESIUS, *Michalik’s Café in Kraków: Café and Caricature as Media of Modernity*. INES SABOTIĆ, *The Coffeehouse in Zagreb at the Turn of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Similarities and Differences with the Viennese Coffeehouse*. MARY COSTELLO, *Adolf Loos’s Kärntner Bar: Reception, Reinvention, Reproduction*. JEREMY AYNLEY, *Graphic and Interior Design in the Viennese Coffeehouse around 1900: Experience and Identity*. RICHARD KURDIOVSKY, *The Cliché of the Viennese Café as an Extended Living Room: Formal Parallels and Differences*. EDWARD TIMMS, *Coffeehouses and Tea Parties: Conversational Spaces as a Stimulus to Creativity in Sigmund Freud’s Vienna and Virginia Woolf’s London*.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

TOBY GREEN, editor. *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Precolonial Western Africa*. (Proceedings of the British Academy, number 178.) Oxford:

GERHARD SEIBERT, *Creolization and Creole Communities in the Portuguese Atlantic: São Tomé, Cape Verde, the Rivers of Guinea and Central Africa in Comparison*. NATALIE EVERTS, *A Motley Company: Differing Identities among Euro-Africans in Eighteenth-Century Elmina*. JOSÉ LINGA NAFAPÉ, *Challenges of the African Voice: Autonomy, Commerce, and Resistance in Precolonial Western Africa*. HEATHER DALTON, “Into speyne to selle for slavys”: English, Spanish, and Genoese Merchant Networks and Their Involvement with the “Cost of Gwynea” Trade before 1550. FILIPA RIBEIRO DA SILVA, *Dutch Trade with Senegambia, Guinea, and Cape Verde, c. 1590–1674*. IBRAHIMA SECK, *The French Discovery of Senegal: Premises for a Policy of Selective Assimilation*. CHRISTOPHER EVANS, MARIE-LOUISE STIG SØRENSEN, and KONSTANTIN RICHTER, *An Early Christian Church in the Tropics: Excavation of the N.ª S.ª da Conceição, Cidade Velha, Cape Verde*. BART JACOBS, *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Senegambia and the Emergence of Papiamentu*. TOBY GREEN, *The Emergence of a Mixed Society in Cape Verde in the Seventeenth Century*. ANTÓNIO DE ALMEIDA MENDES, *Slavery, Society, and the First Steps towards an Atlantic Revolution in West Africa (Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)*. LINDA A. NEWSON, *Bartering for Slaves on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Early Seventeenth Century*. MICHAEL W. TUCK, *Everyday Commodities, the Rivers of Guinea, and the Atlantic World: The Beeswax Export Trade, c.1450–c.1800*. GEORGE E. BROOKS, *American Trade with Cabo Verde and Guine, 1820s–1850s: Exploiting the Transition from Slave to Legitimate Commerce*. PHILIP J. HAVIK, “A Commanding Commercial Position”: The African Settlement of Bolama Island and Anglo-Portuguese Rivalry (1830–1870). MARIKA SHERWOOD, “Legitimate” Traders, the Building of Empires, and the Long-Term After-Effects in Africa.

Documents and Bibliographies

Books listed were recently received in the *AHR* office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the *AHR*.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

CONSTANTINE, MARY-ANN, and PAUL FRAME, editors. *Travels in Revolutionary France and a Journey across America by George Cadogan Morgan and Richard Price Morgan*. (Wales and the French Revolution.) Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 237. \$40.00.

ASIA

JONES, SUMIE, and KENJI WATANABE, editors. *An Edo Anthology: Literature from Japan's Mega-City, 1750–1850*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 515. \$30.00.

LIU, LYDIA H., REBECCA E. KARL, and DOROTHY KO, editors. *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory*. (Weatherhead Books on Asia.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 308. Cloth \$89.50, paper \$29.50, e-book \$28.99.

PALAT, MADHAVAN K., editor. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru: Second Series Volume Forty Six, (1 January–28 February 1959)*. New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, distributed by Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xxiv, 714. \$60.00.

SEHGAL, IKRAM. *Escape from Oblivion: The Story of a Pakistani Prisoner of War in India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xxv, 138. \$27.95.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ALBION, MICHELE WEHRWEIN, editor. *The Quotable Henry Ford*. Foreword by HOWARD P. SEGAL. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2013. Pp. xxv, 261. \$24.95.

BELMONTE, MONICA L., and EDWARD C. KEEFER, editors. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976. Volume XX-VII: Iran; Iraq, 1973–1976*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office. 2012. Pp. xlii, 935. \$78.00.

CLARK, GEORGE B., editor. *Devil Dogs Chronicle: Voices of the 4th Marine Brigade in World War I*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2013. Pp. ix, 411. \$39.95.

FEILDEN, HENRY WEMYSS. *A Confederate Englishman: The Civil War Letters of Henry Wemyss Feilden*. Edited by W. ERIC EMERSON and KAREN STOKES. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2013. Pp. xxviii, 187. \$29.95.

GRAHAM, JUDITH S., et al., editor. *Diary and Autobiographical Writings of Louisa Catherine Adams: In two volumes; 1778–1815 and 1819–1849*. (The Adams Papers, Series 1: Diaries.) Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. lviii, 883. \$175.00.

HOWARD, WALTER T. *We Shall Be Free! Black Communist Protests in Seven Voices*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 208. \$54.50.

KIMBALL, WILLIAM HORTON. *Among the Enemy: A Michigan Soldier's Civil War Journal*. Edited by MARK HOFFMAN. (Great Lakes Books.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 168. \$24.95.

KOHLSTEDT, SALLY GREGORY, and DAVID KAISER, editors. *Science and the American Century: Readings from Isis*. Introduction by SALLY GREGORY KOHLSTEDT and DAVID KAISER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. vi, 476. \$30.00.

MAKOS, ADAM. *Voices of the Pacific: Untold Stories from the Marine Heroes of World War II*. With MARCUS BROTHERTON. New York: Berkley Caliber. 2013. Pp. xiv, 397. \$27.95.

MCADAMS, FRANK. *Vietnam Rough Riders: A Convoy Commander's Memoir*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2013. Pp. xv, 263. \$34.95.

MCILWRAITH, ANDREW. *More of a Man: Diaries of a Scottish Craftsman in Mid-Nineteenth-Century North America*. Edited by ANDREW C. HOLMAN and ROBERT B. KRISTOFFERSON. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2013. Pp. xx, 458. \$35.00.

O'SHAUGHNESSY, MARY SEARING, editor. *Alonzo's War: Letters from a Young Civil War Soldier*. Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 247. \$70.00.

SCHWARZ, PHILIP J., editor. *Gabriel's Conspiracy: A Documentary History*. (Carter G. Woodson Institute Series.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2012. Pp. xxxv, 260. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$24.50.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

BECKER, MATTHIAS. *Eunapios aus Sardes: Biographien über Philosophen und Sophisten; Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. (Roma Aeterna: Beiträge zu Spätantike und Frühmittelalter, number 1.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2013. Pp. 667. €82.00.

BRYANT, RICHARD. *The Western Midlands: Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire*. Assisted by MICHAEL HARE. (Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, number 10.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. 596. \$160.00.

HOWLETT, D. R., and R. K. ASHDOWNE, editors. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: Fascicule XV Sal-Sol*. Assisted by K. KORN et al. New York: Oxford University Press, for The British Academy. 2012. Pp. 200. \$55.00.

KELLY, S. E., editor. *Charters of Glastonbury Abbey*. (Anglo-Saxon Charters, number 15.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xxxiv, 624. \$150.00.

KLANICZAY, GÁBOR, editor. *Vitae Sanctorum Aetatis Conversionis Europae Centralis (Saec. X–XI)/Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth–Eleventh Centuries)*. Translated by CRISTIAN GASPARGAR and MARINA MILADINOV.

Foreword by IAN WOOD. (Central European Medieval Texts, number 6.) Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 405. \$55.00.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

CIFRES, ALEJANDRO, editor and translator. *La Validez de las Ordenaciones Anglicanas: Los Documentos de las Comisión Preparatoria de la Bula "Apostolicæ Curæ"; Tomo II Los documentos de 1896.* (Fontes Archivi Sancti Officii Romani; Series Documentorum Archivi, Congregationis pro Doctrina Fidei, number 2.) Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2012. Pp. xii, 486. €60.00.

DILICH, WILHELM. *Synopsis descriptionis totius Hassiae: Gesamtbeschreibung von ganz Hessen.* Edited by MONIKA RENER and KLAUS LANGE. Foreword by HOLGER TH. GRÄF. (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, number 78.) Marburg, Germany: Historische Kommission für Hessen. 2012. Pp. xlii, 189. €44.00.

ESPINOSA-MAESTRE, FRANCISCO. *Shoot the Messenger? Spanish Democracy and the Crimes of Francoism: From the Pact of Silence to the Trial of Baltasar Garzón.* Translated by RICHARD BARKER. (The Cañada Blanch/Sussex Academic Studies on Contemporary Spain.) Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press. 2013. Pp. xxv, 185. \$34.95.

KANT, IMMANUEL. *Lectures on Anthropology.* Edited by ALLEN W. WOOD and ROBERT B. LOUDEN. Translated by ROBERT R. CLEWIS et al. (The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 627. \$150.00.

KLID, BOHDAN, and ALEXANDER J. MOTYL, editors. *The Holodomor Reader: A Sourcebook on the Famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine.* Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. 2012. Pp. xlv, 386. \$34.95.

KULKA, OTTO DOV. *Landscapes of the Metropolis of Death: Reflections on Memory and Imagination.* Translated by RALPH MANDEL. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 127. \$23.95.

LAWSON, JANE A., editor. *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges 1559–1603.* (Records of Social and Economic History New Series, number 51.) New York: Oxford University Press, for The British Academy. 2013. Pp. xii, 739. \$275.00.

LYANDRES, SEMION, editor and translator. *The Fall of Tsarism: Untold Stories of the February 1917 Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xix, 322. \$65.00.

PROKOFIEV, SERGEY. *Diaries: 1924–1933; Prodigal Son.* Translated and edited by ANTHONY PHILLIPS. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. xxii, 1125. \$60.00.

Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

METHODS/THEORY

- CAMPKIN, BEN, and ROSIE COX, editors. *Dirt: New Geographies of Cleanliness and Contamination*. Paperback edition. New York: I. B. Tauris, distributed by Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. ix, 262. \$45.00.
- GAT, AZAR. *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Assisted by ALEXANDER YAKOBSON. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. vi, 441. \$27.99.
- LUKACS, JOHN. *History and the Human Condition: A Historian's Pursuit of Knowledge*. Wilmington, Del.: ISI Books. 2013. Pp. xi, 233. \$27.95.
- MYLONAS, HARRIS. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. (Problems of International Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xxiii, 255. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$29.99, e-book \$24.00.
- RENDERS, HANS, and BINNE DE HAAN, editors. *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing*. Foreword by NIGEL HAMILTON. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen. 2013. Pp. xi, 433. \$169.95.
- TROCHA, BOGDAN, ALEKSANDER RZYMAN, and TOMASZ RATAJCZAK, editors. *In the Mirror of the Past: Of Fantasy and History*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2013. Pp. 104. \$59.99.
- DAY, DAVID. *Conquest: How Societies Overwhelm Others*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 288. \$18.95.
- FAY, ELIZABETH A., and LEONARD VON MORZÉ, editors. *Urban Identity and the Atlantic World*. (The New Urban Atlantic.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. xiii, 272. \$85.00.
- FORST, RAINER. *Toleration in Conflict: Past and Present*. Translated by CIARAN CRONIN. (Ideas in Context.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 635. \$110.00.
- FUMURESCU, ALIN. *Compromise: A Political and Philosophical History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 298. Cloth \$90.00, e-book \$72.00.
- FURTADO, PETER, editor. *Histories of Nations: How Their Identities Were Forged*. New York: Thames and Hudson. 2012. Pp. 320. \$60.00.
- GIBSON, EDWARD L. *Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Federal Democracies*. (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 192. \$29.99.
- GOODY, JACK. *Metals, Culture and Capitalism: An Essay on the Origins of the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xix, 349. \$29.99.
- HEGARDT, JOHAN, editor. *The Museum beyond the Nation*. (The National Historical Museum, Stockholm. Studies, number 21.) Stockholm: The National Historical Museum/Historiska museet. 2012. Pp. 192.
- JOHNSON, CHRISTOPHER H., et al., editors. *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2013. Pp. x, 357. \$95.00.
- JOPPKE, CHRISTIAN, and JOHN TORPEY. *Legal Integration of Islam: A Transatlantic Comparison*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 211. \$39.95.
- MCGRATH, JOHN, et al., editors. *The Modernization of the Western World: A Society Transformed*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2013. Pp. xi, 266. \$29.95.
- MCMEEKIN, SEAN. *July 1914: Countdown to War*. New York: Basic Books. 2013. Pp. xviii, 461. \$29.99.
- MILLER, MARTIN A. *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism: State, Society and the Dynamics of Political Violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 293. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$28.99, e-book \$23.00.
- MULHOLLAND, MARC. *Bourgeois Liberty and the Politics of Fear: From Absolutism to Neo-Conservatism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 400. \$65.00.
- ROBBINS, KEITH. *Transforming the World: Global Political History since World War II*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. xxx, 361. Cloth \$99.00, paper \$29.00.
- SMIL, VACLAV. *Prime Movers of Globalization: The History and Impact of Diesel Engines and Gas Turbines*. Paperback edition. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 2013. Pp. 261. \$15.95.
- STEERS, EDWARD, JR. *Hoax: Hitler's Diaries, Lincoln's Assassins, and Other Famous Frauds*. Foreword by JOE NICKELL. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2013. Pp. xii, 235. \$24.95.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- ALLEN, LARRY. *The Global Economic Crisis: A Chronology*. London: Reaktion Books. 2013. Pp. 272. \$27.00.
- BARTKOWSKI, MACIEJ J., editor. *Recovering Nonviolent History: Civil Resistance in Liberation Struggles*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner. 2013. Pp. xii, 436. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$26.50.
- BOZKURT, GIRAY SAYNUR, editor. *Blue Black Sea: New Dimensions of History, Security, Strategy, Energy and Economy*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2013. Pp. ix, 528. \$89.99.
- CHRISTIE, NANCY, and MICHAEL GAUVREAU, editors. *The Sixties and Beyond: Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe, 1945–2000*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2013. Pp. x, 482. \$80.00.
- CLARK, PETER, editor. *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*. (Oxford Handbooks in History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xxix, 882. \$175.00.
- COOPER, ALANNA E. *Bukharan Jews and the Dynamics of Global Judaism*. (Indiana Series in Sephardi and Mizrahi Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2012. Pp. xxiv, 305. \$30.00.

ASIA

- BICKERS, ROBERT, and CHRISTIAN HENRIOT, editors. *New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842–1953*. (Studies in Imperialism.) Paperback edition. New York: Manchester University Press, distributed by Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xiv, 290. \$34.95.
- HOLLOWAY, KENNETH W. *The Quest for Ecstatic Morality in Early China*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 161. \$27.95.
- JAHANBEGLOO, RAMIN. *The Gandhian Moment*. Foreword by the DALAI LAMA. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 196. \$24.95.
- LUTHER, NARENDRA. *Hyderabad: A Biography*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 433. \$24.95.
- MAIR, VICTOR H., SANPING CHEN, and FRANCES WOOD. *Chinese Lives: The People Who Made a Civilization*. New York: Thames and Hudson. 2013. Pp. 232. \$29.95.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

- ABATE, MICHELLE ANN. *Bloody Murder: The Homicide Tradition in Children's Literature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 266. \$55.00.
- ADLER, E. SCOTT, and JOHN D. WILKERSON. *Congress and the Politics of Problem Solving*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 246. \$29.99.
- ANDREAS, PETER. *Smuggler Nation: How Illicit Trade Made America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 454. \$29.95.
- ARMSTRONG, CHRISTOPHER, and H. V. NELLES. *Wilderness and Waterpower: How Banff National Park Became a Hydroelectric Storage Reservoir*. (Energy, Ecology, and the Environment Series, number 5.) Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press. 2013. Pp. xviii, 267. \$41.95.
- ARNAUDO, MARCO. *The Myth of the Superhero*. Translated by JAMIE RICHARDS. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. Pp. 206. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$24.95.
- AUGUST, TOM. *From Assimilation to Multiculturalism: Managing Ethnic Diversity in Milwaukee*. (Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities in the United States and Canada, number 83.) New York: AMS Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 231. \$125.00.
- AXELROD, ALAN. *The Real History of the Vietnam War: A New Look at the Past*. New York: Sterling. 2013. Pp. xi, 371. \$24.95.
- BOUTIN, J. D. KENNETH. *American Technology Policy: Evolving Strategic Interests after the Cold War*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2013. Pp. x, 213. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$29.95.
- BROWN, MEREDITH MASON. *Touching America's History: From the Pequot War through World War II*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 271. \$30.00.
- BROWN, ROBERT CRAIG. *Arts and Science at Toronto: A History, 1827–1990*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2013. Pp. x, 339. \$60.00.
- CARSON, CARY, and CARL R. LOUNSBURY, editors. *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, in association with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. 2013. Pp. xi, 471. \$60.00.
- CHALMERS, DAVID. *And the Crooked Places Made Straight: The Struggle for Social Change in the 1960s*. (The American Moment.) 2d ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. Pp. xviii, 208. \$27.00.
- CLARK, AMY D., and NANCY M. HAYWARD, editors. *Talking Appalachian: Voice, Identity, and Community*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2013. Pp. x, 264. \$50.00.
- COOK, ROBERT J., WILLIAM L. BARNEY, and ELIZABETH R. VARON. *Secession Winter: When the Union Fell Apart*. (The

- Marcus Cunliffe Lecture Series.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 119. \$19.95.
- DA COSTA NUNEZ, RALPH, and ETHAN G. SRIBNICK. *The Poor among Us: A History of Family Poverty and Homelessness in New York City*. Foreword by LEONARD N. STERN. New York: White Tiger Press. 2013. Pp. iv, 319. \$15.95.
- DAVIS, DONALD E., and EUGENE P. TRANI. *The Reporter Who Knew Too Much: Harrison Salisbury and the New York Times*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2012. Pp. vii, 283. \$45.00.
- DERBYSHIRE, WYN. *Dark Realities: America's Great Depression*. London: Spiranus Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 247. \$16.50.
- DOHERTY, THOMAS. *The Best Specimen of a Tyrant: The Ambitious Dr. Abraham Van Norstrand and the Wisconsin Insane Hospital*. Reprint. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 331. \$20.00.
- DUNMIRE, WILLIAM W. *New Mexico's Spanish Livestock Heritage: Four Centuries of Animals, Land, and People*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 233. \$34.95.
- DUNN, MARVIN. *The Beast in Florida: A History of Anti-Black Violence*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2013. Pp. xi, 243. \$24.95.
- FALK, GERHARD. *Twelve Inventions Which Changed America: The Influence of Technology on American Culture*. Lanham, Md.: Hamilton Books. 2013. Pp. x, 240. \$32.99.
- FULLER, A. JAMES, editor. *The Election of 1860 Reconsidered*. (Civil War in the North.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 271. \$49.95.
- GERHARDT, MICHAEL J. *The Forgotten Presidents: Their Untold Constitutional Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xxi, 313. \$34.95.
- GOEMAN, MISHUANA. *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*. (First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2013. Pp. 245. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.
- GONZALEZ, GILBERT G. *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation*. (Al Filo: Mexican American Studies Series, number 7.) Rev. ed. Denton: University of North Texas Press. 2013. Pp. xxxvii, 291. \$18.95.
- GOODHEART, EUGENE. *Holding the Center: In Defense of Political Trimming*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers. 2013. Pp. xix, 202. \$44.95.
- GRAGG, LARRY. *Bright Light City: Las Vegas in Popular Culture*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2013. Pp. xii, 324. \$34.95.
- HANHIMÄKI, JUSSI M. *The Rise and Fall of Détente: American Foreign Policy and the Transformation of the Cold War*. (Issues in the History of American Foreign Relations.) Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2013. Pp. xix, 275. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.
- HEITZLER, MICHAEL J. *The Goose Creek Bridge: Gateway to Sacred Places*. Bloomington, Ind.: AuthorHouse. 2012. Pp. vii, 323. Cloth \$24.99, paper \$17.99.
- HIGHAM, ROBIN, and MARK PARILLO, editors. *The Influence of Airpower upon History: Statesmanship, Diplomacy, and Foreign Policy since 1903*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2013. Pp. ix, 317. \$40.00.
- HILL, THOMAS W. *Native American Drinking: Life Styles, Alcohol Use, Drunken Comportment, and the Peyote Religion*. Las Vegas: New University Press. 2012. Pp. xvii, 347. \$26.95.
- HOLLINGER, DAVID A. *After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Protestant Liberalism in Modern American History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 228. \$29.95.
- HOLZER, HAROLD, and SARA VAUGHN GABBARD, editors. *1863: Lincoln's Pivotal Year*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 198. \$32.95.
- HOWELL, WILLIAM G. *Thinking about the Presidency: The Primacy of Power*. With DAVID MILTON BRENT. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 185. \$22.95.

- HYLAND, WILLIAM G., JR. *Long Journey with Mr. Jefferson: The Life of Dumas Malone*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2013. Pp. xxii, 297. \$34.95.
- JOHNSON, ABBY ARTHUR, and RONALD MABERRY JOHNSON. *In the Shadow of the United States Capitol: Congressional Cemetery and the Memory of the Nation*. Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing. 2012. Pp. xiv, 418. Cloth \$38.00, paper \$28.00.
- JONES, FRANK LEITH. *Blowtorch: Robert Komer, Vietnam, and American Cold War Strategy*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 401. \$52.95.
- KASPER, ERIC T. *Impartial Justice: The Real Supreme Court Cases that Define the Constitutional Right to a Neutral and Detached Decisionmaker*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2013. Pp. xv, 217. \$65.00.
- KAUFMAN, DIANE, and SCOTT KAUFMAN. *Historical Dictionary of the Carter Era*. (Historical Dictionaries of U.S. Politics and Political Eras.) Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press. 2013. Pp. xix, 301. \$95.00.
- KENNEDY, ROSS A., editor. *A Companion to Woodrow Wilson*. (Wiley-Blackwell Companions to American History.) Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell. 2013. Pp. xii, 668. \$195.00.
- KLEIN, RANDALL S. *Wyatt Earp in Person: The Authentic Possessions of Josephine Marcus and Wyatt Earp—From the Josephine Marcus Earp Estate upon Her Death in 1944*. Tombstone, Ariz.: FourPaws Publishing. 2012. Pp. 74. \$39.95.
- KOENEMAN, KEITH. *First Son: The Biography of Richard M. Daley*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. xx, 367. \$30.00.
- LEAVITT, GREGORY C. *Class Conflict: The Pursuit and History of American Justice*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers. 2013. Pp. xiii, 249. \$49.95.
- LYTTON, TIMOTHY D. *Kosher: Private Regulation in the Age of Industrial Food*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 232. \$39.95.
- MAGID, SHAUL. *American Post-Judaism: Identity and Renewal in a Postethnic Society*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 388. \$40.00.
- MAY, GARY. *Bending toward Justice: The Voting Rights Act and the Transformation of American Democracy*. New York: Basic Books. 2013. Pp. xxi, 314. \$28.99.
- MCCASLIN, RICHARD B., DONALD E. CHIPMAN, and ANDREW J. TORGET, editors. *This Corner of Canaan: Essays on Texas in Honor of Randolph B. Campbell*. Denton: University of North Texas Press. 2013. Pp. xvii, 423. \$24.95.
- MELLEN, JOAN. *The Great Game in Cuba: How the CIA Sabotaged Its Own Plot to Unseat Fidel Castro*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing. 2013. Pp. lii, 332. \$24.95.
- MEYERS, ARTHUR S. *Democracy in the Making: The Open Forum Lecture Movement*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2012. Pp. ix, 180. \$60.00.
- MIECZKOWSKI, YANEK. *Eisenhower's Sputnik Moment: The Race for Space and World Prestige*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 358. \$35.00.
- MOLTKE-HANSEN, DAVID, editor. *William Gilmore Simms's Unfinished Civil War: Consequences for a Southern Man of Letters*. Foreword by DAVID S. SHIELDS. (William Gilmore Simms Initiatives, Texts and Studies.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2013. Pp. xix, 268. \$29.95.
- MULLINS, WILLIAM H. *Becoming Big League: Seattle, the Pilots, and Stadium Politics*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 348. \$26.95.
- NESTER, WILLIAM. *The Jeffersonian Vision, 1801–1815: The Art of American Power during the Early Republic*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2013. Pp. xv, 277. \$30.00.
- NEWSOME, HAMPTON. *Richmond Must Fall: The Richmond-Petersburg Campaign, October 1864*. (Civil War Soldiers and Strategies.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 447. \$65.00.
- ORENTLICHER, DAVID. *Two Presidents Are Better than One: The Case for a Bipartisan Executive Branch*. New York: New York University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 292. \$29.95.
- PENNINGTON, ESTILL CURTIS. *Romantic Spirits: Nineteenth Century Paintings of the South for the Johnson Collection*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, distributed for the Johnson Collection and Cane Ridge Publishing House. 2012. Pp. 167. \$34.95.
- PHAN, HOANG GIA. *Bonds of Citizenship: Law and the Labors of Emancipation*. (America and the Long 19th Century.) New York: New York University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 256. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.00.
- PIATOTE, BETH H. *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship, and Law in Native American Literature*. (The Henry Roe Cloud Series on American Indians and Modernity.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 234. \$45.00.
- PICKENPAUGH, ROGER. *Captives in Blue: The Civil War Prisons of the Confederacy*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2013. Pp. x, 303. \$39.95.
- RAGOSTA, JOHN. *Religious Freedom: Jefferson's Legacy, America's Creed*. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 293. \$39.50.
- REID-MARONEY, NINA. *The Reverend Jennie Johnson and African Canadian History, 1868–1967*. (Gender and Race in American History, number 5.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2013. Pp. x, 186. \$90.00.
- REIFOWITZ, IAN. *Obama's America: A Transformative Vision of Our National Identity*. Foreword by ELLIS COSE. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2012. Pp. xviii, 251. \$29.95.
- REIGSTAD, THOMAS J. *Scribblin' for a Livin': Mark Twain's Pivotal Period in Buffalo*. Foreword by NEIL SCHMITZ. Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus. 2013. Pp. 332. \$19.00.
- RICHTER, WILLIAM L. *Historical Dictionary of the Old South*. (Historical Dictionaries of U.S. Politics and Political Eras.) 2d ed. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press. 2013. Pp. xxvii, 563. \$130.00.
- RIEDER, JONATHAN. *Gospel of Freedom: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Letter from Birmingham Jail and the Struggle that Changed a Nation*. New York: Bloomsbury Press. 2013. Pp. xviii, 218. \$25.00.
- ROINILA, MIKA. *Finland-Swedes in Michigan*. (Discovering the Peoples of Michigan.) East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2012. Pp. 105. \$12.95.
- SACQUETY, TROY J. *The OSS in Burma: Jungle War against the Japanese*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2013. Pp. xiv, 320. \$34.95.
- SCHRIFT, MELISSA. *Becoming Melungeon: Making an Ethnic Identity in the Appalachian South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2013. Pp. x, 222. \$35.00.
- SHALEV, ERAN. *American Zion: The Old Testament as a Political Text from the Revolution to the Civil War*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 239. \$40.00.
- SHLAPENTOKH, VLADIMIR, and ERIC BEASLEY. *Restricting Freedoms: Limitations on the Individual in Contemporary America*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers. 2013. Pp. xix, 218. \$39.95.
- SHULTZ, RICHARD H., JR. *The Marines Take Anbar: The Four-Year Fight against Al Qaeda*. Foreword by DONALD R. GARDNER. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 293. \$39.95.
- SOBEL, BRIAN M. *The Fighting Pattons*. Foreword by GEORGE S. PATTON. New foreword by JOANNE HOLBROOK PATTON. Rev. ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2013. Pp. xxvii, 248. \$25.00.
- SPIELVOGEL, J. CHRISTIAN. *Interpreting Sacred Ground: The Rhetoric of National Civil War Parks and Battlefields*. (Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2013. Pp. x, 190. \$34.95.
- STRANG, DEAN A. *Worse than the Devil: Anarchists, Clarence Darrow, and Justice in a Time of Terror*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2013. Pp. xviii, 268. \$26.95.

- STREEBY, SHELLEY. *Radical Sensations: World Movements, Violence, and Visual Culture*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 328. Cloth \$94.95, paper \$25.95.
- STUART, NANCY RUBIN. *Defiant Brides: The Untold Story of Two Revolutionary-Era Women and the Radical Men They Married*. Boston: Beacon Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 248. \$26.95.
- THOMPSON, J. LEE. *Theodore Roosevelt Abroad: Nature, Empire, and the Journey of an American President*. Paperback edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. xv, 218. \$24.00.
- TURCHI, KENNETH L. *L.S. Ayres and Company: The Store at the Crossroads of America*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press. 2012. Pp. 283. \$29.95.
- UNRAU, WILLIAM E. *Indians, Alcohol, and the Roads to Taos and Santa Fe*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2013. Pp. x, 193. \$29.95.
- VALELLY, RICHARD M. *American Politics: A Very Short Introduction*. (Very Short Introductions.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 136. \$11.95.
- VAN DEN BROEKE, LEON, HANS KRABBENDAM, and DIRK MOUW, editors. *Transatlantic Pieties: Dutch Clergy in Colonial America*. (The Historical Series of the Reformed Church in America, number 76.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2012. Pp. xviii, 342. \$35.00.
- VEACH, MICHAEL R. *Kentucky Bourbon Whiskey: An American Heritage*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2013. Pp. xi, 141. \$24.95.
- WHISENHUNT, DONALD W. *Utopian Movements and Ideas of the Great Depression: Dreamers, Believers, and Madmen*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2013. Pp. vii, 185. \$60.00.
- WINKLER, JOHN F. *Fallen Timbers, 1794: The US Army's First Victory*. Illustrated by PETER DENNIS. (Campaign, number 256.) Oxford: Osprey. 2013. Pp. 96. \$21.95.
- WOHL, ALEXANDER. *Father, Son, and Constitution: How Justice Tom Clark and Attorney General Ramsey Clark Shaped American Democracy*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2013. Pp. x, 486. \$39.95.
- WOODS, RANDALL B. *Shadow Warrior: William Egan Colby and the CIA*. New York: Basic Books. 2013. Pp. vii, 546. \$29.99.
- WRIGHT, W. D. *The American Three-Party System: Hidden in Plain Sight*. Bloomington, Ind.: AuthorHouse. 2012. Pp. vii, 356. Cloth \$31.99, paper \$23.95.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

- ARANA, MARIE. *Bolívar: American Liberator*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2013. Pp. 603. \$35.00.
- BECKLES, HILARY MCD. *Britain's Black Debt: Reparations for Caribbean Slavery and Native Genocide*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 292. \$30.00.
- DÁVILA, JERRY. *Dictatorship in South America*. (Viewpoints/Puntos de Vista.) Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell. 2013. Pp. xvi, 207. \$24.95.
- RUBIN, JEFFREY W., and EMMA SOKOLOFF-RUBIN. *Sustaining Activism: A Brazilian Women's Movement and a Father-Daughter Collaboration*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 184. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

- ABBOTT, FANNY. *Des comptes d'apothicaires: Les épices dans la comptabilité de la Maison de Savoie (XIV^e et XV^e s.)*. (Cahiers lausannois d'histoire médiévale, number 51.) Lausanne: Université de Lausanne. 2012. Pp. 210. €28.00.
- AKBARI, SUZANNE CONKLIN, and JILL ROSS, editors. *The Ends of the Body: Identity and Community in Medieval Culture*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2013. Pp. vi, 327. \$70.00.
- ALDRETE, GREGORY S., SCOTT BARTELL, and ALICIA ALDRETE.

- Reconstructing Ancient Linen Body Armor: Unraveling the Linothorax Mystery*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 279. Cloth \$29.95, e-book \$29.95.
- GITTOS, HELEN. *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*. (Medieval History and Archaeology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xix, 350. \$125.00.
- GOLDSTONE, NANCY. *The Maid and the Queen: The Secret History of Joan of Arc*. New York: Penguin. 2012. Pp. xviii, 296. \$16.00.
- HURLOCK, KATHRYN. *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades, c.1000–1300*. (British History in Perspective.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. xxi, 221. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$32.00.
- KAEUPER, RICHARD W., editor *Law, Governance, and Justice: New Views on Medieval Constitutionalism*. Assisted by PAUL DINGMAN and PETER SPOSATO. (Medieval Law and Its Practice, number 14.) Boston: Brill. 2013. Pp. viii, 347. \$189.00.
- KERSHAW, JANE F. *Viking Identities: Scandinavian Jewellery in England*. (Medieval History and Archaeology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 308. \$125.00.
- MATTER, E. ANN, and LESLEY SMITH, editors. *From Knowledge to Beatitude: St. Victor, Twelfth-Century Scholars, and Beyond; Essays in Honor of Grover A. Zinn, Jr.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2013. Pp. xxiii, 471. \$75.00.
- SATLOW, MICHAEL L., editor *The Gift in Antiquity*. (The Ancient World: Comparative Histories.) Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell. 2013. Pp. xi, 255. \$109.95.
- SCHIAVONE, ALDO. *Spartacus*. Translated by JEREMY CARDEN. (Revealing Antiquity, number 19.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 177. \$19.95.
- TAYLOR, LILY ROSS. *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic: The Thirty-Five Urban and Rural Tribes*. Assisted by JERZY LINDERSKI. (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, number 34.) Rev. ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2013. Pp. xviii, 403. \$70.00.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

- AUGUSTEIJN, JOOST, and ERIC STORM, editors. *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building, Regional Identities and Separatism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. x, 293. \$90.00.
- BALL, PHILIP. *Curiosity: How Science Became Interested in Everything*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 465. \$35.00.
- BEREND, NORA, editor. *The Expansion of Central Europe in the Middle Ages*. (Variorum: The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500, number 5.) Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum. 2012. Pp. xxxvi, 507. \$250.00.
- BISHOP, PATRICK. *The Hunt For Hitler's Warship*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery History. 2013. Pp. xxii, 426. \$27.95.
- BLACK, JEREMY. *War in the Eighteenth-Century World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. xii, 264. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$29.00.
- BONOLDI, ANDREA, ANDREA LEONARDI, and KATIA OCCHI, editors. *Interessi e regole: Operatori e istituzioni nel commercio transalpino in età moderna (secoli XVI–XIX)*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento; Quaderni, number 87.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2012. Pp. 334. €25.00.
- BRAKE, LAUREL, et al. *W. T. Stead: Newspaper Revolutionary*. London: The British Library. 2012. Pp. xvii, 232. \$45.00.
- BRAUMOELLER, BEAR F. *The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective*. (Cambridge Studies in International Relations, number 123.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 276. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$29.99.
- CAMPBELL, GWYN. *David Griffiths and the Missionary "History of Madagascar"*. (Studies in Christian Mission, number 41.) Boston: Brill. 2012. Pp. xxi, 1177. \$318.00.

- CATTARUZZA, MARINA, STEFAN DYROFF, and DIETER LANGEWIESCHE, editors. *Territorial Revisionism and the Allies of Germany in the Second World War: Goals, Expectations, Practices*. (Austrian and Habsburg Studies.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2013. Pp. x, 210. \$75.00.
- CHANET, JEAN-FRANÇOIS, ANNIE CRÉPIN, and CHRISTIAN WINDLER, editors. *Le Temps des hommes doubles: Les arrangements face à l'occupation, de la Révolution française à la guerre de 1870*. (Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2013. Pp. 351. €18.00.
- COPPA, FRANK J. *The Life and Pontificate of Pope Pius XII: Between History and Controversy*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2013. Pp. xxix, 306. \$29.95.
- COSTLOW, JANE T. *Heart-Pine Russia: Walking and Writing the Nineteenth-Century Forest*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 270. \$36.50.
- ETKIND, ALEXANDER. *Warped Mourning: Stories of the Undead in the Land of the Unburied*. (Cultural Memory in the Present.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 300. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$25.95, e-book \$25.95.
- FARR, RAY. *The Distin Legacy: The Rise of the Brass Band in 19th-Century Britain*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2013. Pp. x, 463. \$82.99.
- FAUGHT, C. BRAD. *Clive: Founder of British India*. (Military Profiles.) Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2013. Pp. xvi, 115. \$24.95.
- FORCLAZ, BERTRAND, editor. *L'expérience de la différence religieuse dans l'Europe moderne (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*. Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Éditions Alphil. 2013. Pp. 410. SwF49.00.
- FULTON, RICHARD D., and PETER H. HOFFENBERG, editors. *Oceania and the Victorian Imagination: Where All Things Are Possible*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2013. Pp. x, 209. \$99.95.
- GALLAGHER, CHARLES R., DAVID I. KERTZER, and ALBERTO MELLONI, editors. *Pius XI and America: Proceedings of the Brown University Conference (Providence, October 2010)*. (Christianity and History: Series of the John XXIII Foundation for Religious Studies in Bologna, number 11.) Munster: Lit Verlag. 2012. Pp. 448. €39.90.
- HAUGELAND, JOHN. *Dasein Disclosed: John Haugeland's Heidegger*. Edited by JOSEPH ROUSE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. xl, 291. \$49.95.
- HERBST, KLAUS-DIETER, and HELMUT G. WALTHER, editors. *Idea matheseos universae: Ordnungssysteme und Welterklärung an den deutschen Universitäten in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. (Quellen und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität Jena, number 9.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2012. Pp. 138. €29.00.
- HERZOG, DON. *Household Politics: Conflict in Early Modern England*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 209. \$38.00.
- HIRST, DEREK, and STEVEN N. ZWICKER. *Andrew Marvell, Orphan of the Hurricane*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 197. \$99.00.
- ISRAEL, JONATHAN. *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights 1750-1790*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 1066. \$29.95.
- ISRAELI, RAPHAEL. *The Death Camps of Croatia: Visions and Revisions, 1941-1945*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers. 2013. Pp. xxiv, 201. \$44.95.
- KAEUBLE, HARTMUT. *A Social History of Europe, 1945-2000: Recovery and Transformation after Two World Wars*. Translated by LIESEL TARQUINI. New York: Berghahn Books. 2013. Pp. ix, 327. \$29.95.
- LAMONT, PETER. *Extraordinary Beliefs: A Historical Approach to a Psychological Problem*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 321. \$29.99.
- LAMPE, WINFRIED. *Der Bankbetrieb in Krieg und Inflation: Deutsche Großbanken in den Jahren 1914 bis 1923*. (Geschichte; Schriftenreihe des Instituts für bankhistorische Forschung e.V., number 24.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2012. Pp. 440. €52.00.
- LAZARSKI, CHRISTOPHER. *Power Tends to Corrupt: Lord Acton's Study of Liberty*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 324. \$45.00.
- LINDEMANN, ALBERT S. *A History of Modern Europe: From 1815 to the Present*. (Concise History of the Modern World.) Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell. 2013. Pp. xxiii, 437. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$44.95.
- LLANO, SAMUEL. *Whose Spain? Negotiating "Spanish Music" in Paris, 1908-1929*. (Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 270. \$55.00.
- LOCK, F. P. *The Rhetoric of Numbers in Gibbon's History*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2012. Pp. x, 213. \$75.00.
- LONGERICH, PETER. *Heinrich Himmler*. Translated by JEREMY NOAKES and LESLEY SHARPE. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 1031. \$24.95.
- MAJOR, RAFAEL, editor. *Leo Strauss's Defense of the Philosophic Life: Reading "What is Political Philosophy?"* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. 222. \$27.50.
- MAURER, TRUDE. *Diskriminierte Bürger und emanzipierte "Fremdstämmige": Juden an deutschen und russischen Universitäten*. (Vorlesungen des Centrums für Jüdische Studien, number 5.) Graz: Leykam. 2013. Pp. 119. €12.90.
- MAZOHL, BRIGITTE, and PAOLO POMBENI, editors. *Minoranze negli imperi: Popoli fra identità nazionale e ideologia imperiale*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento; Quaderni, number 88.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2012. Pp. 470. €34.00.
- MCDANIEL, IAIN. *Adam Ferguson in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Roman Past and Europe's Future*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 276. \$45.00.
- MINOIS, GEORGES. *Histoire de la solitude et des solitaires*. Paris: Fayard. 2013. Pp. 575. €26.00.
- OLSON, LAURA J., and SVETLANA ADONYEVA. *The Worlds of Russian Village Women: Tradition, Transgression, Compromise*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 368. \$39.95.
- PERRONI, MARINELLA, ALBERTO MELLONI, and SERENA NOCETI, editors. *"Tantum aurora est": Donne e Concilio Vaticano II*. (Christianity and History: Series of the John XXIII Foundation for Religious Studies in Bologna, number 12.) Munster: Lit Verlag. 2012. Pp. 389. €34.90.
- PESCHIO, JOE. *The Poetics of Impudence and Intimacy in the Age of Pushkin*. (Publications of the Wisconsin Center for Pushkin Studies.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 160. \$29.95.
- POMBENI, PAOLO. *Giuseppe Dossetti: L'avventura politica di un riformatore cristiano*. (Saggi, number 782.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2013. Pp. 202. €18.00.
- THOMPSON, MARK. *Birth Certificate: The Story of Danilo Kiš*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 355. \$40.00.
- TONER, JERRY. *Homer's Turk: How Classics Shaped Ideas of the East*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 306. \$29.95.
- VON FREYTAG-LORINGHOVEN, KONSTANTIN. *Erziehung im Kollegienhaus: Reformbestrebungen an den deutschen Universitäten der amerikanischen Besatzungszone 1945-1960*. (Wissenschaftsgeschichte; Pallas Athene: Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, number 45.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2012. Pp. 608. €82.00.
- WALKER, ALISON, ARTHUR MACGREGOR, and MICHAEL HUNTER, editors. *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections*. London: British Library. 2012. Pp. x, 310. \$60.00.
- WILLIAMS, JANET HADLEY, and J. DERRICK MCCLURE, editors.

Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2013. Pp. xxii, 506. \$89.99.

ZDENĚK, JINDRA. *Der Bahnbrecher des Stahl- und Eisenbahnzeitalters: Die Firma Fried. Krupp/Essen von der Gründung der Gussstahlfabrik bis zur Entwicklung zum "Nationalwerk" und weltbekannten Kanonenlieferanten (1811 bis Anfang der 90er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts).* Translated by SILKE KLEIN. (Beiträge zur Unternehmensgeschichte, number 31.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2013. Pp. 643. €80.00.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

ABU-MUNSHAR, MAHER Y. *Islamic Jerusalem and Its Christians: A History of Tolerance and Tensions.* Paperback edition. New York: I. B. Tauris. 2013. Pp. x, 249. \$45.00.

ATWAN, ABDEL BARI. *After bin Laden: Al Qaeda, the Next Generation.* New York: The New Press. 2012. Pp. 303. \$27.95.

BROWN, PAT. *The Murder of Cleopatra: History's Greatest Cold Case.* Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus. 2013. Pp. 263. \$20.00.

GEMIE, SHARIF. *Women's Writing and Muslim Societies: The Search for Dialogue, 1920-Present.* Cardiff: University of

Wales Press, distributed by the University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 181. \$40.00.

HIRSCHLER, KONRAD. *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices.* Paperback edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2013. Pp. vi, 234. \$40.00.

SAYGIN, HASAN, and MURAT ÇIMEN. *Turkish Economic Policies and External Dependency.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2013. Pp. x, 136. \$59.99.

TRIPP, CHARLES. *The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xxiii, 385. \$27.99.

VERMES, GEZA. *Christian Beginnings: From Nazareth to Nicaea.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 271. \$30.00.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

YOUNG, CRAWFORD, and THOMAS TURNER. *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State.* Paperback edition. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2013. Pp. xix, 500. Paper \$39.95, e-book \$24.95.

Communications

A letter to the editor will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editors' discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters should not exceed 1,000 words. They can be submitted by e-mail to ahr@indiana.edu, or by the postal service to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. For detailed information on the policies for this section, see <http://www.americanhistoricalreview.org>.

ERRATUM

In the April 2013 issue, Maurice Jackson's review of Rebecca J. Scott and Jean M. Hébrard's *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* was accidentally placed in the "Comparative/World" section. It should have been placed in the "Featured Reviews" section. The editors regret the error.

NO LETTERS WERE RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION IN THIS ISSUE.

Index to *American Historical Review*, June 2013

The titles of articles in the *AHR* are enclosed in quotation marks, and titles of books reviewed are printed in italics. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the Communications section by (C).

- Acolytes of Nature*, by Phillips, 949
Acree, William Garrett, Jr., *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780–1910*, 909
Advertising in the Age of Persuasion, by Spring, 876
Agnew, Hugh L. (R), 829
Aldrete, Gregory S. (R), 913
All This Is Your World, by Gorsuch, 967
Allen, Michael J. (R), 890
Allen, Richard B. (R), 825
Allina, Eric, *Slavery by Any Other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique*, 977
The Allotment Plot, by Tonkovich, 866
American Heathens, by Paddison, 860
Anderson, Clare, *Subaltern Lives: Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790–1920*, 817
Anderson, Mark Cronlund, and Carmen L. Robertson, *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*, 835
Arc of Empire, by Hunt and Levine, 888
Army, Empire, and Cold War, by French, 936
Artisan Entrepreneurs in Cairo and Early-Modern Capitalism (1600–1800), by Hanna, 969
Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400–1600, by Long, 920
Aschheim, Steven E. (R), 924
Ash, Eric H. (R), 920
Ashby, Charlotte, Tag Gronberg, and Simon Shaw-Miller, editors, *The Viennese Café and Fin-de-siècle Culture* (E), 981
Assael, Brenda (R), 933
Assunção, Matthias Röhrig (R), 908
Astor, Aaron, *Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation, and the Reconstruction of Kentucky and Missouri*, 858
Aurell, Jaume, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia*, 916
Authoring the Past, by Aurell, 916
Bailey, Joanne, *Parenting in England, 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity, and Generation*, 928
Bakers and Basques, by Weis, 906
Ball, Simon (R), 936
Bank, Michaela, *Women of Two Countries: German-American Women, Women's Rights, and Nativism, 1848–1890*, 866
Bashford, Alison (R), 898
Bates, Beth Tompkins, *The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford*, 872
The Battle of Adwa, by Jonas, 974
Beck, David R. M. (R), 866
Beckwith, Christopher I., *Warriors of the Cloisters: The Central Asian Origins of Science in the Medieval World*, 919
Beeby, James M., editor, *Populism in the South Revisited: New Interpretations and New Departures*, 868
Bell, Richard, *We Shall Be No More: Suicide and Self-Government in the Newly United States*, 846
Bellenoit, Hayden J. (R), 834
Benadusi, Giovanna (R), 956
Bergholz, Max, "Sudden Nationhood: The Microdynamics of Intercommunal Relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina after World War II," 679
Berman, Elizabeth Popp, *Creating the Market University: How Academic Science Became an Economic Engine*, 896
Beyond Our Means, by Garon, 811
Bickham, Troy, *The Weight of Vengeance: The United States, the British Empire, and the War of 1812*, 850
Bigott, Joseph C. (R), 882
Biology, Computing, and the History of Molecular Sequencing, by García-Sancho, 827
Biondich, Mark (R), 961
Bjork, James (R), 923
Black, Robert (R), 804
Blair, Ann (R), 806
The Bleeding Disease, by Pemberton, 894
Block, Kristen, *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition, and the Politics of Profit*, 899
Bobrow-Strain, Aaron, *White Bread: A Social History of the Store-Bought Loaf*, 875
The Book in the Renaissance, by Pettegree, 806
Boris, Eileen, and Jennifer Klein, *Caring for America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State*, 894
Eine bosnische Stadt im Zeichen des Krieges, by Galijaš, 961
Bought and Sold, by Patterson, 962
Boyer, Christopher R., editor, *A Land between Waters: Environmental Histories of Modern Mexico*, 902

- Branche, Raphaëlle, and Fabrice Virgili, editors, *Rape in Wartime* (E), 979
- Brasher, Glenn David, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation: African Americans and the Fight for Freedom*, 856
- Breisch, Kenneth (R), 821
- Brennan, Sean, *The Politics of Religion in Soviet-Occupied Germany: The Case of Berlin-Brandenburg 1945–1949*, 954
- Breyfogle, Nicholas B. (R), 816
- Brier, Jennifer (R), 896
- Bristow, Nancy K. (R), 821
- The British People and the League of Nations*, by McCarthy, 934
- The British Way in Counter-Insurgency, 1945–1967*, by French, 937
- Broadwater, Jeff (R), 845
- Brock, Darryl E., and Chunjuan Nancy Wei, editors, *Mr. Science and Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution: Science and Technology in Modern China* (E), 980
- Brokering Empire*, by Rothman, 815
- Brokers of Change*, edited by Green (E), 981
- Brokers of Empire*, by Uchida, 833
- Brooks, James F., "Women, Men, and Cycles of Evangelism in the Southwest Borderlands, A.D. 750 to 1750," 738
- Brown, Elspeth H. (R), 869
- Buchanan, Tom, *East Wind: China and the British Left, 1925–1976*, 935
- Buckland, Theresa Jill, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870–1920*, 933
- Bunker, Steven B., *Creating Mexican Consumer Culture in the Age of Porfirio Díaz*, 905
- Burnard, Trevor (R), 848
- Buss, James Joseph (R), 838
- Cahill, Edward, *Liberty of the Imagination: Aesthetic Theory, Literary Form, and Politics in the Early United States*, 847
- Calic, Marie-Janine (R), 962
- A Call to Conscience*, by Peace, 890
- Calvert, Jane E. (R), 843
- Campbell, Brian, *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome*, 913
- Campbell, James (R), 854
- Campbell, Malcolm (R), 835
- Cannadine, David, Jenny Keating, and Nicola Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*, 939
- Cannon, Brian Q. (R), 867
- Caring for America*, by Boris and Klein, 894
- Casas, Maria Raquel (R), 870
- Casper, Stephen T., and L. Stephen Jacyna, editors, *The Neurological Patient in History*, 828
- Castro-Klaren, Sara (R), 909
- Catholicism and Democracy*, by Perreau-Saussine, 945
- Cecelski, David S., *The Fire of Freedom: Abraham Galloway and the Slaves' Civil War*, 855
- Chapman, Erin D., *Prove It on Me: New Negroes, Sex, and Popular Culture in the 1920s*, 869
- Charles, Douglas M., *The FBI's Obscene File: J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau's Crusade against Smut*, 878
- Cherry, David (R), 972
- Childers, Kristen Stromberg (R), 944
- The China Threat*, by Tucker, 886
- China's Last Imperial Frontier*, by Wang, 830
- Chung, Sue Fawn, *In Pursuit of Gold: Chinese American Miners and Merchants in the American West*, 860
- Citizens and Sportsmen*, by Else, 909
- Cizakca, Murat (R), 969
- Clarke, Jackie, *France in the Age of Organization: Factory, Home and Nation from the 1920s to Vichy*, 944
- Cleansing Honor with Blood*, by Santos, 908
- Clymer, Kenton (R), 888
- Cocks, Geoffrey (R), 953
- Cohen, Paul (R), 945
- A Cold War Turning Point*, by Tudda, 887
- Conant, Jonathan, *Staying Roman: Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439–700*, 972
- Conceived in Doubt*, by Porterfield, 845
- "Contested Conjunctures," by O'Hanlon, 765
- La conversion politique*, by Kestel, 946
- Cooper, Randolph G. S. (R), 935
- Cowan, Ruth Schwartz (R), 827
- Crabgrass Crucible*, by Sellers, 897
- Creating Mexican Consumer Culture in the Age of Porfirio Díaz*, by Bunker, 905
- Creating the Market University*, by Berman, 896
- Creolization and Contraband*, by Rupert, 900
- Crossing Borders*, by Schneider, 863
- Cullinane, Michael Patrick (R), 853
- Cultivating Race*, by Jennison, 851
- Cultural Diplomacy in U.S.-Japanese Relations, 1919–1941*, by Davidann, 823
- A Cultural History of Heredity*, by Müller-Wille and Rheinberger, 827
- The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England*, edited by Flannery and Walter (E), 980
- D'Agostino, Anthony (R), 865
- Dai, Yingcong (R), 830
- D'Antonio, Patricia (R), 894
- Davidann, Jon Thares, *Cultural Diplomacy in U.S.-Japanese Relations, 1919–1941*, 823
- David-Fox, Michael, *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921–1941*, 966
- David-Fox, Michael, Peter Holquist, and Alexander M. Martin, editors, *Fascination and Enmity: Russia and Germany as Entangled Histories, 1914–1945*, 926
- The Day in Its Color*, by Sandweiss, 875
- The Defortification of the German City, 1689–1866*, by Mintzker, 948
- Delmont, Matthew F., *The Nicest Kids in Town: American Bandstand, Rock 'n' Roll, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in 1950s Philadelphia*, 883
- Democracy, Trade Unions and Political Violence in Spain*, by Purkiss, 939
- Demonizing the Jews*, by Probst, 951
- Digester, Elizabeth DePalma, *A Threat to Public Piety: Christians, Platonists, and the Great Persecution*, 914
- Dillery, John (R), 968
- The Dispossessed State*, by Maurer, 932
- The Dissent Papers*, by Gurman, 892
- Dixon, Chris (R), 855
- Dobrenko, Evgeny (R), 966
- Document Raj*, by Raman, 834

Domenico, Roy (R), 959
 Dunlap, Thomas R. (R), 897

East Wind, by Buchanan, 935

Eastman, Carolyn (R), 841

Eden, Trudy (R), 875

Efrati, Noga, *Women in Iraq: Past Meets Present*, 972

Egerton, George (R), 934

Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism, by Moyer, 968

1812, by Eustace, 850

Elsey, Brenda, *Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Chile*, 909

The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s, by Gorman, 822

"The End of Prehistory? An Africanist Comment," by Ogundiran, 788

Englebert, Robert, and Guillaume Teasdale, editors, *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630–1815* (E), 980

English Letters and Indian Literacies, by Wyss, 840

Enlightened Aid, by McVety, 891

Erben, Patrick M., *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*, 843

Esch, Elizabeth D., and David R. Roediger, *The Production of Difference: Race and the Management of Labor in U.S. History*, 871

Esenwein, George (R), 939

Eustace, Nicole, *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism*, 850

Everyday Reading, by Acree, 909

The Fabii and the Gauls, by Richardson, 912

Face to the Village, by McDonald, 963

Fahmy, Ziad, *Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation through Popular Culture*, 970

Fahrmeir, Andreas (R), 963

Families in Crisis in the Old South, by Schweninger, 852

Family Punishment in Nazi Germany, by Loeffel, 952

Fascination and Enmity, edited by David-Fox, Holquist, and Martin, 926

Fatal Revolutions, by Iannini, 848

Fattorini, Emma, *Hitler, Mussolini, and the Vatican: Pope Pius XI and the Speech That Was Never Made*, 959

The FBI's Obscene File, by Charles, 878

Feather, John (R), 930

Ferziger, Adam S. (R), 923

Fevered Measures, by Mckiernan-González, 820

Fighting in Paradise, by Horne, 873

The Fire of Freedom, by Cecelski, 855

The First Modern Jew, by Schwartz, 923

Fisch, Jörg, *Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker: Die Domestizierung einer Illusion*, 829

Fisher, Linford D., *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America*, 839

Fitzpatrick-Behrens, Susan, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943–1989: Transnational Faith and Transformation*, 907

Flannery, Mary C., and Katie L. Walter, editors, *The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England* (E), 980

Fleming, N. C. (R), 932

Foreign Front, by Slobodian, 955

Forging Napoleon's Grande Armée, by Hughes, 942

Forsdyke, Sara, *Slaves Tell Tales: And Other Episodes in the Politics of Popular Culture in Ancient Greece*, 910

France in the Age of Organization, by Clarke, 944

Frank, Caroline, *Objectifying China, Imagining America: Chinese Commodities in Early America*, 842

French, David, *Army, Empire, and Cold War: The British Army and Military Policy, 1945–1971*, 936

French, David, *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency, 1945–1967*, 937

French, H. R. (R), 928

French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630–1815, edited by Englebert and Teasdale (E), 980

Friedrichs, Christopher R. (R), 948

From Liberty to Liberality, by Joseph, 844

Frontiers of Violence in North-East Africa, by Reid, 973

Frost, Jennifer (R), 879

Fujitani, Takashi (R), 833

Fyfe, Aileen, *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820–1860*, 930

Galijaš, Armina, *Eine bosnische Stadt im Zeichen des Krieges: Ethnopolitik und Alltag in Banja Luka (1990–1995)*, 961

Gallia, Andrew B., *Remembering the Roman Republic: Culture, Politics, and History under the Principate*, 912

Gallia, Andrew B. (R), 912

García-Sancho, Miguel, *Biology, Computing, and the History of Molecular Sequencing: From Proteins to DNA, 1945–2000*, 827

Garon, Sheldon, *Beyond Our Means: Why America Spends While the World Saves*, 811

Gavitt, Philip, *Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence*, 956

Geiger, Roger L. (R), 896

Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico, 1750–1856, by Lipsett-Rivera, 903

Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence, by Gavitt, 956

Germans into Jews, by Gillerman, 951

Ghosh, Durba (R), 929

Giandrea, Mary Frances (R), 915

Giglioni, Guido (R), 958

Gillerman, Sharon, *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic*, 951

Glaeser, Andreas, *Political Epistemics: The Secret Police, the Opposition, and the End of East German Socialism*, 956

Göçek, Fatma Müge (R), 971

Godly Republicanism, by Winship, 836

The Golden State in the Civil War, by Matthews, 857

Gordon, Ann D. (R), 866

Gorman, Daniel, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s*, 822

Gorsuch, Anne E., *All This Is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin*, 967

Graham, Helen, *The War and Its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century*, 941

Green, Toby, editor, *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Precolonial Western Africa* (E), 981

- Greenberg, Amy S., *A Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico*, 853
- Grimsley, Mark (R), 856
- Gronberg, Tag, Charlotte Ashby, and Simon Shaw-Miller, editors, *The Viennese Café and Fin-de-siècle Culture* (E), 981
- Guarino, Gabriel, *Representing the King's Splendour: Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms of Power in Viceregal Naples*, 957
- Gupta, Monisha Das (R), 862
- Gurman, Hannah, *The Dissent Papers: The Voices of Diplomats in the Cold War and Beyond*, 892
- Gutiérrez, David G. (R), 863
- Gwyn, Julian (R), 850
- Hahamovitch, Cindy (R), 874
- Hall, Bruce S., *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960*, 975
- Hall, Dianne, and Lindsay Proudfoot, *Imperial Spaces: Placing the Irish and the Scots in Colonial Australia*, 835
- Hamilton, Douglas, Kate Hodgson, and Joel Quirk, editors, *Slavery, Memory and Identity: National Representations and Global Legacies*, 825
- Hanley, Wayne (R), 942
- Hanna, Nelly, *Artisan Entrepreneurs in Cairo and Early-Modern Capitalism (1600–1800)*, 969
- Hanretta, Sean (R), 975
- A Harmony of the Spirits*, by Erben, 843
- Harris, Leslie M. (R), 851
- Hart, D. G. (R), 881
- Hastings, Sally Ann (R), 832
- Haulman, Kate, *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America*, 841
- The Haymarket Conspiracy*, by Messer-Kruse, 865
- Heathorn, Stephen (R), 939
- Heinzen, James W. (R), 963
- Hepner, Tricia Redeker (R), 973
- Herman, Daniel (R), 857
- Herman, Gabriel (R), 910
- Hernández, José Angel, *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century: A History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*, 818
- Hevia, James, *The Imperial Security State: British Colonial Knowledge and Empire-Building in Asia*, 935
- Higman, B. W. (R), 899
- Hilde, Libra R., *Worth a Dozen Men: Women and Nursing in the Civil War South*, 857
- Hilliard, Christopher, “‘Is It a Book That You Would Even Wish Your Wife or Your Servants to Read?’ Obscenity Law and the Politics of Reading in Modern England,” 653
- Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power*, by Smith, 885
- Hirt, Paul W., *The Wired Northwest: The History of Electric Power, 1870s–1970s*, 864
- “History and the ‘Pre,’” by Smail and Shryock, 709
- A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960*, by Hall, 975
- Hitler, Mussolini, and the Vatican*, by Fattorini, 959
- Hoberman, Michael, *New Israel/New England: Jews and Puritans in Early America*, 837
- Hodgson, Kate, Douglas Hamilton, and Joel Quirk, editors, *Slavery, Memory and Identity: National Representations and Global Legacies*, 825
- Hofmeyr, Isabel (R), 817
- The Holiday Makers*, by Popp, 877
- Holquist, Peter, Michael David-Fox, and Alexander M. Martin, editors, *Fascination and Enmity: Russia and Germany as Entangled Histories, 1914–1945*, 926
- Horne, Gerald, *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawai‘i*, 873
- Houston, Benjamin, *The Nashville Way: Racial Etiquette and the Struggle for Social Justice in a Southern City*, 884
- How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain*, by Price, 931
- Huff, Toby E. (R), 919
- Hughes, Michael J., *Forging Napoleon’s Grande Armée: Motivation, Military Culture, and Masculinity in the French Army, 1800–1808*, 942
- Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*, edited by Mor (E), 980
- Hunt, Michael H., and Steven I. Levine, *Arc of Empire: America’s Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam*, 888
- Hurtado, Albert L. (R), 859
- Iannini, Christopher P., *Fatal Revolutions: Natural History, West Indian Slavery, and the Routes of American Literature*, 848
- Ianziti, Gary, *Writing History in Renaissance Italy: Leonardo Bruni and the Uses of the Past*, 814
- Igmen, Ali, *Speaking Soviet with an Accent: Culture and Power in Kyrgyzstan*, 965
- Imperial Contagions*, edited by Peckham and Pomfret (E), 979
- The Imperial Security State*, by Hevia, 935
- Imperial Spaces*, by Proudfoot and Hall, 835
- In Pursuit of Gold*, by Chung, 860
- The Indian Great Awakening*, by Fisher, 839
- An Infinity of Nations*, by Witgen, 838
- Inrig, Stephen, *North Carolina and the Problem of AIDS: Advocacy, Politics, and Race in the South*, 896
- Inrig, Stephen (R), 894
- “‘Is It a Book That You Would Even Wish Your Wife or Your Servants to Read?’ Obscenity Law and the Politics of Reading in Modern England,” by Hilliard, 653
- Isaacman, Allen (R), 977
- J. Edgar Hoover Goes to the Movies*, by Sbardellati, 879
- Jackisch, Barry A., *The Pan-German League and Radical Nationalist Politics in Interwar Germany, 1918–39*, 950
- Jackson, Mark (R), 828
- Jacobs, Seth, *The Universe Unraveling: American Foreign Policy in Cold War Laos*, 887
- Jacobs, Seth (R), 889
- Jacobson, Charles David (R), 864
- Jacyna, L. Stephen, and Stephen T. Casper, editors, *The Neurological Patient in History*, 828
- Jennison, Watson W., *Cultivating Race: The Expansion of Slavery in Georgia, 1750–1860*, 851
- Johnson, Michele A., and Brian L. Moore, “*They Do as*

- They Please?: The Jamaican Struggle for Cultural Freedom after Morant Bay*, 901
- Jonas, Raymond, *The Battle of Adwa: African Victory in the Age of Empire*, 974
- Jones, Matthew (R), 887
- Joseph, Anthony M., *From Liberty to Liberality: The Transformation of the Pennsylvania Legislature, 1776–1820*, 844
- The Jury in Lincoln's America*, by McDermott, 854
- Kaiser, Wolfgang (R), 815
- Kaldellis, Anthony (R), 914
- Kay, Alex J. (R), 960
- Keating, Jenny, David Cannadine, and Nicola Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*, 939
- Keller, Shoshana (R), 965
- Kelly, Samantha (R), 814
- Kelm, Mary-Ellen (R), 835
- Kennedy, Greg (R), 822
- Kern, Susan (R), 842
- Kessler, Amalia D. (R), 922
- Kestel, Laurent, *La conversion politique: Doriot, le PPF et la question du fascisme français*, 946
- Kitamura, Hiroshi (R), 823
- Klein, Jennifer, and Eileen Boris, *Caring for America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State*, 894
- Knüsel, Ariane (R), 935
- Koot, Christian J. (R), 900
- Koslow, Jennifer (R), 861
- Kuhlman, Erika, *Of Little Comfort: War Widows, Fallen Soldiers, and the Remaking of the Nation after the Great War*, 821
- Kunitz, Stephen J. (R), 820
- Kuzmarov, Jeremy, *Modernizing Repression: Police Training and Nation-Building in the American Century*, 889
- Kyle, Chris R., *Theater of State: Parliament and Political Culture in Early Stuart England*, 928
- A Laboratory of Liberty*, by Lerner, 947
- A Land between Waters*, edited by Boyer, 902
- The Language of Law and the Foundations of American Constitutionalism*, by McDowell, 845
- Lantzer, Jason S., *Mainline Christianity: The Past and Future of America's Majority Faith*, 881
- Lawrence, Mark Atwood (R), 825
- Lee, Robert G. (R), 860
- Lerner, Marc H., *A Laboratory of Liberty: The Transformation of Political Culture in Republican Switzerland, 1750–1848*, 947
- Levin, Michael J. (R), 957
- Levine, Steven I., and Michael H. Hunt, *Arc of Empire: America's Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam*, 888
- Liberty of the Imagination*, by Cahill, 847
- Lichtenstein, Alex (R), 802
- Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, by Thompson, 976
- Lindsay, Brendan C., *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873*, 859
- Lipartito, Kenneth (R), 811
- Lipsett-Rivera, Sonya, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico, 1750–1856*, 903
- Loeffel, Robert, *Family Punishment in Nazi Germany: Sippenhaft, Terror and Myth*, 952
- Lohr, Eric, *Russian Citizenship: From Empire to Soviet Union*, 963
- Lohr, Eric (R), 926
- Long, Pamela O., *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400–1600*, 920
- López, Rick (R), 906
- Losing an Empire and Finding a Role*, by Stoddart, 825
- Lynching beyond Dixie*, edited by Pfeifer (E), 980
- Maddrell, Paul (R), 956
- Maier, Christoph T. (R), 918
- Mainline Christianity*, by Lantzer, 881
- Making British Indian Fictions, 1772–1823*, by Malhotra, 929
- The Making of Black Detroit in the Age of Henry Ford*, by Bates, 872
- The Making of Law*, by Suarez-Potts, 904
- Malhotra, Ashok, *Making British Indian Fictions, 1772–1823*, 929
- The Malthusian Moment*, by Robertson, 898
- Markakis, John (R), 891
- Martin, Alexander M., Michael David-Fox, and Peter Holquist, editors, *Fascination and Enmity: Russia and Germany as Entangled Histories, 1914–1945*, 926
- Martin, Joel W. (R), 839
- The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943–1989*, by Fitzpatrick-Behrens, 907
- Matthews, Glenna, *The Golden State in the Civil War: Thomas Starr King, the Republican Party, and the Birth of Modern California*, 857
- Matthews-Grieco, Sara F. (R), 921
- Maurer, Sara L., *The Dispossessed State: Narratives of Ownership in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*, 932
- Mazgaj, Paul (R), 946
- McCarthy, Helen, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c. 1918–1945*, 934
- McDermott, Stacy Pratt, *The Jury in Lincoln's America*, 854
- McDonald, Tracy, *Face to the Village: The Riazan Countryside under Soviet Rule, 1921–1930*, 963
- McDowell, Gary L., *The Language of Law and the Foundations of American Constitutionalism*, 845
- McIntosh, Marjorie Keniston, *Poor Relief in England, 1350–1600*, 927
- Mckiernan-González, John, *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848–1942*, 820
- McVety, Amanda Kay, *Enlightened Aid: U.S. Development as Foreign Policy in Ethiopia*, 891
- McWilliams, John (R), 836
- Mechanism, Experiment, Disease*, by Meli, 958
- Meli, Domenico Bertoloni, *Mechanism, Experiment, Disease: Marcello Malpighi and Seventeenth-Century Anatomy*, 958
- Messer, Peter C. (R), 819

- Messer-Kruse, Timothy, *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks*, 865
- Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century, by Hernández, 818
- Mihalopoulos, Bill, *Sex in Japan's Globalization, 1870–1930: Prostitutes, Emigration, and Nation-Building*, 832
- Military Leadership and Counterinsurgency, by Nolan, 937
- Milkias, Paulos (R), 974
- Milne, David (R), 892
- Mintzker, Yair, *The Defortification of the German City, 1689–1866*, 948
- Mitchell, Don, *They Saved the Crops: Labor, Landscape, and the Struggle over Industrial Farming in Bracero-Era California*, 874
- Mitchell, Pablo, *West of Sex: Making Mexican America, 1900–1930*, 870
- Modernizing Repression, by Kuzmarov, 889
- Moore, Brian L., and Michele A. Johnson, “They Do as They Please”: *The Jamaican Struggle for Cultural Freedom after Morant Bay*, 901
- Moots, Glenn A. (R), 837
- Mor, Jessica Stites, editor, *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America* (E), 980
- Mora, Anthony P. (R), 818
- Mothers of Conservatism, by Nickerson, 893
- Mouton, Michelle (R), 952
- Moyer, Ian S., *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*, 968
- Mr. Science and Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution, edited by Wei and Brock (E), 980
- Mukherjee, Rila, editor, *Oceans Connect: Reflections on Water Worlds across Time and Space* (E), 979
- Müller-Wille, Staffan, and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, *A Cultural History of Heredity*, 827
- Murder State, by Lindsay, 859
- Murray, Sylvie (R), 893
- Muslime, Märtyrer, *Militia Christi*, by Völkl, 918
- The Nashville Way*, by Houston, 884
- Nationalists Who Feared the Nation, by Reill, 923
- Nature and Nurture in French Social Sciences, 1859–1914 and Beyond, by Staum, 943
- Needleman, Ruth (R), 872
- The Neurological Patient in History*, edited by Jacyna and Casper, 828
- New Israel/New England*, by Hoberman, 837
- Ng, Franklin (R), 860
- The Nicest Kids in Town*, by Delmont, 883
- Nicholls, Michael L., *Whispers of Rebellion: Narrating Gabriel's Conspiracy*, 849
- Nickerson, Michelle M., *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right*, 893
- Nightingale, Carl H., *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*, 802
- Nolan, Victoria, *Military Leadership and Counterinsurgency: The British Army and Small War Strategy since World War II*, 937
- Noll, Mark A. (R), 845
- Norrell, Robert J. (R), 809
- North Carolina and the Problem of AIDS*, by Inrig, 896
- Objectifying China, Imagining America*, by Frank, 842
- O'Brien, Thomas F. (R), 909
- Oceans Connect*, edited by Mukherjee (E), 979
- Of Little Comfort*, by Kuhlman, 821
- Ogundiran, Akinwumi, “The End of Prehistory? An Africanist Comment,” 788
- O'Hanlon, Rosalind, “Contested Conjunctures: Brahman Communities and ‘Early Modernity’ in India,” 765
- Olcott, Jocelyn (R), 903
- On the Eve*, by Wasserstein, 924
- O'Neill, Kevin Lewis (R), 907
- Ordinary Egyptians*, by Fahmy, 970
- Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean*, by Block, 899
- Osterud, Grey, *Putting the Barn before the House: Women and Family Farming in Early-Twentieth-Century New York*, 867
- Ottaway, Susannah (R), 927
- Paddison, Joshua, *American Heathens: Religion, Race, and Reconstruction in California*, 860
- Paine, S. C. M., *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949*, 824
- The Pan-German League and Radical Nationalist Politics in Interwar Germany, 1918–39*, by Jackisch, 950
- Paquette, Robert L. (R), 849
- Parenting in England, 1760–1830*, by Bailey, 928
- Patterson, Patrick Hyder, *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 962
- Paul, Nicholas, and Suzanne Yeager, editors, *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, 917
- Payne, Stanley G. (R), 941
- Peace, Roger, *A Call to Conscience: The Anti-Contra War Campaign*, 890
- Peckham, Robert, and David M. Pomfret, editors, *Imperial Contagions: Medicine, Hygiene, and Cultures of Planning in Asia* (E), 979
- Pemberton, Stephen, *The Bleeding Disease: Hemophilia and the Unintended Consequences of Medical Progress*, 894
- The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, by Brasher, 856
- Perreau-Saussine, Emile, *Catholicism and Democracy: An Essay in the History of Political Thought*, 945
- Pettegree, Andrew, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 806
- Pfeifer, Michael J., editor, *Lynching beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence outside the South* (E), 980
- Philanthropy and Light*, by Prizeman, 821
- Phillips, Denise, *Acolytes of Nature: Defining Natural Science in Germany, 1770–1850*, 949
- Phillips, Jonathan (R), 917
- The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment*, by Vardi, 941
- Pick, Daniel, *The Pursuit of the Nazi Mind: Hitler, Hess, and the Analysts*, 953
- Plague, Fear, and Politics in San Francisco's Chinatown*, by Risse, 861
- Political Epistemics*, by Glaeser, 956
- The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America*, by Haulman, 841
- The Politics of Religion in Soviet-Occupied Germany*, by Brennan, 954
- Pomfret, David M., and Robert Peckham, editors, *Imperial Contagions: Medicine, Hygiene, and Cultures of Planning in Asia* (E), 979
- Poor Relief in England, 1350–1600*, by McIntosh, 927

- Popp, Richard K., *The Holiday Makers: Magazines, Advertising, and Mass Tourism in Postwar America*, 877
- Populism in the South Revisited*, edited by Beeby, 868
- Porter, Theodore M. (R), 943
- Porterfield, Amanda, *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation*, 845
- Price, Leah, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain*, 931
- Prizeman, Oriel, *Philanthropy and Light: Carnegie Libraries and the Advent of Transatlantic Standards for Public Space*, 821
- Probst, Christopher J., *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany*, 951
- The Production of Difference*, by Roediger and Esch, 871
- Proudfoot, Lindsay, and Dianne Hall, *Imperial Spaces: Placing the Irish and the Scots in Colonial Australia*, 835
- Prove It on Me*, by Chapman, 869
- Purkiss, Richard, *Democracy, Trade Unions and Political Violence in Spain: The Valencian Anarchist Movement, 1918–1936*, 939
- The Pursuit of the Nazi Mind*, by Pick, 953
- Putting the Barn before the House*, by Osterud, 867
- Quanchi, Max (R), 976
- Quirk, Joel, Douglas Hamilton, and Kate Hodgson, editors, *Slavery, Memory and Identity: National Representations and Global Legacies*, 825
- Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis: Housing Policy in Postwar Chicago*, by Smith, 882
- Raman, Bhavani, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial India*, 834
- Rape in Wartime*, edited by Branche and Virgili (E), 979
- Rapport, Mike (R), 947
- Rebels on the Border*, by Astor, 858
- Reforming Hollywood*, by Romanowski, 880
- Reid, Richard J., *Frontiers of Violence in North-East Africa: Genealogies of Conflict since c.1800*, 973
- Reill, Dominique Kirchner, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice*, 923
- Reimer, Michael J. (R), 970
- Reinhardt, Akim D. (R), 885
- Remembering the Crusades*, edited by Paul and Yeager, 917
- Remembering the Forgotten War*, by Van Wagenen, 819
- Remembering the Roman Republic*, by Gallia, 912
- Representing the King's Splendour*, by Guarino, 957
- Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran*, by Sohrabi, 971
- Reynolds, Michael A., *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908–1918*, 816
- Rheinberger, Hans-Jörg, and Staffan Müller-Wille, *A Cultural History of Heredity*, 827
- Richards, Lawrence (R), 873
- Richardson, James H., *The Fabii and the Gauls: Studies in Historical Thought and Historiography in Republican Rome*, 912
- The Right Kind of History*, by Cannadine, Keating, and Sheldon, 939
- Risse, Guenter B., *Plague, Fear, and Politics in San Francisco's Chinatown*, 861
- Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome*, by Campbell, 913
- Robertson, Carmen L., and Mark Cronlund Anderson, *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*, 835
- Robertson, Thomas, *The Malthusian Moment: Global Population Growth and the Birth of American Environmentalism*, 898
- Roediger, David R., and Elizabeth D. Esch, *The Production of Difference: Race and the Management of Labor in U.S. History*, 871
- Roemer, Nils H. (R), 951
- Rojas, Carlos (R), 831
- Romanowski, William D., *Reforming Hollywood: How American Protestants Fought for Freedom at the Movies*, 880
- Rosswurm, Steve (R), 878
- Roth-Ey, Kristin (R), 967
- Rothman, E. Natalie, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*, 815
- Round, Phillip H. (R), 840
- Rowe, G. S. (R), 844
- Ruff, Mark Edward (R), 954
- Rules of Exchange*, by Stanziani, 922
- Rupert, Linda M., *Creolization and Contraband: Curaçao in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, 900
- Russian Citizenship*, by Lohr, 963
- Sandweiss, Eric, *The Day in Its Color: Charles Cushman's Photographic Journey through a Vanishing America*, 875
- Santos, Martha S., *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845–1889*, 908
- Sbardellati, John, *J. Edgar Hoover Goes to the Movies: The FBI and the Origins of Hollywood's Cold War*, 879
- Schneider, Dorothee, *Crossing Borders: Migration and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century United States*, 863
- Schoppa, R. Keith (R), 824
- Schwartz, Daniel B., *The First Modern Jew: Spinoza and the History of an Image*, 923
- Schweninger, Loren, *Families in Crisis in the Old South: Divorce, Slavery, and the Law*, 852
- Seeing Red*, by Anderson and Robertson, 835
- Seeman, Erik R. (R), 846
- Segregation*, by Nightingale, 802
- Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker*, by Fisch, 829
- Sellers, Christopher C., *Crabgrass Crucible: Suburban Nature and the Rise of Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America*, 897
- Sex in Japan's Globalization, 1870–1930*, by Mihalopoulos, 832
- The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe*, by Simons, 921
- Shah, Nayan, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West*, 862
- Shapiro, Stephen (R), 847
- Shattering Empires*, by Reynolds, 816
- Shaw-Miller, Simon, Charlotte Ashby, and Tag Gronberg, editors, *The Viennese Café and Fin-de-siècle Culture* (E), 981
- Sheldon, Nicola, David Cannadine, and Jenny Keating,

- The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*, 939
- Shepherd, Ben, *Terror in the Balkans: German Armies and Partisan Warfare*, 960
- Shovlin, John (R), 941
- Showcasing the Great Experiment*, by David-Fox, 966
- Shryock, Andrew, and Daniel Lord Smail, "History and the 'Pre,'" 709
- Siegfried, Detlef (R), 955
- Sievens, Mary Beth (R), 852
- Silleras-Fernandez, Nuria (R), 916
- Simon, Reeva Spector (R), 972
- Simons, Patricia, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History*, 921
- Slavery by Any Other Name*, by Allina, 977
- Slavery, Memory and Identity*, edited by Hamilton, Hodgson, and Quirk, 825
- Slaves Tell Tales*, by Forsdyke, 910
- Slobodian, Quinn, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany*, 955
- Smail, Daniel Lord, and Andrew Shryock, "History and the 'Pre,'" 709
- Smith, Anthony Burke (R), 880
- Smith, Preston H., II, *Racial Democracy and the Black Metropolis: Housing Policy in Postwar Chicago*, 882
- Smith, Richard (R), 901
- Smith, Sherry L., *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power*, 885
- Snodgrass, Michael (R), 904
- Society Dancing*, by Buckland, 933
- Sohrabi, Nader, *Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran*, 971
- Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora*, by Tsu, 831
- Speaking Soviet with an Accent*, by Iğmen, 965
- Spring, Dawn, *Advertising in the Age of Persuasion: Building Brand America, 1941–1961*, 876
- Spring, Dawn P. (R), 877
- Stagg, J. C. A., *The War of 1812: Conflict for a Continent*, 850
- Stanziani, Alessandro, *Rules of Exchange: French Capitalism in Comparative Perspective, Eighteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries*, 922
- State Building in Revolutionary Ukraine*, by Velychenko, 965
- Staum, Martin S., *Nature and Nurture in French Social Sciences, 1859–1914 and Beyond*, 943
- Stayer, James M. (R), 951
- Staying Roman*, by Conant, 972
- Steam-Powered Knowledge*, by Fyfe, 930
- Stephan, Scott (R), 857
- Stewart, Andrew (R), 937
- Stoddart, Kristan, *Losing an Empire and Finding a Role: Britain, the USA, NATO, and Nuclear Weapons, 1964–1970*, 825
- Stranger Intimacy*, by Shah, 862
- Suarez-Potts, William J., *The Making of Law: The Supreme Court and Labor Legislation in Mexico, 1875–1931*, 904
- Subaltern Lives*, by Anderson, 817
- "Sudden Nationhood," by Bergholz, 679
- Sumi, Geoffrey S. (R), 912
- Sutherland, Daniel E. (R), 858
- Sweeney, Dennis (R), 950
- Taillon, Paul Michel (R), 868
- Teasdale, Guillaume, and Robert Englebert, editors, *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630–1815* (E), 980
- Terror in the Balkans*, by Shepherd, 960
- Theater of State*, by Kyle, 928
- "They Do as They Please," by Moore and Johnson, 901
- They Saved the Crops*, by Mitchell, 874
- Thompson, T. Jack, *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, 976
- A Threat to Public Piety*, by Digeser, 914
- Tollerton, Linda, *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England*, 915
- Tonkovich, Nicole, *The Allotment Plot: Alice C. Fletcher, E. Jane Gay, and Nez Perce Survivance*, 866
- Tsu, Jing, *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora*, 831
- Tuck, Stephen, *We Ain't What We Ought to Be: The Black Freedom Struggle from Emancipation to Obama*, 809
- Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf, *The China Threat: Memories, Myths, and Realities in the 1950s*, 886
- Tudda, Chris, *A Cold War Turning Point: Nixon and China, 1969–1972*, 887
- The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy*, by Witt, 804
- Uchida, Jun, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876–1945*, 833
- The Universe Unraveling*, by Jacobs, 887
- Van Wagenen, Michael Scott, *Remembering the Forgotten War: The Enduring Legacies of the U.S.-Mexican War*, 819
- Vardi, Liana, *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment*, 941
- Velychenko, Stephen, *State Building in Revolutionary Ukraine: A Comparative Study of Governments and Bureaucrats, 1917–1922*, 965
- The Viennese Café and Fin-de-siècle Culture*, edited by Ashby, Gronberg, and Shaw-Miller (E), 981
- Virgili, Fabrice, and Raphaëlle Branche, editors, *Rape in Wartime* (E), 979
- Vitz, Matthew (R), 902
- Völkl, Martin, *Muslims, Märtyrer, Militia Christi: Identität, Feindbild und Fremderfahrung während der ersten Kreuzzüge*, 918
- Wall, Wendy (R), 876
- Waller, Philip (R), 931
- Walter, Katie L., and Mary C. Flannery, editors, *The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England* (E), 980
- Wang, Xiuyu, *China's Last Imperial Frontier: Late Qing Expansion in Sichuan's Tibetan Borderlands*, 830
- The War and Its Shadow*, by Graham, 941
- The War of 1812*, by Stagg, 850
- Ward, Brian (R), 883
- Warriors of the Cloisters*, by Beckwith, 919
- The Wars for Asia*, by Paine, 824

- Wasserstein, Bernard, *On the Eve: The Jews of Europe before the Second World War*, 924
- We Ain't What We Ought to Be*, by Tuck, 809
- We Shall Be No More*, by Bell, 846
- Wei, Chunjuan Nancy, and Darryl E. Brock, editors, *Mr. Science and Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution: Science and Technology in Modern China* (E), 980
- The Weight of Vengeance*, by Bickham, 850
- Weis, Robert, *Bakers and Basques: A Social History of Bread in Mexico*, 906
- Weis, Robert (R), 905
- Weissman, Terri (R), 875
- West of Sex*, by Mitchell, 870
- Whispers of Rebellion*, by Nicholls, 849
- White Bread*, by Bobrow-Strain, 875
- A Wicked War*, by Greenberg, 853
- Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England*, by Tollerton, 915
- Winship, Michael P., *Godly Republicanism: Puritans, Pilgrims, and a City on a Hill*, 836
- The Wired Northwest*, by Hirt, 864
- Witgen, Michael, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America*, 838
- Withington, Phil (R), 928
- Witt, Ronald G., *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy*, 804
- Wolcott, Victoria W. (R), 884
- Wolloch, Nathaniel (R), 949
- Women in Iraq*, by Efrati, 972
- "Women, Men, and Cycles of Evangelism in the Southwest Borderlands, A.D. 750 to 1750," by Brooks, 738
- Women of Two Countries*, by Bank, 866
- Worth a Dozen Men*, by Hilde, 857
- Writing History in Renaissance Italy*, by Ianziti, 814
- Wyss, Hilary E., *English Letters and Indian Literacies: Reading, Writing, and New England Missionary Schools, 1750–1830*, 840
- Xia, Yafeng (R), 886
- Xu, Guangqiu (R), 887
- Yeager, Suzanne, and Nicholas Paul, editors, *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, 917
- Yekelchuk, Serhy (R), 965
- Zieger, Robert H. (R), 871



MOVING?

Please go to www.historians.org and login to AHA member service to change your mailing address.

You can also mail, or e-mail your address change to the AHA:

The American Historical Review

American Historical Association

400 A Street, SE

Washington, D.C. 20003-3889

E-mail: members@historians.org

If you are mailing in your address change, please send both your old address and your new address, as well as your membership number.

Please note that address changes may take up to six weeks to process.

If you have any questions, please contact the AHA membership department at 202-544-2422.

THANK YOU!

American Historical Association

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.
Office: 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003

President: Kenneth Pomeranz, *University of Chicago*
President-Elect: Jan E. Goldstein, *University of Chicago*
Executive Director: James R. Grossman
Controller: Randy Norell

MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's next annual meeting will take place January 2–5, 2014, in Washington, D.C. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

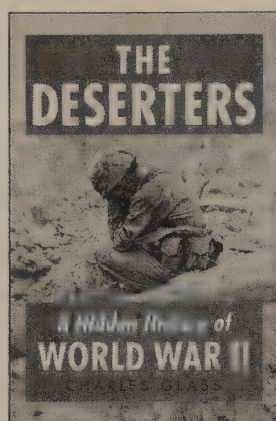
PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and is sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes *Perspectives on History* (a newsmagazine with classified listings) and a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including a Department and Organization Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

BOOK PRIZES: The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *George Louis Beer Prize*, awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada since 1492. The *Paul Birdsall Prize*, awarded biennially for a major work by a U.S. or Canadian historian in European military and strategic history since 1870. The *James Henry Breasted Prize*, awarded annually for the best book in English in any field of history prior to 1000 A.D. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations, administered jointly with the Canadian Historical Association. The *John H. Dunning Prize*, awarded biennially for a book on any subject in U.S. history. The *John K. Fairbank Prize*, awarded annually for East Asian history substantially after the year 1800. The *Morris D. Forkosch Prize*, awarded annually to the best book in British, British imperial, or British Commonwealth history. The *Leo Gershoy Award*, given annually for outstanding work in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century western European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize*, awarded every five years for Latin American history by a Latin American. The *J. Franklin Jameson Prize*, awarded every two years for outstanding editorial

achievement. The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize*, awarded annually for the best book in women's history. The *Martin A. Klein Prize in African History*, awarded annually for the most distinguished work of scholarship on continental Africa, including those islands usually treated as countries of Africa. The *Waldo G. Leland Prize*, awarded every five years for the most outstanding reference tool. The *Littleton-Griswold Prize*, awarded annually for the best work on the history of American law and society. The *J. Russell Major Prize*, awarded annually for the best work in English on any aspect of French history. The *Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize*, awarded annually for Italian or Italian-U.S. history. The *George L. Mosse Prize*, awarded annually for European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance. The *Premio del Rey Prize*, awarded biennially for early Spanish history and culture (500–1516 A.D.). The *James A. Rawley Prize in Atlantic History*, awarded annually for an outstanding book in the history of the Atlantic worlds before the twentieth century. The *John F. Richards Prize*, awarded annually for the best book in South Asian history. The *James Harvey Robinson Prize*, awarded biennially for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history. The *Wesley-Logan Prize*, awarded annually in African Diaspora history by the AHA and the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. Book prizes are awarded at each AHA annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries for the AHA should be addressed to Executive Director, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Our e-mail address is aha@historians.org. Our web address is <http://www.historians.org>.

Inquiries for the *AHR* Editorial Office, including correspondence regarding manuscript submissions and books for review, should be addressed to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. Our e-mail address is ahr@indiana.edu. No manuscript will be considered for publication if it is concurrently under consideration by another journal or press or if it has been published or is soon to be published elsewhere. Both restrictions apply to the substance as well as to the exact wording of the manuscript. If the manuscript is accepted, the editors expect that its appearance in the *AHR* will precede republication of the essay, or any significant part thereof, in another work. Specific guidelines and policies for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* can be found at www.americanhistoricalreview.org or will be sent upon request. **Unsolicited book reviews ■■■ not accepted.**



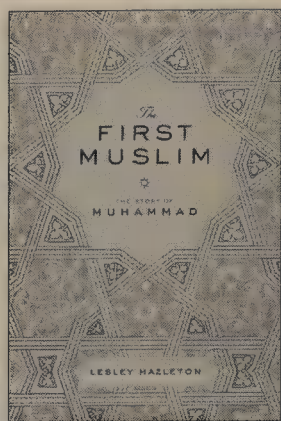
Charles Glass

THE DESERTERS

A Hidden History of World War II

A fast-paced narrative history centered on the misunderstood role of deserters in the American and British armed forces.

Penguin Press • 400 pp. • 978-1-59420-428-9 • \$27.95



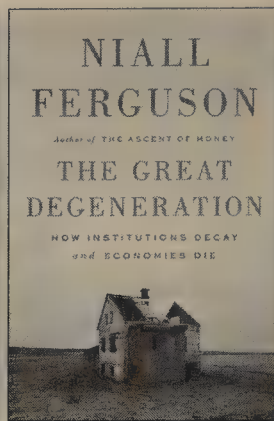
Lesley Hazleton

THE FIRST MUSLIM

The Story of Muhammad

"Beautifully written, *The First Muslim* respectfully humanizes the inimitable prophet of Islam and sees him whole."—Cornel West, Princeton University.

Riverhead • 320 pp. • 978-1-59448-728-6 • \$27.95



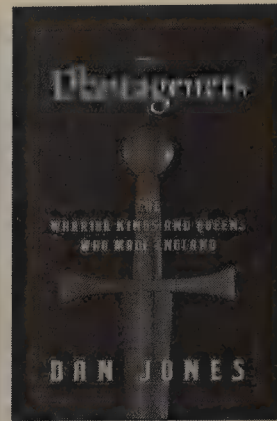
Niall Ferguson

THE GREAT DEGENERATION

How Institutions Decay and Economies Die

The acclaimed historian presents a taut and potent volume targeted at perhaps our most pressing social question—what parts of our society limit our progress, and what aspects empower us to enduring success.

Penguin Press • 192 pp. • 978-1-59420-545-3 • \$26.95



Dan Jones

THE PLANTAGENETS

The Warrior Kings and Queens Who Made England

"This riveting history of an all-too-human ruling house amply confirms the arrival of a formidably gifted historian."—*The Sunday Telegraph* (UK).

Viking • 560 pp. • 978-0-670-02665-4 • \$36.00

David Priestland

MERCHANT, SOLDIER, SAGE

A History of the World in Three Castes

"We have here a gripping, argument-led history, effortlessly moving between New York, Tokyo and Berlin, from the Reformation to the 2008 economic crisis."—*BBC History Magazine*.

Penguin Press • 352 pp. • 978-1-59420-310-7 • \$27.95

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

and Other Political Writings

Newly Translated by Quintin Hoare

Introduction and Notes

by Christopher Bertram

Penguin Classics • 192 pp. • 978-0-14-119175-1 • \$11.00

Brian MacArthur, editor

THE PENGUIN BOOK OF HISTORIC SPEECHES

Brings together the words of over a hundred men and women—from Moses to Mandela—who changed the world through the sheer power of their oratory.

Penguin • 528 pp. • 978-0-14-017619-3 • \$17.00

Tacitus

ANNALS

Newly Translated with

an Introduction by Cynthia Damon

Penguin Classics • 464 pp. • 978-0-14-045564-9 • \$17.00

PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

Academic Marketing Department • 375 Hudson Street • New York, NY 10014

www.penguin.com/academic



Imperial Debris
On Ruins and Remembrance
ANN LAURA STOLER, editor
264 pages, 24 illustrations
paper, \$29.95

The Great Enterprise
Sovereignty and Historiography
in Modern Korea

HENRY H. EM
*Asia-Pacific Culture,
Politics, and Society*
280 pages, paper, \$24.95

Four Decades On
Vietnam, the United States,
and the Legacies of the
Second Indochina War
SCOTT LADERMAN and
EDWIN A. MARTINI, editors
344 pages, 14 illustrations,
paper, \$24.95

Making Samba
A New History of Race
and Music in Brazil
MARC A. HERTZMAN
392 pages, 12 illustrations,
paper, \$25.95

Speaking of Flowers
Student Movements and
the Making and Remembering
of 1968 in Military Brazil
VICTORIA LANGLAND
168 pages, 12 photographs,
paper, \$24.95

The Paraguay Reader
History, Culture, Politics
PETER LAMBERT and
ANDREW NICKSON, editors
The Latin America Reader
408 pages, 35 illustrations
(incl. 10 in color), paper, \$27.95

IMPERIAL DEBRIS



**An Historical Account of
the Black Empire of Hayti**
MARCUS RAINSFORD
Edited and with an introduction
by Paul Youngquist
and Grégory Pierrot
400 pages, 18 illustrations,
paper, \$27.95

Sociology and Empire
The Imperial Entanglements
of a Discipline
GEORGE STEINMETZ, editor
Politics, History, and Culture
224 pages, 8 illustrations,
paper, \$24.95

Adiós Niño
The Gangs of Guatemala City
and the Politics of Death
DEBORAH T. LEVENSON
200 pages, 10 photographs,
paper, \$24.95

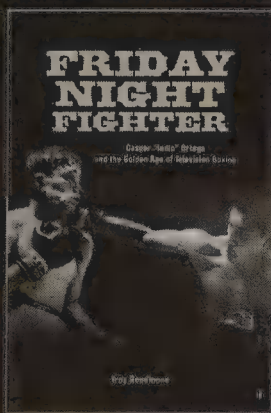
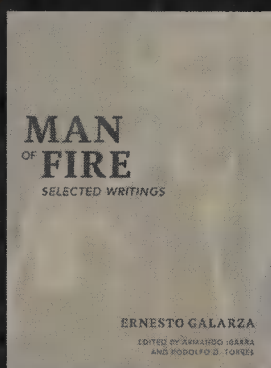
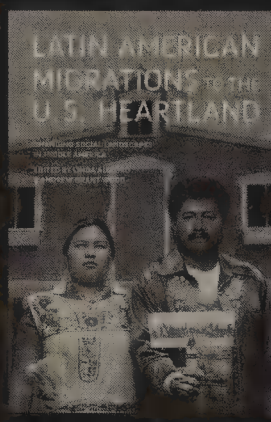
Little Manila Is in the Heart
The Making of the Filipino/a
American Community in
Stockton, California
DAWN BOHULANO MABALON
224 pages, 24 illustrations,
paper, \$24.95

DUKE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Order online
www.dukeupress.edu



UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

THE WORKING CLASS IN AMERICAN HISTORY **W C A H****Latin American Migrations to the U.S. Heartland**

Changing Social Landscapes in Middle America

Edited by LINDA ALLEGRO and ANDREW GRANT WOOD

Examines the impact on Latin American migrants of neoliberal policies from the Bracero Program and NAFTA to anti-immigrant legislation.

Hardcover \$65.00; ebook

Man of Fire

Selected Writings

ERNESTO GALARZA

Edited by Armando Ibarra and Rodolfo D. Torres

Gathers key writings of activist, labor scholar, and organizer Ernesto Galarza (1905-1984) on topics including immigration politics (such as the Bracero Program) and U.S.-Mexico relations.

Hardcover \$65.00; ebook

Palomino

Clinton Jencks and Mexican-American Unionism in the American Southwest

JAMES J. LORENCE

This comprehensive study looks at the role of radicalism in the Mexican-American civil rights movement, and how civil liberties and American labor were constrained by the specter of anti-Communism during the Cold War.

Hardcover \$55.00; ebook

Friday Night Fighter

Gaspar "Indio" Ortega and the Golden Age of Television Boxing

TROY RONDINONE

Gaspar Ortega's career ran through the last great days of American boxing. Rondinone tells his story in the context of the media that made him famous, the *Friday Night Fights*.

Hardcover \$32.00; ebook

Black Flag Boricuas

Anarchism, Antiauthoritarianism, and the Left in Puerto Rico, 1897-1921

KIRWIN R. SHAFFER

Positions Puerto Rico within the context of a regional anarchist network that stretched from the island to Cuba (a U.S. protectorate), Tampa, and New York, and struggled against religion, governments, and industrial capitalism.

Hardcover \$65.00; ebook

Fighting from a Distance

How Filipino Exiles Helped Topple a Dictator

JOSE V. FUENTECILLA

The first full-length book to detail the history of U.S.-based Filipinos' opposition to the Marcos regime.

*Hardcover \$80.00; Paperback \$20.00; ebook

*The Asian American Experience***The Samuel Gompers Papers, Volume 13**

Cumulative Index

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Edited by Peter J. Albert and Grace Palladino

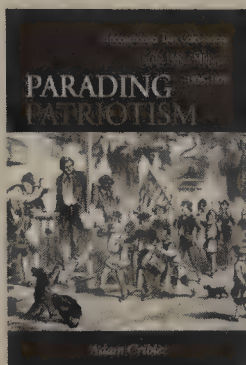
*Hardcover \$50.00; ebook

*Unjacketed. | ebook: Check with your preferred e-book store for e-book availability.



Early American Places is a collaborative series focused on the early history of North America. It is supported by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Parading Patriotism
Independence Day Celebrations in the Urban Midwest, 1826–1876
Adam Criblez
288 pp. | 12 illustrations
Paper, \$28.95 | 9780875806921



EUROPEANS, AFRICANS, AND INDIANS
AT LONG ISLAND'S SYLVESTER MANOR
PLANTATION, 1651–1884

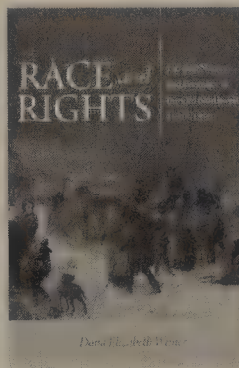
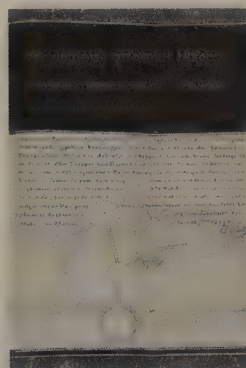
Slavery Before Race



Slavery Before Race
Europeans, Africans, and Indians at Long Island's Sylvester Manor Plantation, 1651–1884
Katherine Howlett Hayes
240 pp.
20 halftone images | 1 table
Cloth, \$30.00 | 9780814785775
Ebook available



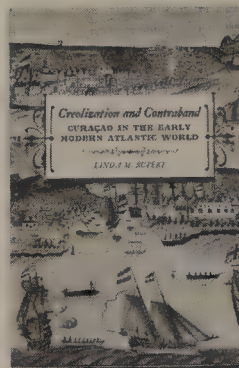
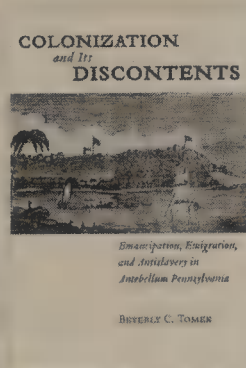
An Empire of Small Places
Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732–1795
Robert Paulett
264 pp. | 14 b&w images
Paper, \$24.95 | 9780820343471
Cloth, \$69.95 | 9780820343464



Race and Rights
Fighting Slavery and Prejudice in the Old Northwest, 1830–1870
Dana Elizabeth Weiner
325 pp. | 6 illustrations
Cloth, \$38.00 | 9780875804576
Ebook available



Colonization and Its Discontents
Emancipation, Emigration, and Antislavery in Antebellum Pennsylvania
Beverly C. Tomek
304 pp. | 11 halftone images
Paper, \$24.00 | 9780814764534
Cloth, \$65.00 | 9780814783481
Ebook available



Creolization and Contraband
Curaçao in the Early Modern Atlantic World
Linda M. Rupert
296 pp. | 10 b&w images
5 maps
Paper, \$24.95 | 9780820343068
Cloth, \$69.95 | 9780820343051
Ebook available



www.earlyamericanplaces.org



New from HarperCollins

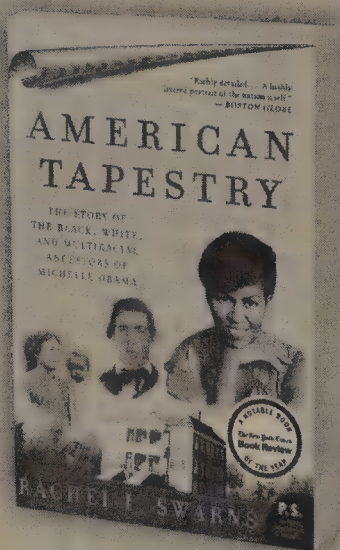
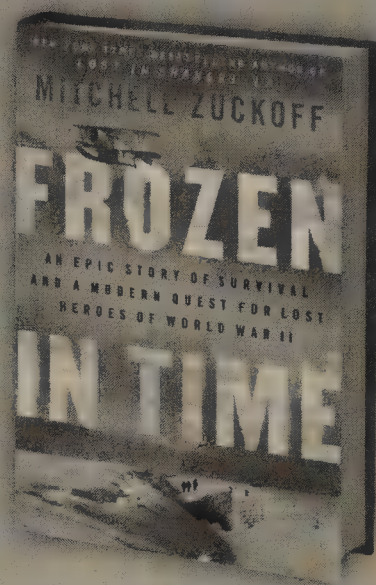
From the *New York Times* bestselling author of *Lost in Shangri-La*

"Once again, Mitchell Zuckoff has uncovered a thrilling historical tale and told it masterfully. Seamlessly interweaving the past and the present, *Frozen in Time* is one of those epic adventure stories that will hold you in its grip from beginning to end."

—DAVID GRANN,
author of *The Lost City of Z*

Harper • \$28.99 (\$31.99 Can.)

Hardcover • 416 pages

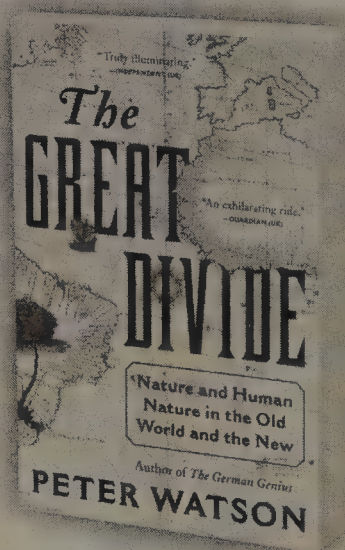


"Crucial American history. . . A remarkable, only-in-America story. . . A worthy and significant endeavor."

—WASHINGTON POST

Amistad
\$16.99 (\$18.99 Can.)

Paperback • 416 pages

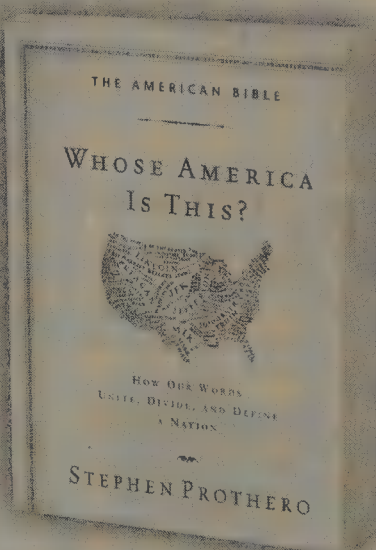


"Truly illuminating."
—INDEPENDENT (UK)

"An exhilarating ride."
—GUARDIAN (UK)

Harper Perennial
\$17.99 (\$22.99 Can.)

Paperback • 640 pages



"Prothero has turned his considerable talents to assembling a version of the American canon. . . Spritely, informed and incisive."

—WASHINGTON POST

HarperOne
\$19.99 (\$25.99 Can.)

Paperback • 544 pages



HARPER PERENNIAL



HarperOne



Amistad

www.HarperAcademic.com

KANSAS



Harry Truman and the Struggle for Racial Justice

Robert Shogan

"Shogan has demonstrated once again why he is considered one of America's finest journalists. This is a smart, gracefully written, thoughtful book that is essential reading for every student of the Truman presidency."

—Steven M. Gillon, Scholar-in-residence, The History Channel

248 pages, 11 photos, Cloth \$34.95

Edith Kermit Roosevelt Creating the Modern First Lady

Lewis L. Gould

"An incisive and compelling biography of this first truly modern first lady. . . . A splendid contribution to our understanding of her life and times."—John Milton Cooper, author of *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography*

Modern First Ladies

176 pages, 20 photos, Cloth \$34.95

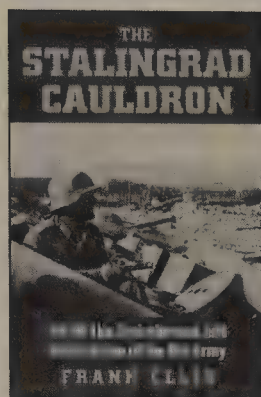
BACK IN PRINT

Thomas Moran's West Chromolithography, High Art, and Popular Taste

Joni L. Kinsey

"A visual feast."—*Library Journal*

272 pages, 167 photos, 54 in color,
Cloth \$45.00



The Stalingrad Cauldron Inside the Encirclement and Destruction of the 6th Army

Frank Ellis

"Characterized by sound scholarship, clarity, and acute attention to detail, Ellis's work adds substantially to our understanding of the Battle of Stalingrad and the travails of the troops who fought, suffered, and often perished in the fighting."—David M. Glantz, author of *The Stalingrad Trilogy*

Modern War Studies

544 pages, 44 photos, 50 tables, Cloth \$39.95

The Cambodian Wars Clashing Armies and CIA Covert Operations

Kenneth Conboy

"Decades in the making, *The Cambodian Wars* provides a fascinating look into the netherworld of intrigue, betrayal, and tragedy that marked Cambodia from the 1950s to the 1990s. Along the way it lifts the veil on CIA activities in the region. . . . Will likely be this generation's definitive study of Cambodia's wars."—Kenton Clymer, author of *Troubled Relations: The United States and Cambodia since 1870*

Modern War Studies

464 pages, 56 photos, Cloth \$39.95

The Hundred Day Winter War Finland's Gallant Stand against the Soviet Army

Gordon F. Sander

"An exciting, imaginative, and wide-ranging account of the Winter War. Sander's gripping study of this short but epic conflict is hard to put down."—Evan Mawdsley, general editor of the *Cambridge History of the Second World War*

Modern War Studies

400 pages, 45 photos, 6 maps, Cloth \$39.95



University Press of Kansas

Phone 785-864-4155 • Fax 785-864-4586 • www.kansaspress.ku.edu

Fellowships at Mount Vernon



THE FRED W. SMITH
NATIONAL LIBRARY
FOR THE STUDY OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON
AT MOUNT VERNON

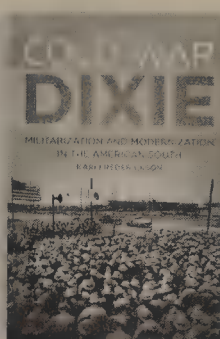
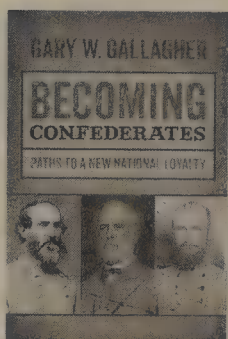
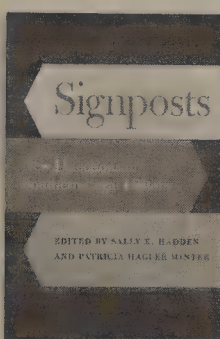
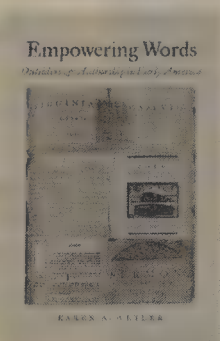
Mount Vernon is accepting applications for the 2014-2015 class of fellows. Opportunities are available for short- and long-term funded residential research focused on the life, leadership, and legacy of George Washington, his place in the development of American civic life and culture, and the founding era.

For more information and instructions on how to apply, visit MountVernon.org/fellowships.

EST 75 1938

The University of
GEORGIA
PRESS

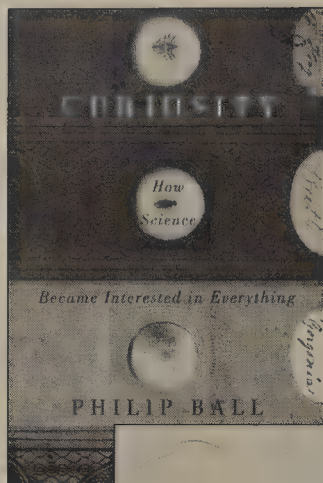
New and Recent from

Properties of Violence
*Law and Land Grant
Struggle in Northern
New Mexico*
David CorreiaPaper, \$24.95
978-0-8203-4502-4
Cloth, \$69.95
978-0-8203-3284-0**Cold War Dixie**
*Militarization and
Modernization in the
American South*
Kari FredericksonPaper, \$24.95
978-0-8203-4520-8
Cloth, \$69.95
978-0-8203-4519-2**Becoming Confederates**
*Paths to a New
National Loyalty*
Gary W. GallagherPaper, \$18.95
978-0-8203-4540-6
Cloth, \$59.95
978-0-8203-4496-6**Signposts**
*New Directions in
Southern Legal History*
**Sally E. Hadden
and Patricia Hagler
Minter, eds.**Paper, \$26.95
978-0-8203-4499-7
Cloth, \$69.95
978-0-8203-4034-0**The Dinner Party**
*Judy Chicago and
the Power of Popular
Feminism, 1970-2007*
Jane F. GerhardPaper, \$24.95
978-0-8203-4457-7
Cloth, \$69.95
978-0-8203-3675-6**On the Rim of
the Caribbean**
*Colonial Georgia
and the British
Atlantic World*
Paul M. PresslyPaper, \$24.95
978-0-8203-4503-1
Cloth, \$69.95
978-0-8203-3567-4**Remembering
Medgar Evers**
*Writing the Long Civil
Rights Movement*
Minrose GwinPaper, \$22.95
978-0-8203-3564-3
Cloth, \$69.95
978-0-8203-3563-6**Empowering Words**
*Outsiders and
Authorship in
Early America*
Karen A. WeylerPaper, \$24.95
978-0-8203-4324-2
Cloth, \$69.95
978-0-8203-4323-5

WWW.UGAPRESS.ORG

History of Science

FROM CHICAGO



Curiosity

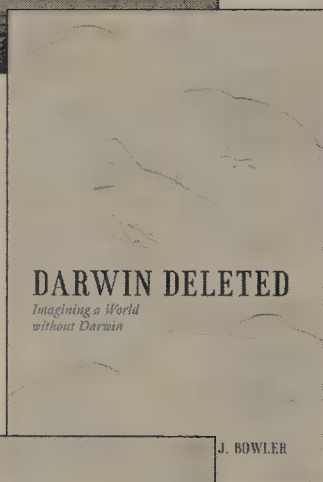
How Science Became Interested in Everything

Philip Ball

"Philip Ball's fascinating book revels not just in the experiments of these early scientists, but also in their humanity, foibles, and passions. Curiosity may lead us down blind alleys as often as it enlightens, but Ball shows that it is a vital part of what makes us human."

—*Sunday Times* (UK)

CLOTH \$35.00



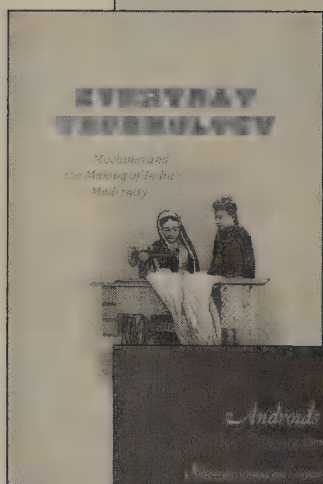
Darwin Deleted

Imagining a World without Darwin

Peter J. Bowler

"Without Darwin, Peter Bowler concludes, we would probably have ended up in much the same place we are today. . . . Where Darwin really mattered was in timing. Here, ironically, the shock of his book, and the polarisation it caused, may have delayed the acceptance of evolution. The great man was ahead of his time, and science may have paid a price for that."—*New Scientist*

CLOTH \$30.00



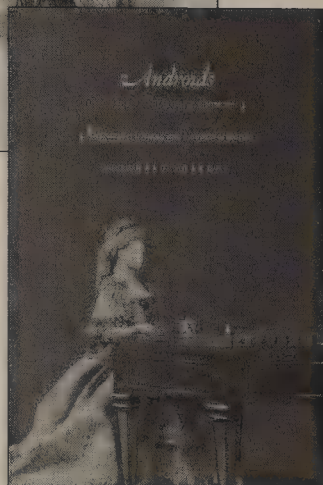
Everyday Technology

Machines and the Making of India's Modernity

David Arnold

"Drawing on a diverse range of sources and compelling case examples, David Arnold explores the transformative effects of small-scale technologies, including bicycles and sewing machines, on the politics, production, social relations, and everyday lives of the peoples of India."—Michael Adas, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

CLOTH \$30.00



Androids in the Enlightenment

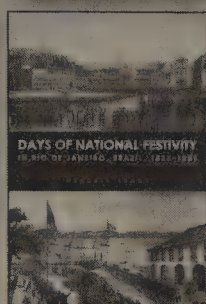
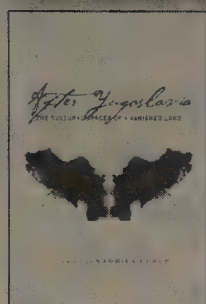
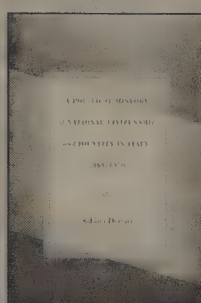
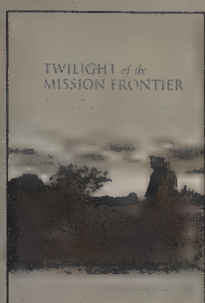
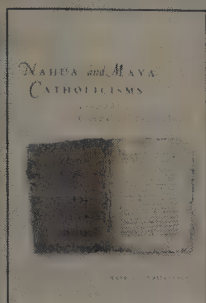
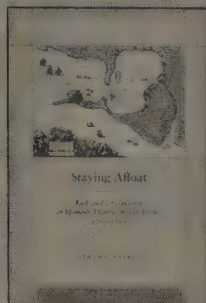
Mechanics, Artisans, and Cultures of the Self

Adelheid Voskuhl

"This is a fine and persuasive study that enriches our understanding of the pattern of industry and fashion at a key period of the transition to modern society, and opens a fresh perspective on the decisive relations between machinery, passion, and cultural life."—Simon Schaffer, University of Cambridge

CLOTH \$45.00

New from Stanford University Press



Most Stanford
titles are available
as e-books:
[www.sup.org/
ebooks](http://www.sup.org/ebooks)

Staying Afloat

*Risk and Uncertainty in Spanish
Atlantic World Trade, 1760-1820*

JEREMY BASKES

Social Science History

Nahua and Maya Catholicisms

*Texts and Religion in Colonial Central
Mexico and Yucatan*

MARK Z. CHRISTENSEN

Academy of American Franciscan History

Twilight of the Mission Frontier

*Shifting Interethnic Alliances and
Social Organization in Sonora,
1768-1855*

JOSE REFUGIO DE LA TORRE CUIEL

Academy of American Franciscan History

A Political History of National Citizenship and Identity in Italy, 1861-1950

SABINA DONATI

Faith in Empire

*Religion, Politics, and Colonial Rule
in French Senegal, 1880-1940*

ELIZABETH A. FOSTER

After Yugoslavia

The Cultural Spaces of a Vanished Land

Edited by RADMILA GORUP

Stanford Studies on Central and Eastern Europe

Days of National Festivity in

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1823-1889

HENDRIK KRAAY

Constructing East Asia

*Technology, Ideology, and Empire in
Japan's Wartime Era, 1931-1945*

AARON STEPHEN MOORE

A Frenchwoman's Imperial Story

*Madame Luce in
Nineteenth-Century Algeria*

REBECCA ROGERS



The Sugar Trade
*Brazil, Portugal, and
the Netherlands,
1595-1630*

DANIEL STRUM

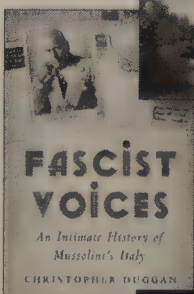
Copublished with Versal

 **Stanford**
University Press

800.621.2736

www.sup.org

NEW from OXFORD



The Hermit in the Garden

From Imperial Rome to Ornamental Gnome

GORDON CAMPBELL

2013 304 pp. 45 illus., 12 color plates
Hardcover \$29.95

Forgotten Friends

Monks, Marriages, and Memories of Northeast India

INDRANI CHATTERJEE

2013 432 pp. 5 illus.
Hardcover \$55.00

The Trojan War

A Very Short Introduction

ERIC H. CLINE

2013 152 pp. 8 illus., 2 maps
Paperback \$11.95

Antarctica

A Biography

DAVID DAY

2013 624 pp. 20 illus.
Hardcover \$34.95

A Portrait of Five Dynasties China

From the Memoirs of Wang Renyu (880-956)

GLEN DUDBRIDGE

(Oxford Oriental Monographs)

2013 320 pp. 3 maps
Hardcover \$150.00

▪ **Winner of the History Book of the Year, Political Book Awards** ▪

Fascist Voices

An Intimate History of

Mussolini's Italy

CHRISTOPHER DUGGAN

2013 528 pp. 3 maps
Hardcover \$34.95

Crucible of Science

The Story of the Cori Laboratory

JOHN H. EXTON

2013 272 pp. 26 illus.
Hardcover \$49.95

How It Feels to be Free

Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement

RUTH FELDSTEIN

2013 304 pp. 20 illus.
Hardcover \$29.95

The Great War and Modern Memory

PAUL FUSSELL

With a new Introduction by

JAY WINTER

2013 432 pp. 14 illus.
Paperback \$19.95

Europe's 1968

Voices of Revolt

Edited by ROBERT GILDEA,

JAMES MARK, and ANETTE

WARRING

2013 384 pp. Hardcover \$125.00

The Children of Henry VIII

JOHN GUY

2013 272 pp. 14 illus., 11 color plates

Hardcover \$27.95

The British Empire

A Very Short Introduction

ASHLEY JACKSON

2013 144 pp. 14 illus.
Paperback \$11.95

Diaspora

A Very Short Introduction

KEVIN KENNY

2013 136 pp. 10 illus.
Paperback \$11.95

The American Senate

An Insider's History

NEIL MACNEIL and

RICHARD A. BAKER

2013 472 pp. 16 illus.
Hardcover \$29.95

Thieves of Book Row

New York's Most Notorious Rare Book Ring and the Man Who Stopped It

TRAVIS McDADE

2013 240 pp. 10 illus.
Hardcover \$27.95

Writing the Revolution

A French Woman's History in Letters

LINDSAY A. H. PARKER

2013 224 pp. 9 illus.
Hardcover \$74.00

Prices are subject to change and apply only in the US. To order or for more information, visit our website at www.oup.com/us

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW from OXFORD



Life and Death in Pompeii and Herculaneum

PAUL ROBERTS

2013 320 pp. 250 color illus. Hardcover \$45.00

Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora, 800-1250

PATRICIA SKINNER

2013 336 pp. Hardcover \$65.00

Medieval Violence

Physical Brutality in Northern France, 1270-1330

HANNAH SKODA

(Oxford Historical Monographs)

2013 336 pp. 4 illus. Hardcover \$125.00

Pure and Modern Milk

An Environmental History since 1900

KENDRA SMITH-HOWARD

2013 256 pp. 25 illus. Hardcover \$34.95

The Battle Hymn of the Republic

A Biography of the Song That Marches On

JOHN STAUFFER and BENJAMIN SOSKIS

2013 392 pp. 16pp illus. Hardcover \$29.95

Resistance

Jews and Christians Who Defied the Nazi Terror

NECHAMA TEC

2013 256 pp. 16 illus. Hardcover \$27.95

Garden of the World

Asian Immigrants and the Making of Agriculture in California's Santa Clara Valley

CECILIA M. TSU

2013 304 pp. 22 illus.

Hardcover \$99.00, Paperback \$29.95

Ecclesiastical Colony

China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate

ERNEST P. YOUNG

2013 408 pp. 11 illus. Hardcover \$74.00

Sex in Paper Tracks

Sexual Politics

Sexuality, Family Planning, and the British Left from the 1880s to the Present Day

STEPHEN BROOKE

2013 304 pp. 12 illus. Paperback \$45.00

Algeria

France's Undeclared War

MARTIN EVANS

2013 496 pp. 42 black and white illus.; 12 maps;

1 table Paperback \$24.95

Body by Weimar

Athletes, Gender, and German Modernity

ERIK N. JENSEN

2013 198 pp. 19 illus. Paperback \$24.95

Restoration and Risorgimento

Italy, 1796-1870

DAVID LAVEN

2013 288 pp. maps & line drawings

Paperback \$29.95

Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200

TOM LICENCE

2013 254 pp. Paperback \$45.00

Hollywood Left and Right

How Movie Stars Shaped American Politics

STEVEN J. ROSS

2013 512 pp. 39 halftones Paperback \$21.95

▪ *Winner of the Ernest Scott Prize of the Australian Historical Association* ▪

Racial Crossings

Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire

DAMON IEREMIA SALESA

2013 308 pp. Paperback \$45.00

What Makes Civilization?

The Ancient Near East and the Future of the West

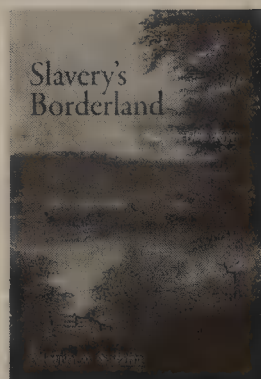
DAVID WENGROW

2013 240 pp. 20 illus., 6 maps Paperback \$18.95

Prices are subject to change and apply only in the US. To order or for more information, visit our website at www.oup.com/us

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

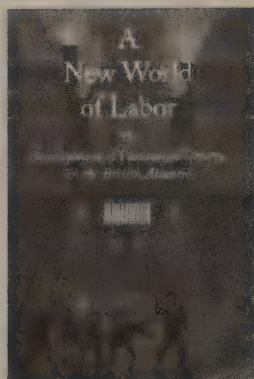
NEW FROM PENN PRESS

**TRADE, LAND, POWER**

The Struggle for Eastern North America

Daniel K. Richter

2013 | 384 pages | 35 illus. | Cloth | \$45.00

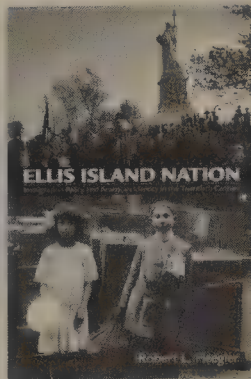
**SLAVERY'S BORDERLAND**

Freedom and Bondage Along the Ohio River

Matthew Salafia

Early American Studies

2013 | 336 pages | 12 illus. | Cloth | \$55.00

**AS AMERICAN AS SHOOFLY PIE**

The Foodlore and Fakelore of Pennsylvania Dutch Cuisine

William Woys Weaver

2013 | 336 pages | 59 illus. | Cloth | \$34.95

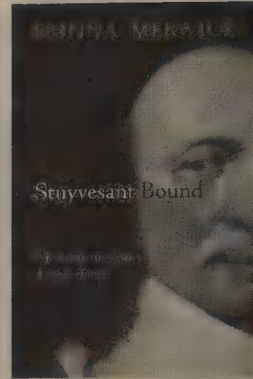
ELLIS ISLAND NATION

Immigration Policy and American Identity in the Twentieth Century

Robert L. Fleegler

Haney Foundation Series

2013 | 280 pages | 5 illus. | Cloth | \$49.95

**HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE NEGOTIATION OF AMERICAN POWER**

Glenn Mitoma

Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights

2013 | 256 pages | Cloth | \$55.00

TAKE UP YOUR PEN

Unilateral Presidential Directives in American Politics

Graham G. Dodds

Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism

2013 | 304 pages | 1 illus. | Cloth | \$69.95

A NEW WORLD OF LABOR

The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic

Simon P. Newman

The Early Modern Americas

2013 | 352 pages | 15 illus. | Cloth | \$55.00

NEW IN PAPERBACK**THROUGH THE HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR**

The Correspondence of George F. Kennan and John Lukacs

Edited by John Lukacs

2013 | 288 pages | Paper | \$29.95

NEW IN PAPERBACK**SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT ZONES**

From the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights

Edited by Elizabeth D. Heineman

Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights

2013 | 352 pages | Paper | \$27.50

THE BLACK URBAN ATLANTIC IN THE AGE OF THE SLAVE TRADE

Edited by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury

The Early Modern Americas

2013 | 376 pages | 4 illus. | Cloth | \$59.95

NEW IN PAPERBACK**FIRST LADY OF LETTERS**

Judith Sargent Murray and the Struggle for Female Independence

Sheila L. Skemp

Early American Studies

2013 | 512 pages | 10 illus. | Paper | \$27.50

NEW IN PAPERBACK**IMAGES, ICONOCLASM, AND THE CAROLINGIANS**

Thomas F. X. Noble

The Middle Ages Series

2013 | 496 pages | Paper | \$29.95

DREAMS, DREAMERS, AND VISIONS

The Early Modern Atlantic World

Edited by Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle

Foreword by Anthony F. C. Wallace

2013 | 328 pages | Cloth | \$65.00

STUYVESANT BOUND

An Essay on Loss Across Time

Donna Merwick

Early American Studies

2013 | 232 pages | 5 illus. | Cloth | \$59.95

NEW IN PAPERBACK**TOWN BORN**

The Political Economy of New England from Its Founding to the Revolution

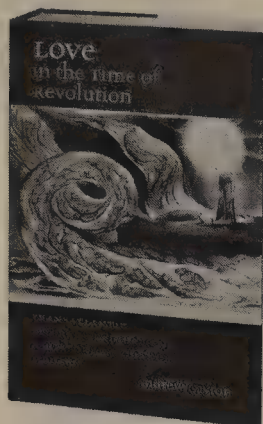
Barry Levy

Early American Studies

2013 | 360 pages | 15 illus. | Paper | \$24.95

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS

www.pennpress.org
800-537-5487



LOVE IN THE TIME OF REVOLUTION

Transatlantic Literary Radicalism and Historical Change, 1793-1818

Andrew Cayton

"Combines biography, literary history, and political economy in wholly unexpected ways. Writing with a novelist's insight and urgency, Cayton brings to life the transatlantic republic of letters that sought to remake a warring world."

—Jane Kamensky, Brandeis University

368 pages \$45.00

Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture



CHINESE CUBANS

A Transnational History

Kathleen López

"Meticulously researched and beautifully written, and with a deep, nuanced understanding of the Chinese-Cuban community, this is the first serious and comprehensive history of the Chinese in Cuba."

—Evelyn Hu-DeHart, Brown University

384 pages \$69.95 cloth / \$29.95 paper

HENRY WALLACE'S 1948 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND THE FUTURE OF POSTWAR LIBERALISM

Thomas W. Devine

"A superb book that gets to the heart of things. Devine has made all previous books on this subject obsolete with new evidence and his interpretation of it."

—William L. O'Neill, Rutgers University

432 pages \$39.95



NATIVE AND NATIONAL IN BRAZIL

Indigeneity after Independence

Tracy Devine Guzmán

"Offers a sensitive and theoretically sophisticated treatment of the relationship between indigeneity and the Brazilian state—between national belonging and the lived experience of difference. A welcome addition to the growing literature on indigenous peoples in the Western Hemisphere."

—Jan Hoffman French, University of Richmond

336 pages \$69.95 cloth / \$29.95 paper

ATLANTA, CRADLE OF THE NEW SOUTH

Race and Remembering in the Civil War's Aftermath

William A. Link

"Atlanta plays a central role in Americans' shared memory of the Civil War. Link's rich narrative sifts through the ashes of Atlanta's history to reveal the fascinating, and true, stories hidden beneath."

—Edward L. Ayers, author of *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: Civil War in the Heart of America*

264 pages \$34.95

RACISM IN THE NATION'S SERVICE

Government Workers and the Color Line in Woodrow Wilson's America

Eric S. Yellin

"The best book yet written on the segregationist racial politics of Woodrow Wilson's presidency and their devastating effects on Washington's accomplished and proud black community. A powerful and tragic story, exquisitely crafted and movingly told."

—Gary Gerstle, author of *American Crucible*

320 pages \$39.95

@BOOK

Most UNC Press books are also available as E-Books.

UNC Press books are now available through **Books @ JSTOR** and **Project Muse**.

**UNC
PRESS**

THE UNIVERSITY of NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
at bookstores or 800-848-6224 • www.uncpress.unc.edu

Essential reading from berghahn

THE FATEFUL ALLIANCE

German Conservatives and Nazis in 1933:

The *Machtergreifung* in a New Light

Hermann Beck

"[A] compelling study... Beck's engaging analysis offers valuable and perceptive insights into the course and character of the Nazi seizure of power and deserves to be read widely." **American Historical Review**

"[An] excellent treatment of the German National People's Party (DNVP) in the tumultuous spring and summer of 1933... Beck's signal contribution is the unblinking and well-researched fashion in which he sheds valuable new light on the oft-told story of the rise of the Nazi dictatorship." **German Studies Review**

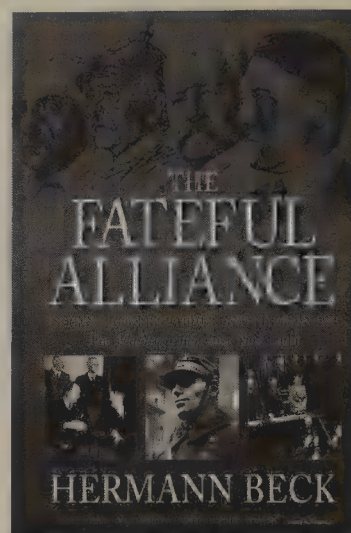
"Already the authoritative voice on German Conservatism in the nineteenth century, Beck proves himself anew with his meticulously researched, tightly argued, and skillfully written book on the complex interaction between National Socialism and Conservatism during the Third Reich." **James F. Tent**, University of Alabama at Birmingham

"[I]lluminating original research and insightful analysis." **Henry Ashby Turner**, Yale University

"Hermann Beck has given us by far the best account that we have of the German political right and the triumph of Hitler, an original, carefully researched and revisionist study which will revise certain standard interpretations. Provides a new perspective on the relationship between the DNVP and the Jews, and particularly on the Nazis' intense animosity against the DNVP and the bourgeoisie." **Stanley G. Payne**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"The strength of the study lies undoubtedly in the empirical research that is simply impressive and considerably widens our historical knowledge of the year 1933." **Journal of Modern History**

372 pages • ISBN 978-1-84545-680-1 / eISBN 978-0-85745-410-2 Paperback **\$29.95/£17.50**
ISBN 978-1-84545-496-8 / eISBN 978-0-85745-018-0 Hardback **\$90.00/£53.00**



berghahn journals



CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF CONCEPTS

Editor: Sinai Rusinek, the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Contributions is the international peer-reviewed journal of the History of Concepts Group (HCG). The journal serves as a platform for theoretical and methodological articles as well as empirical studies on the history of concepts and their social, political, and cultural contexts.

ISSN: 1807-9326 (Print) • ISSN: 1874-656X (Online) • Volume 8/2013, 2 issues p.a.

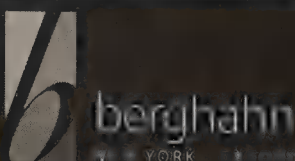
HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS/REFLEXIONS HISTORIQUES

Senior Editor: Linda Mitchell, University of Missouri, Kansas City

Coeditor: Daniel Gordon, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques has established a well-deserved reputation for publishing high quality articles of wide-ranging interest for nearly forty years. The journal, which publishes articles in both English and French, is committed to exploring history in an interdisciplinary framework and with a comparative focus.

ISSN: 0315-7997 (Print) • ISSN: 1939-2419 (Online) • Volume 39/2013, 3 issues p.a.



www.berghahnbooks.com

NYUPRESS

Keep reading.

A Death at Crooked Creek

The Case of the Cowboy, the Cigarmaker, and the Love Letter
MARIANNE WESSON

"Extraordinary and groundbreaking ... a wonderfully creative mix of fact and theory, imagination and drama."

—Andrew Popper,
American University

\$29.95 ■ CLOTH

Rebels at the Bar

The Fascinating, Forgotten Stories of America's First Women Lawyers
JILL NORGREN

"Intriguing and enriching.... Unquestionably inspiring."

—*Publishers Weekly*

\$29.95 ■ CLOTH

Bonds of Citizenship

Law and the Labors of Emancipation
HOANG GIA PHAN

"[Reimagines] both American literary history and the long nineteenth century.... An immense contribution."

—Stephen Best,
University of California, Berkeley

\$24.00 ■ PAPER

In the *America and the Long 19th Century* series

Part of the *American Literatures Initiative*

We Will Shoot Back

Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement
AKINYELE OMOWALE UMOJA

"A sometimes sobering, sometimes beautiful story of self-reliance and self-determination."

—Robin D. G. Kelley,
author of *Freedom Dreams*

\$40.00 ■ CLOTH

Slavery before Race

Europeans, Africans, and Indians at Long Island's Sylvester Manor Plantation, 1651–1884
KATHERINE HOWLETT HAYES

"A skillful and captivating take on some of the big issues in contemporary historical and anthropological scholarship."

—Stephen W. Silliman,
University of Massachusetts, Boston

\$35.00 ■ CLOTH

Part of *Early American Places*

NEW IN PAPERBACK

Freedom's Gardener

James F. Brown, Horticulture, and the Hudson Valley in Antebellum America
MYRA B. YOUNG ARMSTEAD

"Beautifully researched, bursting with detail."

—*The New York Times*

\$20.00 ■ PAPER

Steel Barrio

The Great Mexican Migration to South Chicago, 1915–1940
MICHAEL INNIS-JIMÉNEZ

"Fascinating and often enlightening.... Transforms our thinking about Mexican American history and the history of urban America."

—Matthew Garcia,
Arizona State University

\$27.00 ■ PAPER

In the *Culture, Labor, History* series

Theatrical Liberalism

Jews and Popular Entertainment in America
ANDREA MOST

"Makes new sense of aspects of popular culture we have all grown up with and thought we knew only too well."

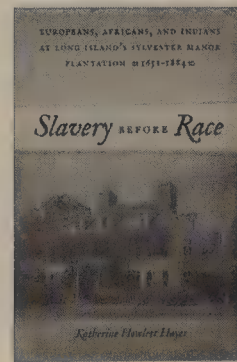
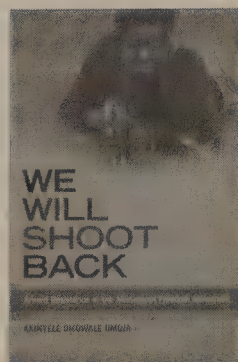
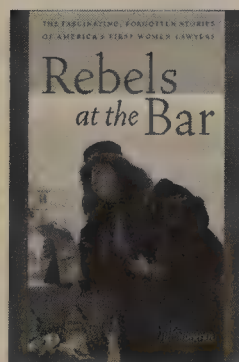
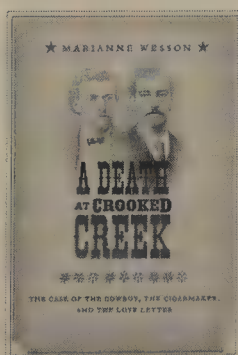
—Jonathan Boyarin,
University of North Carolina

\$26.00 ■ PAPER

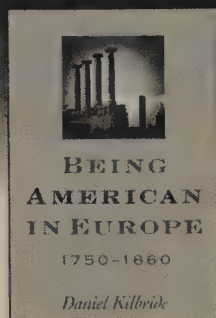
NYU PRESS IS
A MEMBER OF THE



University
Press
Content
Consortium



www.nyupress.org



Being American in Europe, 1750-1860

Daniel Kilbride

"Kilbride offers a unique and powerful definition of 'Americanness' that will prove indispensable to scholars of the period and fascinating to the general reader."

—Catherine Allgor, University of California at Riverside

\$34.95 cloth • \$34.95 ebook

Rebellion in Black and White

Southern Student Activism in the 1960s

edited by Robert Cohen and David J. Snyder

foreword by Dan T. Carter

"Makes for compelling reading as it chronicles those who risked their lives and livelihood to bring down nearly 400 years of enforced repression."—Leon Litwack, author of *How Free Is Free? The Long Death of Jim Crow*

\$29.95 paper • \$29.95 ebook

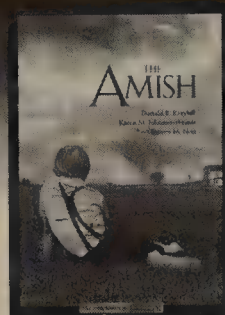
The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted

Volume 8: The Early Boston Years, 1882-1890

edited by Charles E. Beveridge, Ethan Carr, Amanda Gagel, and Michael Shapiro

"A major contribution to American letters, an important step in the documentation of this American genius."—*Smithsonian*

\$110.00 cloth



The Amish

Donald B. Kraybill, Karen M. Johnson-Weiner, and Steven M. Nolt

"The authors successfully address the seeming exoticism of the Amish without sensationalism . . . The scholarship is enlivened with quotes and personal anecdotes, and the final section on the future of the Amish raises fascinating questions."—*Publisher's Weekly*
\$29.95 cloth • \$29.95 ebook

The Inevitable Hour

A History of Caring for Dying Patients in America

Emily K. Abel

"With the immediacy of a novelist and the critical insights of a historian, Emily Abel offers a sobering reinterpretation of medical history from the perspective of the dying."

—Alice Wexler, author of *The Woman Who Walked into the Sea: Huntington's and the Making of a Genetic Disease*

\$32.95 cloth • \$32.95 ebook

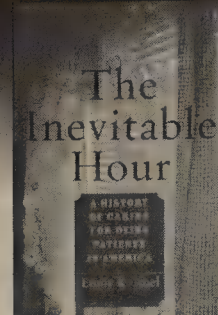
Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture, 1660-1780

Howard D. Weinbrot

"It is a commandingly impressive book by one of the principal scholars in an established field."

—Robert D. Hume, Pennsylvania State University

\$60.00 cloth • \$60.00 ebook



Secession Winter

When the Union Fell Apart

Robert J. Cook, William L. Barney, Elizabeth R. Varon

What prompted southern secession in the winter of 1860-61 and why did secession culminate in the American Civil War?

\$19.95 paper • \$19.95 ebook

A Nation of Small Shareholders

Marketing Wall Street after World War II

Janice M. Traflet

How New York Stock Exchange leaders in the decades after the Great Crash of 1929 helped popularize equity investing.

\$45.00 cloth • \$45.00 ebook

Isaac Beeckman on Matter and Motion

Mechanical Philosophy in the Making

Klaas van Berkel

"Brings back to life an extraordinary scientific practitioner."

—Mordechai Feingold, California Institute of Technology

\$39.95 paper • \$39.95 ebook

Maternal Megalomania

Julia Domna and the Imperial Politics of Motherhood

Julie Langford

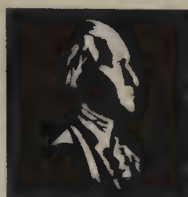
How the maternal image of the empress Julia Domna helped the Roman empire rule.

\$55.00 cloth • \$55.00 ebook



THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY PRESS

1-800-537-5487 • press.jhu.edu



THE FRED W. SMITH
NATIONAL LIBRARY
FOR THE STUDY OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON
AT MOUNT VERNON

**An Invitation to Apply for the Position of
Founding Director, Fred W. Smith National Library for the Study of George Washington
At Mount Vernon, Virginia**

This is a compelling opportunity for an innovative, visionary leader to establish the premier center for the study of our first President and his seminal role in the founding of our republic. Reporting to Mount Vernon's president, this individual will be charged with fostering serious scholarship about Washington and his time while also developing and implementing cutting-edge educational programs. The position calls for strategic vision, administrative acumen, entrepreneurial drive, and a passion for the life of George Washington and the founding era.

The Fred W. Smith Library for the Study of George Washington at Mount Vernon will open in September 2013. This 50,000 square foot complex is situated fifteen miles from our nation's capital and adjacent to the Mount Vernon estate. The capital campaign for the Library has already exceeded its \$100 million goal.

KEY RESPONSIBILITIES

- Establishing the Library as the premier place for the study of George Washington while also placing Washington in the context of the revolutionary period and the founding of our country;
- Effectively disseminating scholarly research and other relevant knowledge to a wide range of external audiences;
- Promoting the leadership values exemplified by George Washington;
- Developing and fostering external partnerships;
- Connecting educational programs, the Estate's activities, and the Library;
- Assisting in fundraising for specific programs and initiatives; and
- Knowledge of new technologies and open to new methods of delivering content

QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE

Mount Vernon seeks an accomplished, enterprising, and experienced leader with outstanding interpersonal, communication, and management skills. This individual should be committed to promoting Washington's life and legacies to future generations.

The successful applicant will be an established Ph.D. open to compelling new ways to impart the legacy of George Washington and its relevance to today. We look forward to meeting candidates who are charismatic, creative, and entrepreneurial and who possess a dynamic leadership style.

TO APPLY

Screening of applications will begin immediately and continue until the completion of the search process. All inquiries, nominations/referrals, and applications should be sent electronically and in confidence to: Megan Dunn, Vice President for Human Resources, via email mdunn@mountvernon.org.

SAVE THE DATE



128th ANNUAL MEETING



AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

WASHINGTON DC ★ JAN 7-5

2014

Check historians.org/annual for more information.

American Historical Association

Job and Career Center

Enhanced by  **interfolio Services**

In an effort to enhance the AHA's Job and Career Center, AHA members now have access to three important Interfolio services. Interfolio offers support to job seekers in managing application materials, and to search committees overwhelmed with applications. Interfolio offers online services that streamline the application process by collecting and delivering professional dossiers.

Job-seeking members of the AHA now receive a complimentary one-year subscription to use the Dossier service. Users can manage multiple letters of recommendation, upload writing samples, choose which materials will be delivered to prospective employers, and create professional portfolios to showcase their work.

Search committees at history departments with AHA members receive a one-year complimentary license to ByCommittee, an online service that helps committees easily collect and review applications and ultimately creates a more seamless process for search committees and job seekers alike.

Individual faculty preparing for tenure or promotion can use Portfolio to build and manage a professional portfolio using examples of their work and letters of recommendation. Portfolio can also be used to apply for grants, fellowships, and awards.

Users of all kinds can access Interfolio's Letter Writer—a free, secure, and convenient online service used by over 200,000 faculty and administrators to write and submit confidential letters of recommendation for their students.

To start using your free subscription to Interfolio, log in to member services on the AHA website at **www.historians.org**.

To learn more about these services, visit **www.interfolio.com**.

American Historical Association

New Series

American History Now

edited by **Eric Foner & Lisa McGirr**



Continuing where *The New American History* left off twenty years ago, **American History Now** is an informative, up-to-date collection of eighteen essays that examine new historiographical developments in every major field of American history. With an entirely new group of authors, the series challenges prevailing assumptions in earlier scholarship, analyzes new burgeoning fields of study—such as environmental history, American religion, and capitalism—and provides new approaches to the study of established fields such as women's history, African-American history, and immigration history.

Originally produced by Temple University Press, each essay is now available as a separate pamphlet:

SQUARING THE CIRCLES:

THE REACH OF COLONIAL AMERICA

By **Alan Taylor**

AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND EARLY REPUBLIC

By **Woody Hutton**

JACKSONIAN AMERICA

By **Keith Rockman**

SLAVERY, THE CIVIL WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

By **Adam Rothman**

THE POSSIBILITIES OF POLITICS: DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA, 1877–1917

By **Robert D. Johnston**

THE INTERWAR YEARS

By **Lisa McGirr**

THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, 1940 TO 1973

By **Max Jacobs**

1973 TO THE PRESENT

By **Jim Phillips-Feln**

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD

By **Eric Manela**

THE “CULTURAL TURN”

By **Lawrence B. Glickman**

AMERICAN RELIGION

By **John T. McGreevy**

FRONTIERS, BORDERLANDS, WESTS

By **Stephen Aron**

ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY

By **Sarah T. Phillips**

HISTORY OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

By **Sven Beckert**

WOMEN'S AND GENDER HISTORY

By **Rebecca Edwards**

IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC HISTORY

By **Man M. Ngai**

AMERICAN INDIANS AND THE STUDY OF U.S. HISTORY

By **Ned Blackhawk**

AFRICAN-AMERICAN HISTORY

By **Kevin Gaines**

Each essay in the American History Now series is an invaluable resource for students, teachers, and everyone interested in learning more about the American past. For more information on these essays, and to purchase, visit the AHA Store, online at:

www.historians.org/AHAStore

New from AHA Publications:

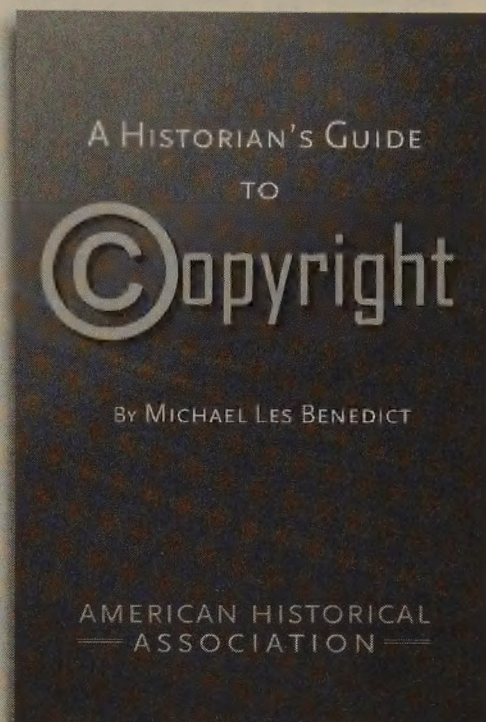
***A Historian's
Guide
to Copyright***

by **Michael Les Benedict**

A basic knowledge of copyright is now an essential tool in the profession development of all historians. This pamphlet is intended as a basic primer on copyright for historians. It deals with copyright as it relates to research, publication, and teaching. It looks back over the history of copyright law, establishes a foothold on a field now very much in flux, and looks ahead to a changed landscape.

© 2012 ♦ 72 pages ♦ ISBN 978-0-87229-180-5

\$9 (AHA members receive a 30% discount).



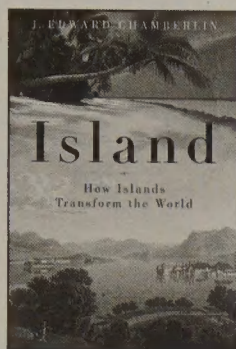
To purchase this and other AHA titles, visit

www.historians.org/ahastore

Index of Advertisers

American Historical Association 1000, 1(a), 20(a)–23(a)	Oxford University Press 12(a)–13(a)
Berghahn Books 16(a)	Penguin Group Cover 2 & 2(a)
BlueBridge Cover 3	Princeton University Press Cover 4
Duke University Press 3(a)	Stanford University Press 11(a)
Early American Places 5(a)	University of Chicago Press 10(a)
The Fred W. Smith National Library for the Study of George Washington 8(a), 19(a)	University of Georgia Press 9(a)
HarperCollins Publishers 6(a)	University of Illinois Press 4(a)
Johns Hopkins University Press 18(a)	University of North Carolina Press 15(a)
New York University Press 17(a)	University of Pennsylvania Press 14(a)
	University Press of Kansas 7(a)

History Books from BlueBridge



Island

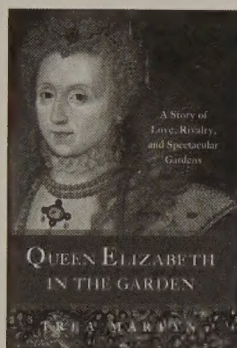
How Islands Transform the World

J. EDWARD CHAMBERLIN

"...Chamberlin...approaches his vast subject, the islands of the world, from every angle...a sweeping...series of anecdotes and particulars about islands...island lovers of all sorts may find in it some new knowledge to delight them..."

— *Library Journal*

Hardcover 256 pages \$19.95 ISBN: 9781933346564



Queen Elizabeth in the Garden

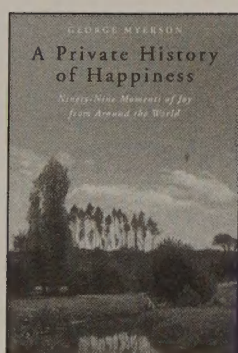
A Story of Love, Rivalry, and Spectacular Gardens

TREA MARTYN

"...bewitching and original...Today...not a single authentic Elizabethan garden survives—all the more

reason to welcome a book that uses a wealth of evocative detail to recreate this lost world of bright bowers and labyrinths...[an] exquisite book..." — *The New York Times Book Review*

Trade Paperback 336 pages \$14.95 ISBN: 9781933346823



A Private History of Happiness

Ninety-Nine Moments of Joy from Around the World

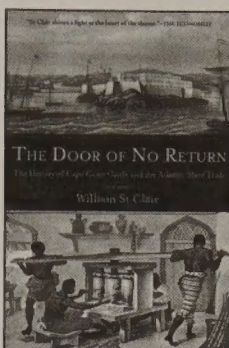
GEORGE MYERSON

"...a charming resource...from the famous to the obscure, these joyful moments speak to us, and we are

momentarily connected with their writers...A jewel of a book, one worth keeping company with in our hectic world."

— *Historical Novels Review*

Hardcover 256 pages \$19.95 ISBN: 9781933346519



The Door of No Return

The History of Cape Coast Castle and the Atlantic Slave Trade

WILLIAM ST CLAIR

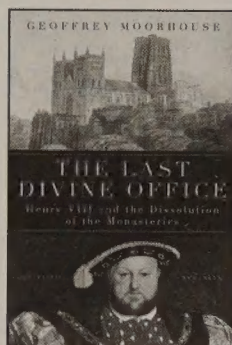
"St Clair shines a light at the heart of the shame." — *The Economist*

"...a readable and detailed account of Britain's role in the

slave trade...St Clair has a new angle."

— *The New York Times Book Review*

Trade Paperback 288 pages \$15.95 ISBN: 9781933346168



The Last Divine Office

Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries

GEOFFREY MOORHOUSE

"[An] elegant narrative."

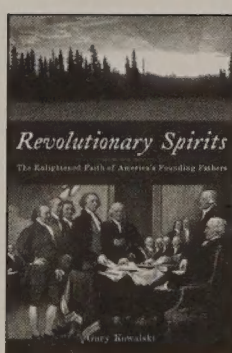
— *The Boston Globe*

"Geoffrey Moorhouse has written an absorbing, detailed

and scrupulously fair account of this English revolution."

— *The Daily Telegraph*

Trade Paperback 304 pages \$14.95 ISBN: 9781933346526



Revolutionary Spirits

The Enlightened Faith of America's Founding Fathers

GARY KOWALSKI

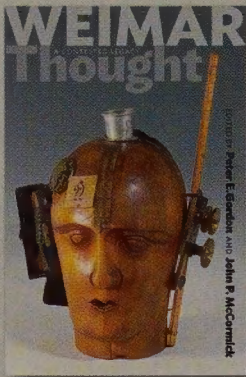
"Kowalski seeks to shatter what he regards as a myth, commonly exhorted by politicians and religious groups. His spiritual portraits...

argue that the founding fathers were neither devout Christians nor secularists." — *USA Today*

Trade Paperback 224 pages \$13.95 ISBN: 9781933346304

bluebridgebooks.com

BlueBridge is an independent publisher of international nonfiction based near New York City.



Weimar Thought

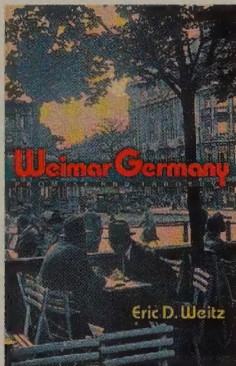
A Contested Legacy

Edited by
Peter E. Gordon &
John P. McCormick

"This is the first work in a generation that presents a comprehensive overview of Weimar culture with all its complexity and contradictions. It successfully shows continuities and discontinuities with the past, and tensions that resist reduction. The book's reach—from theology to the biological sciences, and literary criticism to legal theory—goes far beyond any other volume I am aware of on the same subject."

—Peter Carl Caldwell, Rice University

Cloth \$35.00 978-0-691-13510-6



Editor's Choice,
New York Times
Book Review

Weimar Germany

Promise and Tragedy

Eric D. Weitz
New and expanded
edition

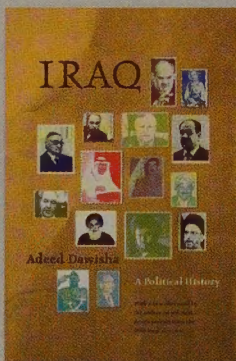
"Excellent and splendidly illustrated. . . . [A] superb introduction . . . probably the best available."

—Eric Hobsbawm, *London Review of Books*

"*Weimar Germany* is elegantly written, generously illustrated and never less than informative. It is also history with attitude."

—Peter Graves, *Times Literary Supplement*

Paper \$24.95 978-0-691-15796-2



Iraq

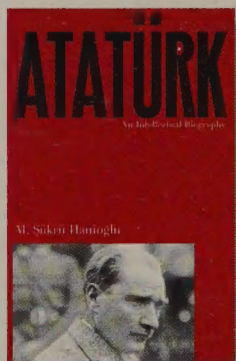
A Political History

Adeed Dawisha
With a new afterword
by the author on
political developments
since the 2010
Iraqi elections

"We are fortunate to have scholars, such as Adeed Dawisha, who continue to grapple with Iraq's political complexities. . . . A highly accessible and insightful work on one of the most important and complex countries in the Middle East."

—Eric Davis, *Middle East Journal*

Paper \$22.95 978-0-691-15793-1



Atatürk

An Intellectual
Biography

M. Şükrü Hanioğlu

"Fresh and concise."

—*New Yorker*

"A significant achievement, and indispensable for anyone seeking to understand the roots of modern Turkey."

—*Times Higher Education*

Paper \$19.95 978-0-691-15794-8



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

See our E-books at
press.princeton.edu